L. Chevon inv.

Ger.t.de Gucho Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

From the RESTORATION of

KING *CHARLES* the Second,

To the Concluſion of the REIGN of

KING *JAMES* the Second,

AND

ESTABLISHMENT

OF

King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*.

Containing the Space of near 29 *Years.*

VOLUME *the* THIRD.

With a Compleat INDEX.

By LAURENCE ECHARD, A. M. Arch-deacon of *Stowe*.

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LAWRENCE

LONDON

ENGLAND

OF

HISTORY

THE PREFACE.

HAVING been so particular in the Preface to the Second Volume, I have the less Reason to trouble the Reader with enlarging upon the Third; which consists of the History of a less Number of Years, and with less Variety of Incidents and Changes; but still in their own Nature so curious and desirable, as may be of singular Use and Satisfaction to the Generality of the Nation. It contains the actual Reigns of two Kings and Brothers, who were excellently well fitted and qualified by Nature and Education for their exalted Stations, and so well prepared and season'd by Adversity and Opposition, as to make themselves and their People great and happy in this World: Whose Lives and Actions, both laudable and culpable, I have endeavour'd to represent with all Simplicity and Fidelity, as well as all Freedom and Decency.

The first of these Reigns, notwithstanding all the Advantages of the clear Understanding and good Nature of the Prince, was attended with great Mixture of Counsels, and strange Vicissitudes of good and bad Events, throughout the greatest Part of the Time. So that the whole Space has been ingeniously compared to the four Seasons of the Year; in which three Quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flourishing, and gay; but as constantly follow'd by severe Winters that freeze, wither, destroy and cut off many hopeful Plants, and Expectations of Things to come. The next Reign, which was much shorter, may perhaps be compared to a Day, clear and calm in the Morning, tho' not without a Mixture of something dubious and lowring; but in a little Time spread and cover'd over with dark and

diſmal Clouds, threatning a general Ruin and Deſolation, 'till of a ſudden they were diſſipated and diſpell'd after an unknown and miraculous Manner. So that the Reader, from theſe two Reigns, may expect Profit and Entertainment ſufficient to recompence all his Labour.

It were to be wiſh'd indeed that the Materials in this Volume were altogether as plentiful and valuable as thoſe from whence the laſt was taken; but conſidering the Nature of the Subject, they were not to be ſo much expected, eſpecially at preſent; but were rather to be hop'd for afterwards, when Time has abated and remov'd the Fear and Caution, that is ſo natural to good Writers. However, I have endeavour'd to make the beſt Uſe of thoſe Materials I cou'd procure; the Principal of which may be ſeen in the Beginning of every great Section; and tho' not ſo particular as ſome ſtrict Men may expect, yet, I preſume, ſufficient to ſatisfy any fair and candid Reader, who will have ſo good an Opinion of the Judgment and Honeſty of the Author, as not to expect every Sentence to be ſupported by a particular Authority. Thoſe that expect ſo much, are too often unwilling to be ſatisfy'd with the greateſt Evidence, when it comes in competition with either Intereſt, or Party.

Beſides the Uſe of all printed Tracts, ſuch as Annals, Collections, Memoirs, Letters, Tryals, Pamphlets, Speeches, Gazettes, &c. *I had, as in the laſt Volume, the Advantage of ſeveral* Manuſcripts *and private* Accounts *from Perſons of unqueſtion'd Knowledge and Credit, which have ſerv'd much to inrich and inlighten the Work, to clear up many Difficulties, and to invalidate ſeveral vulgar Stories that have crept into the common Books, and been ſwallow'd as Truths by moſt People. And particularly I had the Benefit of the* Journals *of the Lords and Commons in the two Reigns, which were of ſingular Advantage in perfecting the Parliamentary Accounts; and in which there are many Particulars valuable, new, and never before publiſh'd: And eſpecially in the famous Long Parliament, ſo much applauded and cenſur'd; a Parliament that continu'd above ſeventeen Years, 'till remov'd and deſtroy'd by the Heats ariſing from the* Popiſh *Plot.*

As to the Plot in particular, I have been more than ordinary careful in tracing out the Steps, and examining into the Bottom of that Myſtery of Villany. And if I have not done it ſo perfectly as it deſerves, I have done it more completely and regularly than it is to be found in any one ſingle Writer before me; not only in its Beginning and Riſe, but alſo in its Effects and Conſequences, which pro-

produc'd many ſtrange and bloody Events, that ſo far unhing'd the Prerogative of the Crown, that it was hard to ſet it right without endangering the Priviledges of the People. To be Maſter of which Account, I made uſe of ſeveral living Aſſiſtances of Worth and Knowledge, beſides what Books and Pamphlets I cou'd procure; from all which I believe I have ſet the whole in a better Light than it has been generally ſeen in before; and if that Plot appears to be another thing than what it has been commonly taken for, it is owing to Evidence and Conviction, more than to Humour and Opinion.

The Tranſactions of the laſt Reign were leſs myſterious, and more open and apparent, and conſequently not ſo hard to be diſcover'd or diſplay'd. Yet that Reign was not without its Depths, as well as Shallows; and tho' the grand Steps were viſible and obvious to the World, yet there was intermixt ſo much Artifice and Subtlety, as was ſufficient to try the Underſtandings, as well as the Honeſty, of a great Part of the Nation. Matters were indeed carry'd on with ſtrange Zeal and Precipitation, but yet were ſo deeply laid, that a very little leſs of either, humanly ſpeaking, muſt have carry'd the Point. And thoſe very Proceedings that caus'd the Ruin of the King and the Popiſh *Cauſe, was ſo very near overthrowing that of the* Proteſtant *and* Engliſh *Eſtabliſhment, that our Eſcape can be call'd no leſs than a mighty Deliverance; a* Deliverance *in which the Hand of Heaven appear'd eminently viſible and conſpicuous, not only here, but in other Parts of* Chriſtendom.

This laſt has ever been my firm and poſitive Belief, and the Effect of the moſt deliberate Conſideration and Reflection; therefore I freely aver, and gratefully acknowledge the Greatneſs of the Deliverance, in ſpite of the innumerable Inconveniencies ſaid to attend it, and without any Fear of the Charge and Scandal of Partiality. *And this has been acknowledg'd not only by the greateſt and wiſeſt Men, but by ſeveral of thoſe whoſe Conſciences unhappily held them from receiving the full Benefit of it. I ſpeak not this to enter into a Controverſy, but rather to admire the Wiſdom of Heaven, which has maturely and in due Seaſon brought about that Eſtabliſhment, which ſome factious and miſ-led Perſons by a crude Anticipation were weakly attempting in the latter End of King* Charles *the Second's Reign; which in that Juncture muſt, in all Probability, have involv'd three Kingdoms in Blood.*

It were to be deſir'd, that the Hiſtory of the Revolution *it ſelf, with all its concurrent Circumſtances, was undertaken by ſome*

eminent

eminent Hand, whoſe Knowledge and Genius is equal to ſo noble a Subject: In the mean Time I hope the World will reſt ſatisfy'd with what I have done; in which they may find all the ſeveral known Steps and Proceedings laid open with Perſpicuity and Regularity. In performing whereof, and the greateſt Part of this laſt Reign, I have been much eas'd, not only by Mr. Bohun's *labour'd Work, but alſo by the Author of* The Life of King William, *who, I am told, had very good Aſſiſtance in that Piece.*

In Writing of this Volume, I particularly aim'd at obſerving a juſt Decorum with relation to the two Royal Brothers, and their chief Miniſters; and beſides the Caution againſt the ſtrong Prejudices that have ſo much prevail'd of late, I have conſider'd them chiefly according to the Dignity of their Offices. I have indeed been very free with their publick Errors and Miſmanagements; but at the ſame Time very fearful of examining and expoſing, much leſs dilating upon their private Vices and Extravagancies. The Crimes of great Men are not to receive the vulgar Puniſhments of Stocks, Whips, and Pillories; but they are naturally attended with Fines and Forfeitures, and even Death and Extirpation. To ſearch far into their dark and ſecret Receſſes, is preſumptuous in the Writer, and dangerous to the Reader: Impartiality indeed will not ſuffer thoſe remote Exorbitancies to appear very inconſiderable, but Decency requires that they ſhould very little appear; the one will not allow them to be varniſh'd over, and the other commands them to be thrown into Shades.

I find it the more neceſſary to condemn and avoid thoſe Ways, becauſe in theſe latter Times we meet with ſo many Abuſes of that Kind both in Books and Converſation. Too many in a free Country take a Pleaſure in cenſuring and vilifying their Superiors; and by making bold with crown'd Heads, they bring all upon the Level, and turn Liberty into Licentiouſneſs. And, what is commonly the Conſequence, thoſe Perſons who are ſo ready to pry into the Vices of Princes, too rarely take notice of their Virtues. Of this Sort we find a numerous Spawn ſince the Revolution, as Libellers and Dealers in Scandal, and ſome of the Writers of Secret Hiſtories, *who have taken ſuch Liberties with their Betters, as are hardly to be found in any other Part of the World. And thus while the true and valuable Hiſtorians are diving into the rich Mines of Nature, theſe diminutive Writers are raking into Kennels and Common-Shores.*

A faith-

PREFACE.

A faithful Hiſtorian indeed ought to lay open and repreſent the publick Errors and Miſcarriages of Princes and great Men, but always with Deference to their Stations and Characters. In ſuch Caſes I have taken all becoming Freedom, but with no little Caution, for fear of ſwimming beyond my Strength. I have us'd the greateſt Freedom with what I account the principal Blemiſh in the Reign of King James *the Second, the frequent Breach of his Royal Word. Such open Breaches ought not to be ſilently paſs'd over by an Hiſtorian, whoſe Buſineſs in ſuch a Caſe is to judge and condemn without Reſerve. A Failure in this Kind is acting againſt Natural Principles, and therefore beyond the Power of Excuſe. Had that unfortunate Prince never made thoſe ſolemn and voluntary Promiſes, his Endeavours to eſtabliſh* Popery *and Arbitrary Power would (in Hiſtory) have admitted of various Mitigations; he had then ſuffer'd leſs in his Memory, and his Caſe would have been more pity'd. But it has been by ſome alledg'd,* That without theſe Promiſes, he could not hope to carry his grand Point; *which only ſhews to what a miſerable* Dilemma *he was reduc'd, that either he muſt violate his Honour, or ſacrifice his Religion. And if the Former muſt thus give place to the Latter, what a wretched Idea muſt the World have of that Religion that cannot be ſupported but by what has been abhorr'd, or at leaſt diſclaim'd and diſavow'd, by* Jews, Turks, Pagans, *and* Infidels!

But this ungrateful Subject may eaſily carry an Author beyond the Compaſs of a Preface, therefore it is Time to deſiſt.----- I ſhall only repeat the Promiſe I made in the laſt Preface, of Correcting and Amending whatever is found to be amiſs; and further add, That tho' I have been too bold in attempting this Third Volume, as coming too near my own Time, yet I am not afraid to venture a few Years further, upon a Fourth, namely, the compleat Reign of King William; *which poſſibly I may undertake, if I meet with reaſonable Aſſiſtance and Information from thoſe that are able to give it.*

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THE

M. V^dr Gucht Sculp.

THE History of England.

BOOK I.

Including all the Warlike Part of the Reign of King Charles *the Second: From his happy Reſtoration, to the End of the Second* Dutch *War.*

Containing the Space of 13 *Years, and* 9 *Months.*

CHAP. I.

From the happy Reſtoration of the King, to the publick Proclamation of the Firſt War againſt the Dutch.

Containing the Space of four Years, and about nine Months.

Clarendon. Charlton. Orleans. Kennet. Philips. Heath. Sprat. Rot. Parl. &c.

I. HAVING got through a ſtormy and tempeſtuous Seaſon of many Years Continuance, a tedious Time of various Miſery and Confuſion, We arrive at the moſt unexpected Order and Settlement, at ſuch a glorious Calm and Sunſhine, as the ſudden Brightneſs and Splendor of it was to many of the Nation harder to be born than all the preceding Clouds and Darkneſs. The Greatneſs and Quickneſs of the Change, render'd the Pleaſure not only inexpreſſible, but inſupportable, even to ſeveral of Thoſe 1660. Car. 12 Reſ. 1. *The Introduction.*

1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1. who had endured the greateſt Perſecutions with uncommon Patience; every Man's Head being ſeiz'd with ſome Degree of Raptures and Madneſs. It might naturally have been expected, that thoſe Torrents of Joy, that overflow'd the Nation, and bore down all before them, ſhou'd have had more tragical Effects upon the late Uſurpers and Oppreſſors, whoſe Power was now diſſolv'd and bury'd beyond all Hopes of a Reſurrection. Therefore it is highly to be admired and applauded, that the Tranſports and Reſentments of an injured Body of Men, who had ſo ſuddenly got their Enemies at their Mercy, ſhou'd be ſo much ſpent in Smoak and Air, and not reverberate with a more ſignal Rage and Vengeance. We cannot ſufficiently revere that Power of Heaven, that put ſo quick and full a Period to a Rebellion and War that had rag'd near twenty Years, and had been proſecuted with all the diſmal Circumſtances of Murder, Devaſtations and Parricide, that Fire and Sword, in the Hands of the moſt impious Men, cou'd produce; but that Mercy is ſtill more bright and adorable, that in ſo ſhort a Space did not only bind up and heal all thoſe Wounds, but even made the Scars as undiſcernable, as, in reſpect to the Deepneſs, was poſſible; which was certainly, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, a glorious Addition to the Deliverance. How, and by whom any of theſe Scars came to be rubb'd, or any of theſe Wounds to be open'd, will be particularly ſeen afterwards: But in the mean Time we may juſtly take notice, That this unexpected Felicity, humanly ſpeaking, was in a great Meaſure owing to the Moderation and Goodneſs of the King Himſelf, and his chief Miniſters, who being return'd to a People inebriated with Joy, and without any Reſtriction, but that of Honour and Conſcience, had Opportunity and Temptation of carrying their Revenge and Power to any Exorbitancy whatſoever. The King's own Clemency was apparent and remarkable; and it was his Opinion, both before and after his Arrival, 'That the beſt Means to reſtore the decay'd Body of 'the Kingdom to its former Health and Vigour, was not to cure one 'Part, by afflicting of the Other; but to heal thoſe Wounds which were 'already feſter'd, by their proper Lenitives, and to remove all the Cauſes of future Animoſities.

The Character of King Charles *the Second,*

And here it will not be improper to give ſome Character of the King Himſelf, as we find it by the beſt Hands at this Time, reſerving Another for him at the Time of his Death, which will differ almoſt as much as two Pictures drawn for the ſame Perſon at the moſt diſtant Time of his Age. His Majeſty was now juſt thirty Years of Age, ſomewhat taller than the middle Stature of *Engliſhmen*; ſo exactly form'd, that the moſt curious Eye cou'd find no Error in his Shape. His Countenance was rather grave than ſevere, but much ſoftned whenever he ſpoke; his Complexion ſomewhat dark, but much enlightned by his quick and ſparkling Eyes. The Figure of his Face was very lovely till near twenty Years of Age; but after that, growing leaner, the Majeſty of his Looks happily ſupply'd the Lines of Beauty; which was very much ſet off by plentiful Ornaments of his ſhining black Hair. His Motions were ſo eaſy and graceful, that they highly recommended his Perſon to all Strangers, whether he walk'd, or danc'd, or play'd at Tennis, or rode the great Horſe, which were his uſual Exerciſes: In ſum, his Mien fully denoted his Quality; and whereſoever he appear'd, he immediately obtain'd the Reſpect and Affections of all that approach'd him; for all his Looks and Actions help'd to diſplay the Beauties of his Mind, a vivacious Wit, a delicate Apprehenſion, and an excellent Underſtanding. Theſe natural Endowments were highly improv'd, not only by his own uncommon Induſtry, but by a numerous Train of Accidents uſually unknown to other Princes. So that, beſides his great Skill in modern Languages, Hiſtory, Mathematicks,

Mathematicks, Navigation, *&c.* his Mind was adorn'd with ſuch Virtues, as might, if continu'd, have prov'd a perpetual Source of Happineſs to Himſelf and Kingdom, as Juſtice, Fortitude, Clemency, Temperance and Sobriety. The two latter were conſpicuous at this Time; Oaths and Drunkenneſs were Strangers to him; and tho' he cannot be clear'd of another Vice, of which the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother was not the only Inſtance, yet the former Part of his Life ought by no Means to be compared to the latter; and it is obſerv'd by a good Hand, that for many Years before his Return, he had been ſo chaſte and cautious, that thoſe about him cou'd hear no Whiſper of any indecent Gallantry. In general, he had learn'd ſo much Experience from the Variety of his Father's Fortunes, from the Oppoſition of his Enemies, the Treachery of his ſeeming Friends, and the frequent Neceſſity of treating with all Parties in Perſon, that it might juſtly be ſaid of Him, as it was of his Grandfather of *France*, *He that wou'd corrupt his Council, muſt firſt begin with the King*. Such was the preſent King, when he return'd to his overjoy'd People, bringing with him all the Preſages of a happy Government; and cou'd he have withſtood the Charms of Proſperity with the ſame Virtue and Vigour he did the Storms of Adverſity, he might well have prov'd not only a real, but a laſting Bleſſing to his three Kingdoms. 1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1.

And of the Duke of York.

His Brother, the Duke of *York*, was at this Time a Prince of thoſe Qualifications that were every Way hopeful and promiſing to the Nation; and was particularly remark'd for being a loyal and obedient Subject, as well as a faithful and affectionate Brother. His Education had been always laudable, and under the beſt Inſtructors; but he had employ'd a great Part of his Time in the continual Exerciſe of Arms. His Genius led him that Way, and he generally apply'd himſelf to it, from the Age of nine Years, when he was with his Father at *Edgehill*, till the Age of twenty ſeven, when he return'd into *England* with his Brother. He made ſeveral Campaigns under the great Marſhal *de Turenne*, from whom he gain'd mighty Commendations both for his Valour and Affability. And as to the former, the famous Prince of *Conde* was often heard to ſay, *That if ever there was a Man in the World without Fear, it was the Duke of* York; and during this Reign, he preſerv'd this Character of Intrepidity at all Times, and upon all Occaſions. This Diſpoſition was particularly obſerv'd by a great Man of *France*, who having travell'd into *England*, and remark'd upon the Court, he took particular Notice, *That tho' the Intereſt of this Prince ought to keep him to the Court, he rather choſe to be in the Army, and that he valu'd an Opportunity of ſignalizing his Courage, above the greateſt Political Advantages*. As to the Religion of this Prince, which in Time had ſuch remarkable Effects upon the Nation, he was a *Proteſtant* of the Church of *England* by Profeſſion, but of that of *Rome* in his Heart, as his beſt Friends teſtify. He had valiantly withſtood many a Shock from his Mother, and other Popiſh Zealots, but at length yielded, as they tell us, to a peculiar Accident, his reading of Dr. *Heylin*'s Hiſtory of the Reformation; where the Luſt of King *Henry* the Eighth, the Ambition of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Policy of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Avarice of Thoſe who had ſeiz'd the Church Lands, gave him a mortal Averſion to the Reformation it ſelf, and brought him over to the contrary Party. The King his Brother had many Times endeavour'd to prevent this Change, and more particularly in the Year 1654, when the Duke of *Gloceſter* was in the greateſt Danger in *France*; at which Time alſo hearing of the Attempts made upon the elder Brother, he wrote a memorable Letter to him, in which he let him know, 'That 'if ever he hearken'd to his Mother, or any Body elſe in that Mat-'ter, he muſt never think to ſee *England* or Him again:' And if the

1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1.

general Miſchief that muſt happen to Him and the Family did not move him, 'he deſired him to conſider and remember the laſt Words of his 'dead Father, which were *to be conſtant in his Religion, and never ſha-* 'ken in it; which if he did not obſerve, this ſhou'd be the laſt Time he 'ſhou'd hear from his affectionate Brother.' Yet after all this, the King Himſelf, as we have full Reaſon to believe, in the Year before his Reſtoration, yielded privately to the Temptations of the *Spaniard* at *Fontarabia*, and conſented to embrace the *Romiſh* Faith. This, as well as the Religion of the Duke, was a very great Secret for many Years; only the Duke being more zealous and hearty for the Popiſh Principles, thought fit to appear more openly in 1671, at which Time he made his Abjuration to Father *Simons* an *Engliſh* Jeſuit; while the King, in the main, generally conceal'd his Inclinations, which were leſs ſtrong and operating, till the Time of his Death.

The King eſtabliſhes his Privy-Council,

2. To proceed in the Hiſtory: His Majeſty's firſt Care after his Reſtoration, was to ſettle his Houſhold, and conſtitute his Privy-Council; in which, to teſtify his Impartiality and good Nature, as well as Policy, he made Choice of ſeveral Counſellors, who had been profeſs'd Enemies to his Father and Himſelf. They conſiſted of Thirty in Number, namely, the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, General *Monk*, Admiral *Mountague*, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Earl of *Berkſhire*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord Vicount *Say*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Seymour*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Colonel *Charles Howard*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of St. *Alban*'s, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Lord *Colepeper*, the Lord *Roberts*, Mr. *Arthur Anneſley*, Sir *John Barkley*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, and Sir *William Morrice*. Of theſe, the Duke of *York* was inveſted with the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports: *Monk* was continu'd Captain General of all the Forces of the three Kingdoms, and made Maſter of the Horſe to his Majeſty: Sir *Edward Hyde* was continu'd in the Office of Lord Chancellor of *England*: The Earl of *Southampton* was made Lord Treaſurer; the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold; the Lord *Say*, Privy-Seal; the Lord *Seymour*, Chancellor of the Dutchy; the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold; Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold; Sir *Charles Barkley*, Comptroller; Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain; and Sir *Edward Nicholas* and Sir *William Morrice*, were made chief Secretaries of State. On theſe laſt, and others of the Council, his Majeſty in a ſhort Time conferr'd ſuch Honours as were thought ſuiable to their Services or Expectations: Particularly General *Monk* was made Duke of *Albemarle*, which Dutchy had been anciently appropriated to the Royal Blood; Sir *Edward Hyde* was made Earl of *Clarendon*; Admiral *Mountague*, Earl of *Sandwich*; the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was made an *Engliſh* Earl, and afterwards a Duke; the Marqueſs of *Hertford* was made Duke of *Somerſet*; Mr. *Anneſley*, Earl of *Angleſey*; and *Hollis*, *Berkley*, *Cornwallis*, and *Aſhley-Cooper* were made Barons and Peers of *England*.

And his Judges.

The King alſo by ſeveral Steps made a careful and judicious Proviſion for the Benches and Courts of Judicature: For the Chancery, Sir *Edward Hyde*, as before-mention'd; for the *Rolls*, the Lord *Colepeper*, who ſhortly dying was ſucceeded by Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*; for the *King's Bench*, Sir *Robert Foſter*, Sir *Thomas Mallet*, Sir *Thomas Twiſden*, and Sir *Wadham Windham*; for the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir

Sir *Robert Hyde*, Sir *Thomas Tyrrel*, and Sir *Samuel Brown*; and for the *Exchequer*, Sir *Matthew Hale*, Sir *Edward Atkins*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Turner*. Sir *Jeoffrey Palmer* was made Attorney-General, and Sir *Heneage Finch* Sollicitor-General. At the ſame Time his Majeſty took ſpecial Care for the committing all Military Offices of the higheſt Truſt, as well as the Civil already mention'd, into the Hands of ſuch Perſons as were judg'd moſt proper for his Service: So that the Governments of all the moſt important Fortreſſes, Caſtles and Iſlands, and the Commands of the ſeveral Regiments, were by General *Monk* conferr'd upon ſuch Lords, and other Perſons of Honour, as the King was pleas'd to recommend to him for that End, till ſuch Time as the Army cou'd conveniently be diſbanded. Likewiſe for the farther ſettling of the Militia of the Nation, Lord-Lieutenants were conſtituted of the chief Nobility of the Land, each having under them, as Deputy-Lieutenants, ſuch Gentlemen of the ſame Counties as had moſt eminently ſhew'd their Affections to his Majeſty. 1660. Car. 12 Reſ. 1.

Among the Miniſtry at this Time, there were five or ſix who had a ſpecial Influence and Authority; as Chancellor *Hyde*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Earl of *Sandwich*, and Secretary *Nicholas*. The three firſt were united in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Love and Friendſhip: They continually joyn'd their Endeavours for the Good of their Country, and prov'd noble Inſtruments in cloſing up the Wounds, and eſtabliſhing the Proſperity of the Nation. Yet ſtill the Chancellor had the Superiority and Preference of them all in the Favour and Eſteem of the King, who for about two Years after his Return rely'd entirely on his Advice and Conduct. His Daughter had been ſecretly marry'd, or rather contracted abroad to the Duke of *York*; and ſo ſecretly, that after the great Revolution, when her Pregnancy appear'd, his Highneſs was attack'd by ſeveral Friends in private with ſo much Vigour and Reſentment, that he was brought under the ſtrongeſt Temptations to diſown the Obligation: But the King, tho' much ſurpriz'd at the unequal Alliance, very generouſly preſerv'd the Honour of an excellent Servant, who had not at firſt been privy to it, and aſſured him, *That this Accident ſhould not leſſen the Eſteem and Favour he had for him*; yet his own good Judgment made him immediately ſenſible, and to declare it to his intimate Friends, *That this muſt certainly be the Occaſion of the Diminution of his Credit*. Being prime Miniſter of State, and principal Manager of the Publick Affairs, he was oblig'd to ſuſtain the Odium of ſome unpopular Acts, of which the Springs were then altogether unknown. Yet the Nation at the ſame Time cou'd not but be ſenſible of the Greatneſs of his Abilities and Induſtry; that he was a wiſe and faithful Servant, both to his King and Country; and that none was more dextrous and happy in making up the Breaches between Both, without too much hazarding the Repoſe of Either. Notwithſtanding he was a finiſh'd Stateſman, and every way equal to the Height of his Station, he was judg'd to have had a general Failing, which has been ſometimes, and by good Men, turn'd to his Commendation; and this was a certain overbearing Greatneſs, or perhaps Haughtineſs, which was ſo viſible in his publick Actions, and ſometimes private Reproofs, that it gave Uneaſineſs to many who envy'd his Grandeur, and the Favours he enjoy'd. This, together with a Strictneſs of Morals that carry'd ſome Awe with it, muſt needs be diſagreeable to a Court which gradually gave Countenance and Encouragement to all ſorts of Pleaſures that proceeded from new Taſte, Politeneſs, Converſation, Courtſhip, and Gallantry, with other Names that ſerv'd to cover or palliate the greateſt Licentiouſneſs. Notwithſtanding he gave a great Check to all theſe in the worſt Senſe, and

The chief Miniſters.

The Prevalency of Hyde.

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and took the Liberty to reprove the greater, as well as the leſſer Offenders, he happily ſtood his Ground, and maintain'd his Authority, till he had more than Time to compoſe the Minds of the People, and ſettle the moſt difficult Affairs of the Nation.

The firſt Complaint againſt Him.

The firſt Complaint againſt this great Man proceeded chiefly from the Cavalier Party, and his Friends; and this began ſo early after the Reſtoration, that it will be very proper to take ſome Notice of it before we proceed farther in the Hiſtory. The King, as was before hinted, to ſhew that he wou'd not reign only over a Party of his Subjects, and to teſtify his Readineſs to forgive, thought it proper and fit to reward and prefer ſeveral who had been open Enemies to his Father and himſelf; and at the ſame Time he ſet aſide, or beyond Expectation neglected many loyal and faithful Subjects, who had been illuſtrious Sufferers for the Cauſe of both Kings. The Care for the former was thought to be the Cauſe of the Neglect of the latter; and tho' the Reaſons for either were not then well or fully known, yet both became ſo conſpicuous to the Nation, that a diſadvantagious Report was ſoon ſpread abroad, 'That the Chancellor 'had inſtill'd a Principle into the King's Mind, *That he muſt prefer and advance his Enemies, to gain them to be his Friends; but for his old Friends, it was no Matter how he us'd them, for they wou'd continue ſo ſtill.*' This Report did not only fall heavy upon the Chancellor, but likewiſe reach'd the King himſelf, whoſe general Practice in this Matter will hardly admit of a total Vindication, tho' of a very great Alleviation. Much of it was owing to Neceſſity, as well as Policy: For the Sufferings of the King's Friends were too great and too numerous, ever to expect a full Compenſation and Reward; and the inſenſibly encreaſing Expences of the Court render'd it ſtill more impracticable. Beſides, the Pretenders were as numerous, or at leaſt as noiſy, as the real Sufferers; and they oftentimes by their Importunities exercis'd the King's Good Nature to the Diſadvantage of the other. Every one was ready to celebrate and diſplay his own particular Merits; but never more plauſibly, than when they related to the glorious Work of the Reſtoration. Great Numbers were eager to be thought Sharers and Aſſiſtants in that important Affair; and not a few were really ſo, who had before been violent Promoters of all that was diſſerviceable to the Crown. Of this Sort the King thought himſelf particularly oblig'd to take Notice, and diſtinguiſh them by his Favours. It is believ'd that this Conſideration brought in the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, and ſeveral others who had been great Agents in the grand Rebellion: Among whom the Earl of *Mancheſter* did ſignally diſtinguiſh himſelf by the moſt manifeſt Tokens of Repentance, and the moſt real Aſſurances of future Loyalty.

The Presbyterians *encourag'd.*

The *Presbyterians* having had a very conſiderable Hand in the Reſtoration, the King, for ſome Time eſpecially, ſhew'd a particular Regard to them, and made choice of two prime Miniſters of their Party, Mr. *Richard Baxter* and Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, beſides others, to be his Chaplains in Ordinary. His Majeſty's publick Acknowledgment of their Aſſiſtance, with other Circumſtances, afterwards gave that Party Occaſion to extend the Merits of their Services, and to challenge the chief Hand in that wonderful Revolution. This has been frequently inſiſted on, not ſo much to praiſe themſelves, as to aggravate the Ingratitude of a Government, which they ſay was ſo much indebted to Them; and this is ſtill continu'd as a Matter of warm Diſpute between the Church and *Presbyterian* Party. The moſt common Anſwer to this often repeated Challenge, is not ſo much a direct Denial of the Fact, as an Aſſertion, drawn from many Circumſtances in Hiſtory, 'That what-

'ever

'ever the *Presbyterians* did in this Matter, was only to relieve themselves from the Oppreſſions of the *Independents*, and other Sectaries, who had wreſted the Power out of their Hands; and not out of any Affection for the King, or the Church, which very much alter'd the Merit of their Services; eſpecially when they afterwards ſhew'd ſo little Repentance for thoſe Actions that produc'd all the Miſeries of the Nation.' But not to enter too far into a Matter of Controverſy, which may lead us aſide, we ſhall conclude and determine the Hiſtory of the Reſtoration in the Words of a great Man, written four or five Years after it: 'Shall the Honour of that immortal Work be fix'd on a private 'Sect? Whereas it was accompliſh'd by the immediate Favour of Divine Providence, by the Wiſdom of a victorious General, by the perpetual and immoveable Fidelity of the Royal Party, by the Hands, the Wiſhes, the Tongues, and the united Deſires of three Kingdoms. 'Tis 'true indeed, the *Presbyterians* went along with the mighty Torrent, 'but the whole Courſe of this happy Violence is not therefore to be attributed to them. It was in that, as in a ſudden Land Flood, which, 'as it comes down, carries with it Trees, and Stones, and Houſes, and 'all that it meets in the Way. And even all theſe which lay before quiet, 'nay, which reſiſted the firſt Waters while they were weak, do add to 'the Impetuoſity of the Current when it is going. But we muſt not 'therefore ſay that the Flood it ſelf took its Riſe from thence, ſeeing it 'was in truth caus'd by Rain coming down from Heaven, and by Streams 'flowing in from every Part of the Country.' And now it is Time to proceed to the healing Methods us'd after the Reſtoration, and to begin with the *Convention-Parliament*, that was to ſettle the Happineſs of the Kingdom.

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The Share they had in the Reſtoration.

3. The Convention-Parliament, that had met on the 25th Day of *April* laſt, conſiſted of many conſiderable Perſons of different Parties; not without ſeveral of the King's Enemies, and two or three of the Regicides themſelves, as *Hutchinſon* and *Laſſels*. As to their Election, they were limited to particular Qualifications by the laſt long Parliament; one of which was, 'That all that advis'd, or voluntarily aided in the War 'againſt the Parliament in 1641, unleſs they have ſince given a Manifeſtation of their good Affection, they, or their Sons, ſhall be incapable 'of being elected Members of this Parliament.' The Speaker himſelf, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, had been a Member of the Long Parliament, and had joyn'd with them, tho' after a more moderate way, till the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*; ſoon after which he was excluded the Houſe with many others. Notwithſtanding all the foremention'd Care, many of the Royal Party, and other Promoters of Peace, were elected; ſo that the Houſe of Commons conſiſted of ſuch a Number of Perſons as were fully diſpos'd to do Juſtice to the King, and to make up all the Breaches of the Nation. The Houſe of Peers, tho' at preſent without the Biſhops, ſeem'd ſtill more united, and were reſolv'd to make a full Compenſation for all former Errors and Miſcarriages: And both Houſes had made as large Steps towards an Accommodation, as Time wou'd permit, before the Arrival of the King. At which Time their Speeches and Compliments to his Majeſty at *Whitehall*, teſtify'd as much Joy, Affection, and Loyalty as can be expreſs'd by any Subjects in the World.

An Account of the CONVENTION.

Within two Days after his Arrival, his Majeſty, accompany'd with his two Royal Brothers, *York* and *Gloceſter*, Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, and many other Perſons of Honour, went in a ſolemn Manner by Water to the Houſe of Lords: Where, being ſeated on his Throne, and the Commons appearing at the Bar, he in a ſhort Speech acquainted them with the

The King's Speech to it.

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the Occaſion and Cauſe of his preſent ſending for them, namely, to paſs thoſe Bills which he underſtood were prepared for him, all which were very material at this Time. 'The firſt was conſtituting the preſent *Convention* to be a *Parliament:* The ſecond for authorizing the Tax for 'Seventy Thouſand Pound *per Menſem* for three Months longer; and 'the third for *Continuance of Proceſs and all judicial Proceedings.*' Which being paſs'd, the Lord Chancellor in a handſom Speech told both Houſes, 'With how much Readineſs his Majeſty had paſs'd theſe im-'portant Acts, and how willing they ſhou'd at all times hereafter find 'him, to paſs any other that might tend to the Advantage and Benefit 'of the People; in a particular Manner deſiring, in his Majeſty's Be-'half, That the *Bill of Oblivion*, in which they had made ſo good a Pro-'greſs, might be expedited: That the People might ſee and know his 'Majeſty's extraordinary gracious Care to eaſe and free them from their 'Doubts and Fears; and that he had not forgotten his gracious Declara-'tion made at *Breda*, but that he wou'd in all Points make good the 'ſame.'

The Convention turn'd into a PARLIAMENT.

II. 1. The Convention, having now the Eſſence of a Parliament, tho' not the exact Form, proceeded in the great Affairs of the Nation with all Diligence and Vigour. They had, among others, three great Points to bring to Perfection, the general Act of Indemnity, the diſbanding of the Army, and the ſettling the Publick Revenues. The firſt was judg'd moſt neceſſary to begin withal: The Commons thought that neither themſelves, nor the People of *England*, were freed from that Guilt and Puniſhment which the unhappy Times had contracted, unleſs they laid hold on his Majeſty's Grace, mention'd in his Declaration from *Breda*; therefore they reſolv'd, 'That the Houſe doth declare, That 'they do in the Name of themſelves, and all the Commons of *England*, 'lay hold on his Majeſty's gracious Pardon, mention'd in his Declarati-'on, with Reference to the excepting of ſuch as ſhall be excepted in an 'Act of Pardon.' And accordingly a Declaration was drawn up, and ſolemnly preſented to the King in the *Banquetting-Houſe* by Mr. *Denzil Hollis*. The King graciouſly accepted of this Declaration, as well as another from the Lords; and about the ſame Time he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, declaring, 'That all ſuch of the late King's Judges, as did not 'render themſelves within fourteen Days, ſhou'd be excepted out of the 'General Pardon.' Upon which ſeveral of them ſurrender'd themſelves, while ſome made their Eſcape, and others were taken in their Flight. At the ſame Time ſeveral of the moſt eminent Officers under the Uſurpation, for their greater Security, got their particular Pardons exemplify'd under the Great-Seal of *England*. The King was very forward in granting theſe Pardons, and was more than ordinary preſſing for a ſpeedy paſſing the Act of Oblivion. Nor was his Majeſty wanting to give all ſuch publick Teſtimonies of a Virtue and Prudence, as might render him deſervedly Glorious in the Eſteem of all ſober and moderate Perſons; and that by ſeveral wholeſom Edicts, eſpecially by that ſeaſonable Proclamation which he publiſh'd, one of the firſt Things he did after his Arrival, 'For the diſcountenancing and puniſhing of Debauchery, Profaneneſs, 'and other Vices;' which began to break out from the ungovernable Joy of the Times.

Rot. Parl. Philips. Heath. Skinner. &c.

They begin with a general Act of Pardon.

Addreſſes, &c. Every Day produc'd Rejoycings and Triumphs; and the King was perpetually entertain'd with the loyal Addreſſes of his People, and with the ſolemn Congratulations of Foreign Princes and Potentates, who ſeem'd all to vie in Haſte and Zeal for ſending over their Ambaſſadors and Agents to compliment his Majeſty upon his happy Reſtoration to his Royal

Royal Dignity and Government. Addreſſes came from all Parts of the Kingdom, as well as from *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and all thoſe Towns and Corporations that had bought out their ſeveral Fee-Farm Rents formerly belonging to the Crown, and by the late Common-Wealth alienated from it, ſent their Deputies to the King, to make a voluntary Surrender of them into his Hands. Others preſented him with Sums of Gold and other Gifts, according to their reſpective Abilities: But the City of *London*, as being the chief, and the Seat of Kings for many Ages, judg'd themſelves oblig'd in Point of Duty and Reputation, to exceed all the reſt in the Glory of their Performances towards their Soveraign; and therefore to the Splendor of their former Preparations at his firſt Reception and triumphant Entrance, they added the Expence of a moſt magnificent Entertainment at *Guild-Hall*, which was gloriouſly beautify'd and adorn'd for that great Occaſion. To which Place the King, his two Royal Brothers, the Lords of the Privy-Council, both the Houſes of Parliament, and the chief Officers of State being ſolemnly invited, were on the 5th of *July* conducted thither in mighty Pomp and State by the Lord Mayor and Grandees of the City, where they were feaſted in a munificent Manner with the moſt exquiſite Rarities, and admirable Muſick, and whatever elſe cou'd be thought agreeable and equal to ſuch an illuſtrious Aſſembly.

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The King and Parliament entertained by the City.

2. All this Time the Parliament proceeded in the Act of Oblivion, but met with ſeveral Obſtructions that proceeded from the Animoſities of ſome who were for ſeverer Proceedings. The King himſelf was a great Promoter of the Act, and often ſate in Council about that, and the great Affairs of the Government: But notwithſtanding his great Care and Zeal to compoſe all publick Differences, many ill-affected Perſons in Pamphlets aſpers'd his Actions, endeavouring to inſinuate, That he intended nothing leſs than the Performance of his Promiſes from *Breda*. This caus'd him to ſend a remarkable Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons by Secretary *Morrice*, to quicken their Debates about the Act of Indemnity, as the beſt Means to quiet the Minds of his Subjects.

The Commons proceed in the Act of Indemnity.

He told them, 'He had too ample a Manifeſtation of their Affections 'and Duty towards him, to make the leaſt Doubt of the Continuance 'and Improvement thereof, or in the leaſt Degree to diſlike what they 'had done, or to complain of what they had left undone. He knew 'well the Weight of thoſe Affairs which depended upon their Counſels, 'and the Time that muſt unavoidably be ſpent, where there muſt be na'turally Difference of Opinions and Judgments amongſt thoſe, whoſe De'ſires of the Publick Peace and Safety were the ſame. And that neither 'He nor They muſt be overmuch troubled, if they found the good In'tentions and unwearied Pains, taken to reduce thoſe good Intentions 'into real Acts, for the Quiet and Security of the Nation, miſrepreſented, 'and miſ-interpreted, by thoſe who are in truth much afflicted to ſee the 'publick Diſtractions, by God's Bleſſing, ſo near an End; and by others 'upon whoſe Weakneſs, Fears and Jealouſies, the Activity and Cunning 'of thoſe ill Men hath had too great an Influence. That how wonderful 'and miraculous ſoever the great Harmony of Affections between him 'and his Subjects is; yet it is not to be thought that God Almighty had 'wrought that Miracle to that Degree, that a Nation ſo miſerably divid'ed for ſo many Years, wou'd be ſo ſoon and intirely united in their Af'fections and Endeavours, as were to be wiſhed; but that the Evil Con'ſciences of many continu'd ſo awake for Miſchief, they wou'd 'not be willing to take Reſt themſelves, or ſuffer others to take it: That

The King's Meſſage to them concerning it.

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'they all had too ſad Experience of the unhappy Effects of *Fears* and '*Jealouſies*, how groundleſs and unreaſonable ſoever, not to think it very 'neceſſary to apply all timely and proper Remedies to thoſe Diſtempers, 'and to prevent the Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs which ſo naturally flow 'from thence: That he well foreſaw, That the great Violation, which 'the Laws of the Land had for ſo many Years ſuſtain'd, had fill'd the 'Hearts of the People with terrible Apprehenſions of Inſecurity to them-'ſelves, if all they had ſaid and done, ſhou'd be liable to be examin'd and 'puniſh'd by thoſe Laws which had been ſo violated. And that nothing 'cou'd eſtabliſh the Security of King and People, but a full Proviſion, that 'the Returning to the Reverence and Obedience of the Law, which is 'good for *All*, ſhou'd not turn to the Ruin of *Any* who were willing and 'fit to receive that Protection hereafter from the Law, and to pay that 'Subjection to it, which were juſt and neceſſary. And therefore he made 'a free Offer of a *General Pardon*, in ſuch a Manner as was expreſs'd in 'his *Declaration*; and how ready and deſirous he was to make good the 'ſame, appear'd by his *Proclamation* iſſu'd out upon and according to 'their Deſire. However, it was evident, That all he had offer'd or did 'offer, did not enough compoſe the Minds of the People; nor in their 'Opinions cou'd their Security be provided for, till the *Act of Indemni-'ty and Oblivion* was paſs'd.' He told them, 'He had found great In-'duſtry us'd to perſwade his good Subjects, that he had no Mind to make 'good his Promiſes, which he deſired to perform for his own Sake as 'well as theirs. Therefore he did very earneſtly recommend it to them, 'That all Expedition might be us'd in the paſſing *that moſt neceſſary Act*, 'whereby his good Subjects generally wou'd be ſatisfy'd, that their Secu-'rity was in their own Hands, and depended upon their future Actions, 'and that they were *Free* for all paſt; and ſo the Endeavours of ill Men 'wou'd be diſappointed, who wou'd perſwade them not to do well *Now*, 'becauſe they had done amiſs *Heretofore*. And that he was the more 'engag'd to this Recommendation, becauſe upon the Reflection of their 'eminent Zeal and Affection for his Service, and hearty Concurrence with 'him in all things deſired from them, Men were apt to perſwade others, 'tho' not believing it themſelves, That the paſſing this *Act* was there-'fore not deſired, becauſe he did not enough preſs the Diſpatch of it; 'which he did deſire from his Heart, and was confident they wou'd the 'ſooner do it, upon his earneſt Recommendation.

The Commons diſpatch the Bill.

This Meſſage did ſo much quicken the Debates of the Commons, that they diſpatcht the Bill in a very ſhort Time after, and ſent it up to the Lords; by which the Peoples Minds were much compos'd, and the more, becauſe his Majeſty by a Proclamation after it, did declare a Kind of Impatience for the Delay of it. The Commons had been very favourable, and in the Act had excepted for Life and Eſtate but a few of the moſt notorious Regicides; but the Lords were more ſtrict and warm in their Debates, being incited by the Importunities of ſeveral Widows and Relations of thoſe who had ſuffer'd Death by the late Uſurpers. Therefore they enter'd into a Conſultation, to except all from Pardon that had been Judges in any *High Court of Juſtice*. But the Clemency of the King extended to all who were not immediately guilty of his Father's Murder; and obſerving that thoſe Debates much obſtructed the ſpeeding and perfecting that Bill he ſo earneſtly deſired to have finiſh'd, on the 27th Day of *July*, about two Months after his Reſtoration, he went to the Houſe; and in a remarkable Speech, he expreſs'd his Zeal for it in theſe Words.

The King's Speech to the Lords upon the ſame Subject.

'*My Lords*, When I came firſt hither to you, which was within two 'or three Days after I came to *White-Hall*, I did, with as much Ear-'neſtneſs as I cou'd, both by my ſelf and the Chancellor, recommend to

'you

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'you and the Houſe of Commons, the ſpeedy Diſpatch of the *Act of In-*
'*demnity*, as a neceſſary Foundation of that Security we all pray for. I
'did ſince, by a particular *Meſſage* to the Houſe of Commons, again
'preſs them to haſten that *Important Work*; and did likewiſe by a *Pro-*
'*clamation*, publiſh to all the Kingdom, *That I did with Impatience ex-*
'*pect that that Act wou'd be preſented to Me for my Aſſent, as the moſt*
'*reaſonable and ſolid Foundation of that Peace, Happineſs and Security*
'*I hope and pray for to my ſelf, and all my Dominions.* I will not deny
'it to you, That I thought the Houſe of Commons too long about that
'Work; and therefore now, it is come up to you, I wou'd not have you
'guilty of the ſame Delay. I thank God, I have the ſame Intentions and
'Reſolutions now I am here with you, which I had at *Breda*; and be-
'lieve that I owe my *being here*, to God's Bleſſing upon the Intentions
'and Reſolutions I then expreſs'd to have. I will read to you what I
'then ſaid:

'*And to the end that Fear of Puniſhment may not engage any, conſci-*
'*ous to themſelves of what is paſt, to a Perſeverence in Guilt for the fu-*
'*ture, by oppoſing the Quiet and Happineſs of their Country, in the Re-*
'*ſtoration both of King, Peers, and People, to their juſt, ancient and fun-*
'*damental Rights; We do by theſe Preſents declare, That we do grant a*
'*free and general Pardon, which we are ready, upon Demand, to paſs*
'*under our Great Seal of* England, *to all our Subjects of what Degree or*
'*Quality ſoever, who within forty Days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall*
'*lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and ſhall by any publick Act*
'*declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience*
'*of good Subjects; excepting only ſuch Perſons as ſhall hereafter be ex-*
'*cepted by Parliament.* Thoſe only excepted, *Let all our Subjects, how*
'*faulty ſoever, rely upon the Word of a King, ſolemnly given by this pre-*
'*ſent* Declaration, *That no Crime whatſoever committed againſt us, or*
'*our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judg-*
'*ment, or be brought in Queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt Inda-*
'*magement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, or, as*
'*far forth as lies in our Power, ſo much as to the Prejudice of their*
'Reputations, *by any Reproach, or* Terms of Diſtinction *from the reſt of*
'*our beſt Subjects; we deſiring, and ordaining, That henceforward all*
'Notes of Diſcord, Separation, *and* Difference of Parties, *be utterly a-*
'*boliſhed among all our Subjects; whom we invite and conjure to a per-*
'*fect Union among themſelves, under our Protection, for the Re-ſettle-*
'*ment of our juſt Rights, and theirs, in a* Free Parliament; *by which,*
'*upon the Word of a King, we will be adviſed.*

'*My Lords*, If you do not join with me in extinguiſhing this Fear,
'which keeps the Hearts of Men awake, and apprehenſive of Safety and
'Security; you keep Me from performing my Promiſe, which *if I had*
'*not made*, I am perſwaded neither I, nor you had been now here: I
'pray let us not deceive *thoſe* who brought, or permitted us to come
'together. I knew well there were ſome Men, who cou'd neither for-
'give themſelves, nor be forgiven by us; and I thank you for your Ju-
'ſtice towards thoſe, *the immediate Murtherers of my Father*: And I
'will deal truely with you, I never thought of excepting any *other*. I
'pray think well upon what I have offer'd, and the Benefit you and I
'have receiv'd from that Offer; and encourage and oblige all other Per-
'ſons, by not excluding them from the Benefit of this Act. This Mer-
'cy and Indulgence is the beſt Way to bring them to a true Repentance,
'and to make them more ſevere to themſelves, when they find we are
'not ſo to them. It will make them good Subjects to me, and good
'Friends and Neighbours to you; and we have then all our End, and

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'you ſhall find this the ſecureſt Expedient to prevent future Miſchief. 'Therefore I do earneſtly deſire and conjure you, to depart from all par- 'ticular Animoſities and Revenge, or Memory of paſt Provocations; 'and that you will paſs this Act without other Exceptions, than of thoſe '*who were immediately guilty of the Murther of my Father.*' Then, after a few Expreſſions of leſs Moment, and a Word or two concerning *Ireland*, he thus concluded: 'I do again conjure you, That you will 'uſe all Expedition in the Diſpatch of this Bill.

3. This Speech did not only expedite the Paſſing of this Act in the Houſe of Peers, but gave a general Satisfaction to the People, who were exceedingly eas'd in their Minds with the King's immoveable Care on the Behalf of all his Subjects. And ſhortly after, to prevent all Delays, and remove all Impediments, the King ſent a very obliging Meſſage, to be communicated to both Houſes in theſe Words: 'His Majeſty is well in- 'form'd of the Value of thoſe Conceſſions, which are to paſs in the Act 'of Indemnity, which relate entirely to his Majeſty's Profits, and which 'have little or no Relation to the War: He knows well that the Arrears 'of the Wars, the Alienations with Licenſe, Purveyance, Reſpite of 'Homage, the Arrears of the Rents ſtill in the Hands of the Tenants, 'and the other Particulars, amount to a vaſt great Sum; all which are 'releas'd and diſcharg'd by this Act. But his Majeſty is ſo well ſatisfy'd 'of the good Affection of the Houſe of Commons, and of their Inten- 'tions and Reſolutions to ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon his Majeſty, as 'may preſerve the Crown from Want, and from being undervalu'd by 'its Neighbours: That he is reſolv'd not to inſiſt upon any Particular, 'which the Houſe of Commons deſir'd his Majeſty ſhou'd releaſe; and 'therefore as his Majeſty thanks the Houſe of Peers for the Informati- 'on they have given him, and for the Care they have expreſs'd for his 'Majeſty's Profit, ſo he is well contented that that Clauſe ſhall paſs in 'ſuch a Manner as the Houſe of Commons have ſet down, and conti- 'nues his earneſt Deſires, that all Expedition be us'd in paſſing the ſaid 'Act in the Manner he hath formerly expreſs'd.' This ſeaſonable and condeſcending Meſſage did not only produce the hearty Thanks of the Houſe of Commons, but likewiſe a particular Order 'For the ſettling 'ſuch a Revenue on his Majeſty, as may maintain the Splendor and Gran- 'deur of the Kingly Office, *&c.*

He ſends an obliging Meſſage after it.

Nor was his Majeſty's Mind ſo intent upon this neceſſary Affair, as to neglect the other Concerns of Government: But obſerving, That the late Differences of his People had created many Animoſities among them, which occaſion'd frequent Duels, he thought fit to prevent the Miſchiefs of them by a Proclamation, by which he manifeſted ſo great a Diſlike of Duels, as 'Strictly to command all his Subjects whatſoever, neither by 'Themſelves nor any Other, by Meſſage, Word or Writing, or other 'Ways or Means to Challenge, or cauſe to be Challeng'd any Perſon or Per- 'ſons to fight in Duel, nor to carry, accept, nor conceal any Challenge, nor 'actually to fight, or be Second to any therein.' And he further declared, 'That every Perſon offending againſt his Commands herein, ſhou'd not only 'incurr his Diſpleaſure, but be incapable of holding any Office in his 'Service, and never after be permitted to come to Court or preferr'd, 'beſides the ſuffering ſuch Puniſhment as the Law ſhou'd inflict on ſuch 'Offenders: And all Perſons that ſhou'd accept or know of ſuch Chal- 'lenges, and not reveal the ſame to one of the Privy-Council, or the 'next Juſtice of Peace, ſhou'd be liable to the ſame Penalties.' And laſt of all, he was ſo ſtrict in the Matter, as to forbid '*any Interceſſion to be 'made for Offenders againſt this Proclamation.*

His Proclamation againſt Duels.

At

At the ſame Time the King took no leſs Care of the Benefit and Revenues of the Church, eſpecially with Relation to poor Vicarages and other Endowments, and wrote Letters to all the Biſhops, Deans and Chapters in the Kingdom, teſtifying his Will and Pleaſure, 'That no Leaſe 'be granted of any Rectory or Parſonage, belonging to any of them, or 'their Succeſſors, unleſs they firſt provided, That the reſpective Vicara- 'ges or Curates Places, where no Vicarages are endow'd, have ſo much 'Revenues in Glebe Lands, or other Emoluments, as commonly will a- 'mount to eighty Pounds *per Annum*; or more, if it will bear it: And 'where the Rectories are of ſmall Value, and cannot admit of ſuch Por- 'tion to the Vicar or Curate, that then one half of the Profits of ſuch 'Rectory be reſerv'd for the Maintenance of ſuch Vicar or Curate, *&c.* All which being communicated to the Houſe of Commons, new Thanks were return'd by them to his Majeſty, in which they particularly teſtify'd 'the great Joy they took in the Goodneſs and Favour he had expreſs'd 'to his People.' And after that proceeded to prepare ſuch a Bill as ſhou'd beſt anſwer his Majeſty's pious Intentions.

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His Care of the Church.

4. The great Act of Indemnity, in a ſhort Time, was ſent from the Lords to the Commons with ſeveral Alterations, to which the Commons were unwilling to agree: For the latter had ſubjected twenty, that were not the King's Judges, to be liable to ſuch Pains and Penalties, not extending to Life, as ſhou'd be inflicted by another Act to be paſs'd in this Parliament: Whereas the Lords finding the King's Inclination to tend towards the pardoning of all but ſuch as were his Father's Judges, or otherwiſe Actors in his Murder, they diſagreed to that Part of the Act, as to all thoſe nam'd by the Commons, except Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Colonel *John Lambert*, who were eſteem'd to be ſo maliciouſly active in Oppoſition to his Majeſty's Government, as to be excepted from any Conditions of Pardon. The Lords were more ſtrict as to the King's Judges, and thought none ought to be ſpared, even thoſe who had ſurrender'd themſelves upon the Proclamation; but the Commons were of Opinion that a Difference ought to be made between thoſe and the reſt. They for ſome Time adhered to their firſt Reſolutions; but after ſeveral free Conferences, Matters were ſo compromis'd, that they agreed with the Lords in all Things, except ſome little Alterations to their Form of the Act: *Vane* and *Lambert* were excepted as to Life and Eſtate, but *Haſlerigg* remain'd liable to ſuch Pains, Penalties and Forfeitures, as ſhou'd be inflicted on him, not extending to Life; and the reſt of thoſe, put under the ſame Qualification by the Commons that were not of the King's Judges, were with others made only incapable of Offices, *&c.* The Favour ſhewn to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* was chiefly owing to General *Monk*, who in the Beginning of the Reſtoration, being unwilling to make a Man deſperate, who had two Regiments at his Command, had promis'd him upon his Submiſſion, to ſecure both his Life and Eſtate. This being made known in a Conference by the Houſe of Commons, was juſtify'd with great Modeſty by the General in the Houſe of Peers, and his Life was thereupon pardon'd in the Act, and ſhortly after his Eſtate alſo was, at the Mediation of the General, granted to his Heir, a Perſon averſe to his Father's Principles: Sir *Arthur* himſelf, a while after his Impriſonment, dying of a Feaver in the *Tower*.

The Lords and Commons agree about the Act of INDEMNITY.

At the laſt Conference between the Lords and Commons, Chancellor *Hyde* took Occaſion to ſpeak of the King's Affection to his People by a very remarkable Inſtance, affirming, 'That he, being employ'd in a ſo- 'lemn

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'lemn Embaſſy to the Court of *Spain*, had it ſtrictly given him in Charge 'by his preſent Majeſty, to avow and declare, *That the horrid Murther* 'of his Royal Father was not the Act of the Parliament, or the People 'of England, *but of a very wretched, and a very little Company of Miſ-* 'creants in this Kingdom.' This was ſo very pleaſing and obliging to the Houſe of Commons, that upon the Report of it to them, they order'd ſuch of the Privy-Council as were Members of that Houſe, 'That they 'preſent to his Majeſty the humble, hearty and thankful Senſe this 'Houſe hath of his Majeſty's Juſtice and Favour, in making this juſt De- 'fence for the Parliament, and People of *England*.' And within a few 'Days after, they compleated the much deſired Act of Indemnity.

The Subſtance of the ACT.

The Act was large and very extenſive, and ſuch as was moſt likely to compoſe the Minds of a divided and diſtracted People, and to give Eaſe and Quiet to various and innumerable Criminals. One healing Clauſe was, 'That if any Perſon objected againſt another any Words of Reproach, 'tending to revive the Memory of the late Differences, he ſhou'd pay 'ten Pounds, if a Gentleman, and forty Shillings, if one of a more infe- 'rior Degree. As to the Exceptions, the Act gave no Benefit to *Row*, '*Garland*, *Harvey*, *Smith*, *Martin*, *Waller*, *Titchburn*, *Fleetwood*, *J.* '*Temple*, *Wait*, *Mein*, *Haveningham*, *Pennington*, *P. Temple*, *Lilburn*, '*Millington*, *Potter*, *Wogan*, *Downs*, *Scroop*, *Liſle*, *Say*, *Walton*, *Har-* 'riſon, *Whally*, *Barkſteed*, *Ludlow*, *Liveſey*, *Okey*, *Hewſon*, *Goffe*, '*Holland*, *Challoner*, *Carew*, *Jones*, *Corbet*, *Clement*, *Scott*, *Cawley*, '*Love*, *Dixwell*, *Blagrave*, *Cook*, *Broughton*, *Dendy*, *Hewlett*, *Peters*, '*Hacker*, *Axtell*, or any of them; nor to thoſe two diſguis'd upon the 'Scaffold the 30th of *January* 1648.' All which Perſons, for being inſtrumental in the Murther of the late King, are wholly excluded: But in regard the nineteen firſt-mention'd had render'd themſelves according to the Proclamation of the 6th of *June*, and thereby pretended to ſome Favour, it was enacted, 'That if the ſaid *Row*, and the reſt ſo firſt men- 'tion'd, are attainted, their Execution ſhou'd be ſuſpended, untill the 'King and Parliament ſhou'd order the ſame.' Only Mr. *Scroop*, for vindicating his Crime, was again excepted. 'Next, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, '*Bradſhaw*, and *Pride*, though dead, were excepted, and the Lands and 'Goods, Rights and Truſts of them, and one and twenty others deceas'd, '*viz. Ewer*, *Danvers*, *Maleverer*, *Purefoy*, *Blakeſtone*, *Conſtable*, '*Dean*, *Allen*, *Pelham*, *Moor*, *Alred*, *Edwards*, *Norton*, *Ven*, *Andrews*, '*Stapely*, *Horton*, *Fry*, *Hammond*, *Skippon* and *Bouchier*, were made 'ſubject to ſuch Penalties and Forfeitures as by another Act to be paſs'd 'ſhou'd be ordain'd. Moreover, *Mounſon*, *Mildmay*, *Harrington* and '*Wallop*, as not having ſign'd the Warrant for the Execution of the King, 'were reſerv'd to future Penalties and Forfeitures, not extending to Life. '*Phelps* and *Haſterigg* were put into the ſame Condition. *Hut-* 'chinſon and *Laſſels*, were made incapable to execute any Place of Truſt, 'and to pay one Year's Value by Way of Fine. *Oliver* St. *John*, and 'ſeventeen others nam'd in the Act, were to be excluded from any Be- 'nefit by this Act, if they accepted or executed any Office in *England*, 'either Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military. And all that had given Sen- 'tence of Death in any of the late illegal High-Courts of Juſtice, except 'Colonel *Ingoldsby*, and Colonel *Thomlinſon*, were diſabled from being 'Members in any Parliament, or bearing any Office in *England* or *Wales*. 'Laſtly, no Perſons were to be indemnify'd who had enter'd into any 'Lands, *&c.* called *Fabrick Lands*, or poſſeſs'd themſelves of any Rents or 'Revenues given for the Repair of any Cathedral or any other Church, 'or who had ſacrilegiouſly enrich'd themſelves by the converting of the 'Plate, Utenſils, and Materials belonging to ſuch Churches, to their pri-

'vate

'vate Uſe.' After all we muſt not forget that Sir *Henry Vane* and *John Lambert* were intirely excepted out of the Act. 1660.

With this, ſome other Acts were prepar'd for the Royal Aſſent, particularly One *for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings*; which was likewiſe a very healing Act, and highly neceſſary at this Juncture; ſince without this, beſides other Inconveniencies, there muſt have been ſo great a Concuſſion in moſt Mens Eſtates, as wou'd have render'd them ſubject to perpetual Difficulties and Uncertainties. By this All Proceedings in Law, Equity, *&c.* ſince the firſt of *May* 1642, were confirm'd, notwithſtanding any Defect of Legal Power, or Difference in Stile or Title; but ſtill with ſome Reſtrictions, eſpecially as to Crown and Church Lands, where no Purchaſers cou'd pretend or expect to have a Right. A Third was an *Act for a Proviſion of Mony to pay off the Armies and Navy*, which was by an extraordinary Poll, that variouſly comprehended Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions. The Fourth was an *Act for reſtraining the taking of exceſſive Uſury*, which makes it highly penal to any that ſhou'd take above ſix Pounds for the Loan of a hundred Pounds for a Year, and to any Scrivener or Broaker that ſhou'd take above five Shillings for the ſame, or above twelve Pence for the making or renewing a Bond or Bill. The laſt publick Act was *for a perpetual Anniverſary Thankſgiving on the twenty ninth Day of* May, the Day of his Majeſty's Nativity and Reſtoration. Car. 14 Reſ. 1. *Other Acts.*

Theſe Acts being ready, the King on the 29th of *Auguſt* paſs'd them, with the following Speech to both Houſes: 'My *Lords, and Gentlemen* 'of *the Houſe of Commons*, I have been here ſome times before with you, 'but never with more Willingneſs, than I am at this Time. And there 'are few Men in the Kingdom have longed more impatiently to have thoſe 'Bills paſs'd, than I have done to paſs them; and I hope they will be the 'Foundation of Peace and Security to us all. I do very willingly pardon 'all that is pardon'd by this Act of *Indemnity*, to that Time which is 'mention'd in the Bill: Nay, I will tell you, That from that Time to 'this Day, I will not uſe great Severity, except in ſuch Caſes where the 'Malice is notorious, and the Publick Peace exceedingly concern'd. But 'for the Time to come, the ſame Diſcretion and Conſcience, which 'diſpos'd me to the Clemency I have expreſs'd (which is moſt agreeable 'to my Nature) will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contra'ry ſoever it be to my Nature, towards thoſe who ſhall not now acqui'eſce, but continue to manifeſt their Sedition and Diſlike of the Govern'ment, either in Actions or Words. And I muſt conjure you all, *my 'Lords and Gentlemen*, to concurr with me in this juſt and neceſſary Se'verity; and that you will, in your ſeveral Stations, be ſo jealous of the 'Publick Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cauſe ex'emplary Juſtice upon thoſe who are guilty of ſeditious Speeches or 'Writings, as well as thoſe who break out into ſeditious Actions: And 'that you will believe thoſe who delight in reproaching and traducing '*My Perſon*, not to be well affected to *You* and the *Publick Peace*. Ne'ver King valu'd himſelf more upon the Affections of his People than I 'do: Nor do I know a better way to make my ſelf ſure of your Affe'ctions, than by being juſt and kind to you all: And whilſt I am ſo, I 'pray let the World ſee, *That I am poſſeſs'd of your Affections*. For your '*Poll-Bill*, I thank you as much as if the Mony were to come into my 'own Coffers; and wiſh with all my Heart that it may amount to as great 'a Sum as you reckon upon. —— I pray very earneſtly, as faſt as Mony 'comes in, diſcharge that great Burthen of the Navy, and disband the 'Army as faſt as you can; and till you can disband the reſt, make a Pro'viſion for their Supply. I do conjure you, as you love me, let me not 'hear *The King's Speech at his paſſing them.*

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'hear the Noiſe of *Free Quarter*, which will be imputed to my want of 'Care and Government, how innocent ſoever I am. I am ſo confident 'of your Affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immedi-'ately relates to my ſelf: And yet I muſt tell you, That I am not richer, 'that is, I have not ſo much Mony in my Purſe, as when I came to you. 'The Truth is, I have liv'd principally ever ſince upon what I brought 'with me, which was indeed your Mony: You ſent it to me, and I 'thank you for it. The weekly Expence of the Navy eats up all you 'have given me by the Bill of *Tonnage and Poundage:* Nor have I been 'able to give my Brothers one Shilling ſince I came into *England*, nor 'to keep any Table in my Houſe but where I eat my ſelf. And that 'which troubles me moſt, is, to ſee many of you come to me at *White-'hall*, and to think you muſt go ſome where elſe to ſeek a Dinner. I 'do not mention this to you, as any thing that troubles me: Do but take 'Care of the Publick, and for what is neceſſary for the *Peace* and *Quiet* 'of the Kingdom, and take your own Time for my *own Particular*; 'which I am ſure you will provide for with as much Affection and Frank-'neſs as I can deſire.

Part of the Speaker's Speech.

At the ſame Time a long Speech was made by the Speaker, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, who diſcourſing upon the ſeveral Bills preſented to the King, upon the Act of Indemnity, he has theſe Words: 'There is ano-'ther Bill intituled, *An Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and 'Oblivion:* It may well be call'd a *free Pardon*; for your Majeſty was 'pleas'd to offer it before we had Confidence enough to ask it, and at a 'Time when your People had moſt need of it; and it may as truly be 'called a *General Pardon* in reſpect of the Extenſiveneſs of it. But 'looking over a long, black, prodigious, diſmal Roll and Catalogue of 'Malefactors, we there met not with Men, but with Monſters, guilty of 'Blood, precious Blood, precious Royal Blood, never to be remember'd 'without Tears; incomparable in all kinds of Villanies that ever were 'acted by the worſt of Miſcreants, Perverters of Religion, Subverters 'of the Government, Falſe to God, Diſloyal to the beſt of Kings, and 'Perfidious to their Country. And therefore we find an abſolute and 'indiſpenſible Neceſſity incumbent on us, to except and ſet ſome apart 'for an *Antidote* to expel the Poiſon of Sin and Rebellion out of others, 'and that they may be made *Sacrifices* to appeaſe God's Wrath, and ſa-'tisfy Divine Vengeance.'

The Commons Care in ſettling the Revenues of the Crown.

5. The Parliament underſtanding from the King that they were to have a Receſs after the 13th of the next Month, proceeded with all Vigour to compleat ſome Bills under Conſideration. That which was of moſt immediate Importance, was a Bill for the ſpeedy disbanding the Army and Garriſons, upon which they were very intent. The next was the Eſtabliſhment of the Revenues of the Crown; and underſtanding the preſent Wants of the Royal Family, they began with a Preſent of ten Thouſand Pounds to the Duke of *York*, and another of ſeven Thouſand to the Duke of *Gloceſter*. They conſider'd that the Misfortunes of the late King, and the conſequent Miſeries, were originally owing to his Want of Mony; and therefore they particularly examin'd into that Matter. They found the Total of the Revenue which came unto his late Majeſty, amounted from the Year 1637 to the Year 1641 incluſive, *communibus Annis*, unto 895819 Pounds; whereof 210493 Pounds did ariſe by Payment partly not warranted by Law, and partly expired: And that the Expences of his late Majeſty's Government did amount, *communibus Annis*, to about 200000 Pounds a Year above the Receipt; in which Computation the Incomes ariſing by *Ship-Mony* are not comprehended. Next, they found

found that the preſent Revenue of his now Majeſty, by the additional Compoſition for the *Court of Wards*, may be computed at 819389 Pounds, or thereabouts; which Revenue they thought too little for the Support and Dignity of the Crown of *England*; therefore they reſolv'd to make a very conſiderable Addition. 1660. Car. 12 Reſ. 1.

But before they cou'd compleat that Matter, having prepared ſeven or eight publick Bills for the Royal Aſſent, on the 13th of *September* his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers and paſs'd them all. What they were, and the Nature of them, will appear from the Speaker's Speech, as following, ‘ *Sir*, the Royal Favour and Fatherly Kindneſs unto your People, ‘ hath naturaliz'd their Affections to your Perſon, and their Obedience ‘ to your Precepts: And as it is their Duty, ſo it is their Deſire to ma- ‘ niſeſt and evidence the Truth and Reality thereof, by ſupporting and ‘ upholding that Grandeur and Splendor which is due to the Majeſty of ‘ ſo meritorious a Prince as your ſelf; and therefore they have reſolv'd, ‘ *uno Flatû* and *Nemine Contradicente*, to make up your Majeſty's con- ‘ ſtant and ordinary Revenue twelve hundred thouſand Pounds *per An- ‘ num.* But finding as to ſome Part of the Settlement of that Revenue, ‘ there will be a Neceſſity of making uſe of the Legiſlative Power; and ‘ that the Bills brought into the Houſe for that Purpoſe cannot poſſibly ‘ be made ready for your Royal Aſſent, until the next Meeting of your ‘ Houſes again, therefore they have taken your Majeſty's preſent Supply ‘ into their Conſideration; and firſt how to raiſe it in the moſt expeditious ‘ way to anſwer your preſent Occaſions. They have wrapt up their Af- ‘ fections to your Majeſty, and the Truſt repoſed in them by the People, ‘ in one of theſe Bills here in my Hand, intituled, *An Act for the ſpee- ‘ dy raiſing of a hundred thouſand Pounds for a preſent Supply*, to be le- ‘ vy'd by way of Land-Tax within the Space of one Month.---- *Sir*, they ‘ have likewiſe paſs'd another Bill with Rules and Inſtructions how to im- ‘ power and direct your Commiſſioners in what manner *to disband your ‘ Army and Garriſons, and to pay off ſome Part of your Fleet*, and to begin ‘ with thoſe Ships now in Harbour. But not knowing for certain whe- ‘ ther the Monies upon the *Poll-Bill*, which is deſigned for that Pur- ‘ poſe, will be ſufficient to defray that Charge; and being unwilling that ‘ any thing ſhould be wanting on their Parts to perfect ſo good a Work, ‘ ſo acceptable to your Majeſty, and ſo grateful to all your People, they ‘ have paſs'd another *Act for raiſing a hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, ‘ at ſeventy thouſand Pounds* per Menſem, to begin the firſt of *Novem- ‘ ber.* —— *Sir*, there are other Bills likewiſe which wait and attend for ‘ your Royal Aſſent; one entituled, *An Act for regulating the Bay ‘ Trade*, which is the only way to keep up the Credit of that which is now ‘ in ſome Danger to be loſt: When the Credit of Trade begins to de- ‘ cline, the Trade it ſelf decays with it, and is never long liv'd after ‘ it.---- *Sir*, there is another Bill intitled, *An Act for encouraging and ‘ encreaſing Shipping and Navigation*; which will enable your Majeſty to ‘ give Laws to foreign Princes abroad, as your Royal Predeceſſors have ‘ done before you.----- *Sir*, there is another Bill entitled, *An Act for re- ‘ ſtoring ſome Miniſters into their Places*, out of which they have been ‘ long and injuriouſly ejected and expos'd, *and for confirming others in ‘ vacant Places*. Crazy Titles need your Majeſty's Help, as much as ‘ crazy Bodies need the Help of a Phyſician: And what your Majeſty ‘ hath already done in that kind to this Parliament, and what you are now ‘ about to do, and what you have ever expreſs'd your Readineſs in, if ‘ we cou'd be as ready as your Majeſty is to give, we hope to baniſh all ‘ Fears and Jealouſies out of Mens Minds for the future, and teach them ‘ with much Confidence and Contentedneſs to reſt, and wholly rely up- ‘ on your Majeſty's Grace and Goodneſs, for what may be thought fur- ‘ ther

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

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The King's Speech at paſſing ſeveral Bills.

'ther neceſſary to be done hereafter, when a fitting Opportunity ſhall 'be offer'd at the next Meeting of your Houſes of Parliament.'---

In the paſſing of theſe, and about fourteen private Bills, which related chiefly to the reſtoring of ſome Perſons to their Eſtates, his Majeſty made this following Speech: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, If my Preſence here 'had not been requiſite for the paſſing of theſe many Bills, I did always 'intend to ſee you together before your Adjournment, that I may again 'thank you for the many good things you have done for Me and the 'Kingdom: And in truth, I do thank you more for what you have done 'for the *Publick*, than what you have done for my *Own Particular*; and 'yet I do thank you for that with all my Heart. But I confeſs to you, I 'do thank you more for the Proviſion you have made to prevent *Free* '*Quarter*, during the Time the Army ſhall be disbanded, which I take 'to be given for my Satisfaction, than I do for the Preſent you have 'made me for my own particular Occaſions. And I do promiſe you, 'which is the beſt way I can take to gratify you, I will not apply one 'Penny of that Mony to my own particular Occaſions, what Shift ſoe-'ver I make, till it is evident to me that the Publick will not ſtand in 'need of it; and if it do, every Penny of it ſhall be disburs'd that 'way, and I dare ſay I ſhall not be the poorer for it. I cannot but take 'Notice of one particular Bill I have paſs'd, which may ſeem of an ex-'traordinary Nature [*An Act for reſtoring the Marqueſs of* Hertford *to* '*the Dukedom of* Somerſet.] But you all know it is for an extraordinary 'Perſon, who hath merited ſo much of the King my Father, and my 'ſelf, as a Subject can do: And I am none of thoſe who think, *That Sub-'jects, by performing their Duties in an extraordinary Manner, do not* '*oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary Manner*. There 'can be no Danger from ſuch a Precedent; and I hope no Man will en-'vy him, becauſe I have done what a good Maſter ſhould do to ſuch a 'Servant. *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I will not deny to you, That I had 'ſome Inclination, when I conſented to your Deſire for your Receſs, to 'have made a *Seſſion*, which I thought moſt agreeable to the ancient Or-'der of Parliaments; and I hope you will joyn with me in reducing of 'Parliaments to their ancient Rules and Orders, the Deviation from 'which hath done us no Good. And I think there were never ſo many 'Bills paſs'd as I have this Day, without a *Seſſion:* But upon the Deſire, 'and Reaſons given by the Houſe of Commons, for an *Adjournment*, 'without a *Seſſion*, I do very willingly part from that Inclination, and 'do as willingly give you Leave, and direct you to *adjourn* your ſelves 'to the Sixth of *November*, when I hope you will meet again: And in 'the mean Time that you will be welcome to your Countries, and do 'much Service.'

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

After which his Majeſty referr'd to the Lord Chancellor to ſpeak of many other things which he had to recommend to them: For in the Time of their Receſs, the Army was to be daily disbanding; of which many ſuſpicious Diſcourſes had been ſpread abroad by diſaffected Perſons: Some ſaid the King wou'd keep them up; and others, that they wou'd not ſuffer themſelves to be disbanded. And tho' an Act was paſs'd to confirm Miniſters, yet farther Order was to be taken in Reference to Church Government, and particularly in reſpect to tender Conſciences; as alſo about Purchaſes and Sales of Publick Lands, which had, without Iſſue, much taken up the Time of both Houſes. And therefore ſince the Parliament was to adjourn before theſe Matters were effected, it was expedient to ſatisfy the People with the King's generous Intentions in theſe and other Affairs. Accordingly the Lord Chancellor diſplay'd his Eloquence in a long Speech, conſiſting of Variety of Subjects, principally tending to the compoſing and healing of all former Differences. As to the

the Army, he told them, ‘ That his Majeſty cou'd not take it unkindly ‘ at their Hands who thought he wou'd not disband them: It was a ſober ‘ and rational Jealouſy; ſince no other Prince in *Europe* cou'd be willing ‘ to disband ſuch an Army, every Way ſo valuable, *&c.*' But what he alledg'd, as the greateſt Felicity to a diſtracted Nation, was the *Act of Indemnity*; in which he particularly inſiſted upon that moſt charitable Clauſe, ‘ That made it penal to any Perſons, who within three Years, ‘ ſhou'd maliciouſly call, or object againſt others any *Name* or *Words of* ‘ *Reproach*, any Ways tending to revive the Memory of the late Diffe- ‘ rences.' Nay farther, he let them know, ‘ That even evil and envi- ‘ ous Looks, murmuring and diſcontented Hearts, were directly againſt ‘ the *Equity* of the Statute, and, as far as they were diſcover'd, ſhou'd ‘ be ſo eſteem'd by his Majeſty.' Therefore he conjured them from the King, ‘ to joyn with Him in reſtoring the whole Nation to its primitive ‘ Temper, and Integrity, to its old Good Manners, to its old Good Hu- ‘ mour, and its old Good Nature: *Good Nature*, a Virtue ſo peculiar to ‘ Them, ſo appropriated by God Almighty to this Nation, that it can be ‘ tranſlated into no other Language, hardly practis'd by any other Peo- ‘ ple.' After this he put them in Mind of the neceſſary Severity that ought to be us'd towards ſuch as ſhall ſtill continue to widen the Brea- ches; but likewiſe told them, ‘ That too much Ill cou'd not befal Thoſe, ‘ who did the beſt they cou'd to corrupt his Majeſty's Nature, and to extin- ‘ guiſh his Mercy.' The whole conſiſted of great Variety, and was fill'd with ſuch generous and healing Sentences, as were agreeable to the beſt of Kings, and beſt of Miniſters; and concluded in theſe Words, ‘ Be but ‘ pleas'd your ſelves, and perſwade others to be ſo; contrive all the ‘ Ways imaginable for your own Happineſs, and you will make his ‘ Majeſty the beſt pleas'd and the moſt happy Prince in the World.

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Upon finiſhing this Speech the King retired, and both Houſes of Parliament adjourn'd themſelves to the ſixth Day of *November*, after they had ſat four Months and eighteen Days, from their firſt Meeting, and three Months and fourteen Days from the King's Arrival; in which Time they compleated as much Buſineſs, as cou'd poſſibly be expected, in this great Exigency of Affairs.

The Parliament adjourn'd for near two Months.

Tryal of the Regicides. *Ludlow. Heath. Philips. Sandford. MSS.*

III. 1. During the Time of the Parliament's Receſs, which continu'd almoſt two Months, while Joy and Triumphs ſtill appear'd in every Place, a darker Scene began to open, and the Divine Vengeance took Place againſt the moſt notorious Murderers of his Majeſty's Royal Father. The Judges, Officers, and other immediate Actors in that bloody Tragedy, were in Number about Fourſcore; of whom four or five and twenty were dead, and gone to receive the Judgment of Heaven; eighteen or nineteen were fled from Juſtice; about ſeven, who were thought to have ſinn'd with leſs Malice, without Tryal had their Lives ſpared: and twenty nine were reſerv'd for preſent Tryal and Judgment, namely, *Waller*, *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Cook*, *Peters*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scroop*, *Jones*, *Hacker*, *Axtel*, *Heveningham*, *Marten*, *Millington*, *Tichborn*, *Roe*, *Lilburn*, *Harvey*, *Pennington*, *Smith*, *Downs*, *Potter*, *Garland*, *Fleetwood*, *Meyn*, *J. Temple*, *P. Temple*, *Howlet* and *Waite*. For the Tryal of theſe the King appointed an extraordinary Bench of Commiſſioners, conſiſting of the beſt and moſt able of the Nobility, Judges, Lawyers and Gentlemen, to ſit at the *Old-Baily*, and determine the whole with the higheſt Decency and Solemnity. They conſiſted of thirty four in Number, namely, Sir *Thomas Allen*, Lord-Mayor of *London*, Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Earl of *Barkſhire*, the Earl of *Sandwich*,

Twenty nine Regicides try'd.

The Judges and Witneſſes, &c.

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wich, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *Finch*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Charles Barkley*, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Mr. *Arthur Anneſley*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Juſtice *Foſter*, Mr. Juſtice *Mallet*, Mr. Juſtice *Hyde*, Mr. Baron *Atkins*, Mr. Juſtice *Twiſden*, Mr. Juſtice *Tyrrel*, Mr. Baron *Turner*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Sir *William Wild* Recorder of *London*, Mr. Serjeant *Brown*, Mr. Serjeant *Hale*, and Mr. *John Howel*. The Proſecutors in Behalf of the King were Sir *Jeffery Palmer* Attorney-General, Sir *Heneage Finch* Sollicitor-General, Sir *Edward Turner* Attorney to the Duke of *York*, Serjeant *Keeling*, Mr. *Wadham Windham*, and Mr. *Edward Shelton* Clerk of the Crown. As the Bench conſiſted of ſeveral who had been great Promoters of that Cauſe which ruin'd the late King, ſo were ſeveral of the Witneſſes of the ſame Stamp, ſuch as Mr. *Maſterſon*, Colonel *Hunks*, Colonel *Tomlinſon*, Mr. *John Ruſhworth*, Mr. *William Lenthal*, Mr. *Anthony Mildmay*, &c.

All the Commiſſioners being met on the 9th Day of *October*, the Grand Jury was ſworn, which conſiſted of Baronets, Knights, and Gentlemen of the beſt Rank. Which done, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, who ſat as principal Judge, in a long and learned Charge, clearly open'd and ſtated the whole Matter to them: He told them, after a proper Introduction,

The Subſtance of Bridgman's *Speech.*

'That he muſt deliver to them for plain and true Law, *That no Authority, no ſingle Perſon, no Community of Perſons, not the People Collectively, or Repreſentatively, had any coercive Power over the King of* England.' He ſhew'd them by the Common and Statute Law, '*That the King was not only the Head of the* People, *but the Head of the* Common-Wealth, *the* Three Eſtates *of the Realm*. All which was agreeable to the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*; which Oaths, all Men who enter'd into the Parliament Houſe, were oblig'd to take. Now for a few Members of the Houſe of Commons, who had taken theſe Oaths, and by them ſtood oblig'd to defend the King againſt all Attempts againſt his Perſon, Crown and Dignity; for a few Members, not an eighth Part of the Houſe, to aſſume to Themſelves an Authority to make Laws, to erect an *High Court of Juſtice*, and to take away the Life of their Sovereign; a King, that had not only redreſs'd all Grievances in the Beginning of the Parliament, as the *Star-Chamber*, *High Commiſſion* Court, *Ship-Mony*, &c. but had afterwards made ſuch *Conceſſions* in the *Iſle of Wight*, as were more than the People cou'd deſire.—When theſe few Commons, not only without, but excluding the reſt of the Commons, and likewiſe rejecting all the Lords, ſhall take upon them this Authority, and, by Colour of this, ſentence to Death their Sovereign Liege Lord, and, *as King*, put him to Death before his own Royal Palace at Noon Day; it was ſuch an Aggravation of Villany, that no Words cou'd expreſs it: No Story in any Romance, or invented Tragedy, cou'd produce the like. Therefore, for any of theſe Criminals to ſhelter themſelves under this pretended mock Authority, was ſo far from being an Excuſe, that it was the Height of Aggravation.'

The Criminals indicted.

The Criminals being put upon their Tryal the next Day, and their Indictment read, two only pleaded Guilty, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, and Mr. *George Fleetwood*. The reſt pleaded *Not guilty*; tho' ſeveral of them for the while trifled with the Court: Particularly *Harriſon*, after Uſeleſs Evaſions, ſaid, *He wou'd be try'd according to the Laws of the Lord*; and when they told him the neceſſary Form was *By God and the Country*, he ſaid, *They were vain Words*. *Harry Martin* pleaded, 'That he was not 'excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, the Perſon there mention'd being *Henry*, not *Harry*, which was his real Name;' but the Court inform'd him, 'That a Miſnomer in this Caſe was not pleadable.' *Carew* put himſelf

ſelf upon his Tryal, with this ſtrange Salvo, *Saving to our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *his Right to the Government of theſe Nations.* *Axtel* for a while ſtood mute; and after the Court had convinc'd him of the Danger of it, and put him upon the Form of *God and the Country*, he anſwer'd, *That is not lawful; God is not locally here.* *Hugh Peters* declar'd, *He wou'd not for ten Thouſand Worlds ſay he was guilty*; and ſo deſir'd to be try'd *by the Word of God*; which he of all Men had ſo ſcandalouſly abus'd, that it produc'd a loud Laughter in the Court. 1660 Car. 12 Reſ. 1.

2. The Forms of Indictment being over, the next Day began with the Tryal of *Thomas Harriſon*, not long ſince call'd Major-General *Harriſon*, an inveterate Man, and moſt deeply engag'd. He was charg'd not only with ſitting as a Judge upon the late King, but with bringing him Priſoner to *London*, and treating him rudely, and, as a particular Aggravation, with ſaying to thoſe who drew up his Charge, *Gentlemen, it will be good for us to* Blacken *him what we can*; *pray let us* Blacken *him!* The Priſoner began his Defence by a ſurprizing Argumentation, 'from 'the Notoriety of the Fact, *That it was not done in a Corner*; That 'he believ'd God was with his Servants in thoſe Days, however it ſeem'd 'good to him to ſuffer this *Turn* to come upon them: That he had with 'Prayers and Tears deſired to know the Mind of God in it; but he had 'received no Conviction of the Evil of it, but rather Aſſurance: He 'profeſs'd the Harmleſſneſs of his Nature to Man, Woman and Child: 'That he follow'd not his own Judgment, but his Conſcience to the 'Lord: That divers of thoſe upon the Bench were formerly as active in 'the ſame *Cauſe:* That he had ſuffer'd Impriſonment, becauſe he wou'd 'not turn aſide from the *Cauſe* to *Cromwell*, and refus'd the Temptation 'of ſitting at his Right Hand: That what he had done, was by Autho-'rity of Parliament; and that neither this, nor any other inferior Court, 'had any Cognizance or Juriſdiction on That: and therefore they cou'd 'not queſtion Him that acted in Obedience to that Authority; *and that 'he did act in the Fear of the Lord.*' Hereupon the Court and Audience were amaz'd, and cry'd out, *Away with him, for he made God the Author of his Treaſons and Murders!* And as to his pretended Authority, by which he warranted his Actions, it was anſwer'd, 'That the King and 'Lords cou'd not do any Thing without the Commons, nor the King 'and Commons without the Lords, nor the Lords and Commons without 'the King; and for the Priſoner to excuſe, nay, juſtify himſelf, upon 'Pretence of being impower'd by one Houſe, nay the eighth Part of a 'Houſe, to condemn their King, whom no Authority upon Earth cou'd 'call in Queſtion, and without Whom both Houſes together cou'd not 'take away the meaneſt Subject's Life, deſerv'd not only Reproof, but 'immediate Sentence.' They told him, 'That this Diſcourſe was to 'infect the People;' and Sir *Edward Turner* added, *That he had the Plague all over him.* So the whole Court unanimouſly and ſeverally rejected that treaſonable Tenet of an Authority in both or either Houſes without the King, and over-rul'd that Plea. At which *Harriſon* deſired Counſel; and after ſome Interlocutions, he began a Diſcourſe of the War; the King's ſetting up his Standard againſt his People, and ſhedding of innocent Blood: And being interrupted there, avouching the ſame Authority, he profeſs'd his Abhorrence of blackening the King; and equivocated with his bringing him Priſoner from *Hurſt-Caſtle*, ſince he was commanded to do it from the General. At laſt he urg'd his Unpreparation for his Tryal, being ſix Months a cloſe Priſoner; but that he had ſome Acts of Parliament to produce to his Juſtification, and ſo concluded. Judgment being demanded, the Jury pronounc'd him guilty, without ſtirring from the Place; and Sentence of Execution was paſs'd upon him. Harriſon's Tryal.

Ludlow

1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1. *Ludlow* mentions two Particulars, not to be found in the printed Tryals: The first, the Truth of which is much doubted, was, that the Executioner in an ugly Dress, with a Halter in his Hand, was plac'd near the Prisoner, and continu'd there during the whole Time of the Tryal. The other was, That after Sentence had been pronounc'd against him, he said aloud as he was withdrawing from the Court, *That he had no Reason to be asham'd of the Cause in which he had been engag'd.* But whether this be to the Advantage of the Prisoner, is left to the Judgment of the Reader.

Scroop's *Tryal.* The next that was set to the Bar was Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, who was convicted by the same Evidence of sitting as Judge in the *High Court of Justice*, and signing the Warrant for the Execution of the late King; as also by the Testimony of Sir *Richard Brown*, the Lord-Mayor Elect, who said, 'That since the Return of the King, in some accidental Conference, he seem'd to allow and approve of the Fact, by saying, *Many People did not think it such a heinous Matter; and that some be of one Mind, and some of another:*' Which he deny'd now to have expresly said; but bewail'd the Misfortune of that Encounter with Sir *Richard*; 'For whereas before, he was not excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, the very last Day it pass'd he was, by that Means, even then excepted. He justify'd that Authority, and the Fact committed by that Authority, but not the Person; protesting he had no Malice against the King, and that it was an Error of Judgment, not of his Will; and that he saw a great many Faces at this Time that were mis-led as well as himself: That he really took the Parliament's Authority for valid.' But being over-rul'd in that Plea, according to the preceding Tryal, he acquainted the Jury, 'That he lay under a great Prejudice by the Fact, and desired them to consider his Case as they wou'd their own; and hinted at the Benefit of the Proclamation.' He had more of the Port and Language of a Gentleman than any of the rest of the King's Judges; and tho' he was found guilty, yet it is justly believ'd that he wou'd have escap'd with Life, had not his Crime been aggravated by the particular Testimony of Sir *Richard Brown*.

Carew's *Tryal.* Mr. *John Carew* was next brought to the Bar, who being charg'd with sitting as a Judge, and signing the bloody Warrant for the Murder of the King, he fell into the like Discourse with *Harrison*, declaring, 'That he was so far from acting with a traiterous and malicious Heart; that what he did was in the Fear of the Lord, and in Obedience to his holy and righteous Laws; and next in Obedience to that which was the Supream Authority of the Nation; which having been controverted in the Face of the whole World, the Lord had given an Answer upon solemn Appeals to these Things.' The Court interrupted him, and the Lord Chief Baron bad him remember, *That the Devil sometimes appear'd in the Habit of an Angel of Light.* Others charg'd him with sowing Sedition, and the Solicitor told him, 'Tho' he pretended Conscience, and the Fear of the Lord, all the World knew he did it against the Law of the Lord, his own Conscience, the Light of Nature, and the Laws of the Land, against the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* which he himself had taken.' He still insisted upon the Power and Authority of the Parliament, and so left it with the Jury, who without removing from the Bar brought him in guilty.

Scot's *Tryal.* Mr. *Thomas Scot* being the next at the Bar, the same Witnesses were produc'd in all Things as the former, concerning his sitting and signing the Warrant for Execution: But some Things were added by Way of aggravation; particularly it was sworn, 'That he was so far from repenting of the Act, that in open Parliament he desired that upon his Tomb-Stone

'Stone he might have this Inſcription, *Here lies* Thomas Scot, *who ad-* 1660.
'*judg'd to Death the late King.* And afterwards, upon the Diſſolution
'of the Parliament, he in the Houſe added theſe Words, *Since it is your* Car. 12
'*Pleaſure to have it ſo, I know not how to hinder it; but when* Reſ. 1.
'*that is done, I know not where to hide this* Hated Head *of*
'*mine.*' The Priſoner was very bold in his Defence, and declared 'That
'he was not to anſwer for Words ſpoken in Parliament; and that it was
'a high Breach of Priviledge.' To which he was anſwer'd, 'That there
'cou'd be no Priviledge of Parliament for Treaſon, nor Felony neither.'
Then he flew to the Authority of the Commons in Parliament, and in-
ſiſted 'It was a Parliament, and that that Court had no Cognizance to
'declare whether it was a Parliament or not.' To this he was anſwer'd,
'That then any Man might pretend to an Authority of Parliament: If
'forty Men ſhou'd meet at *Shooter's-Hill*, as the little Convention did
'at *Weſtminſter*, and ſay, *We declare our ſelves the PARLIAMENT*
'*OF ENGLAND*; becauſe they do ſo, ſhall not this be judg'd what
'is a Statute, and what not?' He then alledg'd, 'He knew not but that
'it might be as lawful for the Commons to make Laws, as this preſent
'Parliament, being call'd by the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England;' ad-
ding withal, 'That the Authority of the remaining Members might be
'as good as the Parliament was when the Biſhops were excluded; and
'Two *Eſtates* may take away a Third, if the Second do not continue to
'execute their Truſt, He that is in Occupancy may have a Title to the
'whole; therefore he affirm'd he had a Parliamentary and Legiſlative
'Power to juſtify him.' To this was reply'd, 'That the Biſhops were
'taken away by an Act, with the Conſent of the King, Lords and Com-
'mons; and therefore the Juſtification of this poyſonous Doctrine was
'inſufferable.' After ſome little ſtruggle more, the Jury, being directed,
ſoon brought him in Guilty.

There were two others to be try'd on the ſame Day, Mr. *Gregory Cle-* Clement's *and*
ment, and Colonel *John Jones*, both for aſſuming a Power of judging Jones's *Tryal.*
and condemning the late King. The former wav'd his Plea, and confeſs'd his Crime, and deliver'd a Petition, as Sir *Hardreſs Waller* had before. Colonel *Jones* made ſome little Defence, but upon a full Proof of his ſitting in Court, and ſigning the Warrant, he acquieſc'd. And ſo all the five that were try'd this Day receiv'd Sentence together. Before the paſſing of which, Sir *Orlando Bridgman* made an affecting Speech to them and the Audience, in which, after he had enlarg'd upon the Virtues and Conceſſions of the late King, and the Peace and Proſperity that once flouriſh'd in his Reign, he more immediately apply'd to the Criminals: And becauſe Mr. *Scot* and others had alledg'd, *That they had by Prayers and Tears often ſought the Lord, That if there were any Iniquity in It, he wou'd ſhew it them*; 'he remember'd them of our Saviour's Say-
'ing, *The Time cometh, that whoſoever killeth you, will think that he*
'*doeth God Service*— There is a ſpiritual Pride; Men may over-run them-
'ſelves by their own Holyneſs, and may follow pretended Revelations:
'Men may ſay *I have pray'd about ſuch a Thing:* A Man may commit a
'Robbery, or Murther, meerly becauſe he will, and may come and ſay, *I*
'*have pray'd againſt it, and cannot underſtand it to be a Sin*, as one in *Shrop-*
'*ſhire* did, and yet notwithſtanding kill'd his own Father and Mother.

3. The Commiſſioners, having try'd ſome of thoſe who were more Cook's *Tryal.*
ſtrictly call'd *The King's Judges*, thought fit to proceed to ſome others who were more remotely, tho' as effectually concern'd as the reſt. The firſt of theſe was the Sollicitor *John Cook*, who was arraign'd for aſſuming a Power over the King's Life; for drawing and exhibiting the Charge;

for

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for preſſing the Charge to be taken *pro Confeſſo*; in ſum, for being Inſtrumental in the King's Death. It was alſo particularly ſworn againſt him, 'That he acknowledg'd he was a wiſe and gracious King, but added, 'That he muſt die, and Monarchy with him.' To all which he anſwer'd very acutely, to the Honour of his Parts, and Infamy of his Practice: He began with St. *Paul*'s Plea. 'Againſt the Law, and againſt Cæſar, he 'hop'd he had not offended at all. For firſt, he cou'd not be juſtly ſaid 'to have contriv'd or counſell'd the Death of the King, becauſe the Proclamation for the King's Tryal was, without Diſpute, publiſh'd on the 'ninth of *January*, which was the Day before he was appointed Solicitor to the *High Court of Juſtice*. In the ſecond Place, tho' the Court 'ſhou'd not admit that to be an *Act of Parliament*, which had authoriz'd 'him; yet he aſſured himſelf they wou'd allow it to be an *Order*, which 'was enough to acquit him of Treaſon. Thirdly, That he, who had 'been neither Accuſer, Witneſs, Judge, or Executioner, cou'd not be 'guilty in this Caſe. He alledg'd, he was but Counſel, and acted in his 'Sphere for a Fee; in which his Crime might be call'd *Avaritia*, but 'not *Malitia*: That he was no Sword-Man: That he executed no Power 'over the King: That to pray and demand Juſtice, tho' Injuſtice be done 'upon it, cou'd not be Treaſon within the Statute: That when he demanded Juſtice, it might be meant of Acquittal, as well as of Condemnation; and that if it ſhou'd be accounted Treaſon in a Counſellor to 'plead againſt the King, it muſt alſo be Felony to plead againſt a Man 'who happens to be unjuſtly condemn'd for Felony: That the *High 'Court of Juſtice*, tho' now call'd tyrannical and unlawful, was yet a '*Court*, had Officers attending them, and many think had Authority, 'there being then no *Other* in the Nation than that which gave them 'their Power; and if this will not juſtify a Man for acting within his own 'Sphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exerciſe his Profeſſion, unleſs he may be ſure of the Legality of the Court in which he acts.' He obſerv'd, 'that the Word *Inſtrumental*, in the Exception of the Act, was 'inſignificant, or otherwiſe incomprehenſive of him: That by the King's 'gracious Letter, a *Free Parliament* was to declare the excepted Perſons; which this cou'd not be, not being called by the King's Writ. 'Laſtly he ſtill pray'd for the Equity of that Act of Parliament in the 'Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, which indemnify'd thoſe that acted under 'a *de Facto* Authority.' After all his long Pleadings, he was anſwer'd by the Court, 'That he had been ſufficiently prov'd *Inſtrumental* in taking away the King's Life; therefore his alledging, That he was neither Witneſs, Jury, Judge nor Executioner, was no more than ſaying, '*Becauſe there are others worſe than my ſelf, I am innocent:* That as 'no Man cou'd have a lawful Calling to purſue the Life of his King, ſo 'for a private Perſon, tho' he only intends to beat a Man, yet if he dies 'thereupon, in Law it is Murder; and if a Man counſels another to 'commit Murder, he is guilty himſelf: That his demanding the King as 'a Traytor to be brought to Juſtice, cou'd not reaſonably be meant that 'of Acquittal: That no Court cou'd ſhelter or excuſe a Perſon in the Commiſſion of *Treaſon*: That by a *Free Parliament* the King deſign'd the 'preſent Parliament, and as ſuch confirm'd it, before he paſs'd the Act 'of Indemnity. And laſtly for the Act of Parliament alledg'd, the Intent 'and Meaning of it was againſt him; it was to preſerve the King *de 'Facto*, how much more the King *de Jure*; eſpecially ſince he was 'both charg'd and ſentenc'd in the Court as King of *England*.' Being told that warranting the Authority was an Aggravation of his Crime, he deſired not to be miſtaken, *meaning only in Point of High-Treaſon*; ſo he wou'd have gladly eſcap'd with a *Miſdemeanor*, or *Miſpriſion*; but the Jury,

Jury, after a little Conſideration, brought him in guilty as to the whole Indictment. 1660.

The next Perſon try'd was a Criminal of a peculiar Nature, *Hugh Peters*, who had been long a Scandal to the Pulpit: He was charg'd with contriving the King's Death, 'by conſpiring with *Oliver Cromwell* 'at ſeveral Times and Places, and procuring the Soldiers to cry out *Ju-* 'ſtice, *againſt the Traytor at the Bar!* by preaching divers Sermons to 'perſwade the Army to take off the King, comparing him to *Barabbas*, 'and the Soldiers to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and applying part of that Pſalm where 'it is ſaid, *They ſhall bind their Kings in Chains*, &c. to the Proceedings 'againſt him; aſſuring them from the Bible, *That whoever ſheddeth Man's* 'Blood, *by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed*; and that neither the King, nor 'Prince *Rupert*, *nor none of that Rabble*, were excepted. He was alſo 'accus'd of comparing the *High Court of Juſtice*, to the *Laſt Judgment* 'by the *Saints*, and of ſaying, *That the Levites*, *Lords and Lawyers* 'muſt be taken away in order to eſtabliſh a *Common-Wealth*; *That the* 'King was a *Tyrant*, *and that the Office was Chargeable*, *Uſeleſs*, *and* 'Dangerous.' To all which he made a very mean Defence, having loſt all his uſual Briskneſs of Wit, and Preſence of Mind: 'He made ſome 'little Cavils againſt the Witneſſes, and in Effect only declar'd himſelf 'to be an Orthodox harmleſs Man, and that he had ever acted without 'Malice, Avarice, or Ambition.' He was alſo ſtrongly ſuſpected of being the Executioner; but as to that, he prov'd he was ſick in Bed that very Day. The Jury ſoon found him guilty of Treaſon; and ſo Solicitor *Cook* and he receiv'd Sentence together. Car. 12 Reſ. 1. Hugh Peters's *Tryal.*

The next Day appear'd at the Bar Colonel *Daniel Axtel*, who had eſcap'd, as he thought, the Exception in the Act, but was lately added to the miſerable Number, upon the Account of other Blood that likewiſe lay upon him. The chief Heads of his Charge were, 'That he commanded 'the Guards both at the Tryal and Execution of the King; that he or- 'der'd the Soldiers, in a tumultuous Manner, to cry out *Juſtice* and *Ex-* 'ecution!' and beat ſome for not doing ſo; and that he bid them Shoot 'at a Lady, ſuppos'd to be the Lady *Fairfax*, whom he there term'd 'Whore, for ſaying *that* Cromwell *was a Rogue*, *and that the Twentieth* 'Part of the People never conſented to the Tryal of the King: That he 'had ſent for and encourag'd the Executioner, and that he had charg'd 'a Perſon with Cowardiſe for refuſing to ſign the Warrant for Execution.' He made long Harangues in his Defence, and ſaid, 'That he was com- 'manded thither by his General, whom the Lords and Commons had 'commiſſion'd: That they had declared Themſelves to be the Interpre- 'ters of the Law; and if he had not obey'd his General's Command, 'he was then liable to the Puniſhment: That that Statute of 25 of *Ed-* 'ward III. did not extend to private Perſons in that Caſe: That ſeveral 'Judges had declared, That it was lawful and juſtifiable to obey the Par- 'liament: That if the *Collected* Body in Parliament be guilty of Trea- 'ſon, where will they find a Jury in the *Diſtributed* Part of the People?' Here he was charg'd for being One of Thoſe who actually put the Force upon the Houſe, and turn'd the *Parliament* into a *Junto*. He anſwer'd 'he only obey'd his Superiors; and that *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, *Fair-* 'fax, nay General *Monk*, were equally guilty for acting by the ſame Com- 'miſſion: That he was appointed to keep the Peace in the Court, and 'therefore it was no Treaſon to ſilence a Lady that ſpoke impertinently, 'and if the Soldiers did cry *Juſtice*, *Execution!* he might beat them 'and ſay *I'll Juſtice you*, *I'll Execution you*: That at the worſt, Juſtice 'being an Attribute of God, it was no Treaſon to require it; and that 'the Execution of it was no more: That, as *Cook* had ſaid before, Axtel's *Tryal.*

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'he neither Sentenc'd, Signed, Sealed nor Sate; and pleaded the Statute 'of *Henry* VII. for aiding a King *de Facto*. To all which he was an- 'ſwer'd, That there cou'd be no Excuſes for direct Treaſon: That the 'Parliament, tho' conſiſting of Lords and Commons, nor the General, 'cou'd never give any Authority to murther the King; nor was it in his 'Commiſſion to guard the High-Court of Juſtice, nor to cry for Exe- 'cution: That any of thoſe Things was an Overt-Act of his Imagination, 'and ſufficiently prov'd that *Juſtice* and *Execution* was the Intent of 'Murthering the King, which was confirm'd by his wrathful Speech to 'the Lady.' Theſe, and other Things being alledg'd by the Court, the Jury ſoon brought him in guilty of Treaſon.

Hacker's *Tryal.*

The next brought to the Bar was Colonel *Francis Hacker*; againſt whom the Witneſſes depos'd 'That he was one of the Perſons that were 'upon the Guard, and kept the King Priſoner: That the Warrant for 'ſeeing the Sentence againſt the King put in Execution, was directed to 'Him with Others: That in Proſecution of that Commiſſion, he had 'ſign'd a Warrant for Executing the King; and that, by Vertue of the 'Warrant he had receiv'd, he took the King out of the Cuſtody of Co- 'lonel *Thomlinſon*, and conducted him to the Scaffold where he was put 'to Death. He had been all the while preſent at the laſt Tryal, and ſaw how fruitleſs it wou'd be to make the ſame Allegations with *Axtel*; Therefore he only ſaid, 'That he had acted by the Command of his Su- 'periors, and that he had always endeavour'd to ſerve his Country in all 'his publick Actions:' So that his Tryal was ſoon diſpatcht, and he brought in guilty of Treaſon.

The reſt ſubmit,

4. Of the Twenty Nine Regicides that were reſerv'd for Tryal, Ten only ſuffer'd Death, the Tryals of whom have already been related. The Nineteen remaining were *Harvey*, *Pennington*, *Marten*, *Millington*, *Tichborn*, *Roe*, *Lilburn*, *Smith*, *Downs*, *Potter*, *Garland*, *Heveningham*, *Meyne*, *J. Temple*, *P. Temple*, *Wait*, *Hewlet*, *Waller* and *Fleetwood*, The two laſt, as was formerly obſerv'd, had pleaded guilty; and the Reſt, having all, but *Hewlet*, ſurrender'd themſelves upon the King's Proclamation, were, if condemn'd, to have their Execution ſuſpended, till the ſame ſhou'd be order'd by the King and Parliament. But firſt they were all oblig'd to undergo the Formality of Tryal; in which moſt of them ſubmitted to Mercy, uſing very little other Excuſe but 'that they were 'Ignorant and free from Malice.' So that we have but little Material in their Tryals: Only ſomething ſhou'd be ſaid concerning Three of them, *Marten*, *Downs* and *Hewlet*.

Except Marten, Downs *and* Hewlet.

Colonel *Harry Marten* was charg'd not only with Sitting, Signing and Sealing, as others were, but alſo That at the firſt Meeting of the *High-Court of Juſtice* in the *Painted-Chamber*, upon the Landing of the King from *White-Hall* to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe, *Cromwell* upon Sight of Him, asking them this Queſtion, *The firſt Thing the King will demand of us will be*, By what Authority we bring him before us; *what ſhall we ſay, by whoſe Authority?* After a little Pauſe *Marten* reply'd, *In the Name and Authority of the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, and the good People of* England. In Anſwer to this he firſt own'd the *Fact*, but not the *Malice*; and when, as an Aggravation, he was told *That he Sign'd the Warrant merrily, and in Sport*, he immediately return'd, *Then it was not in Malice.* And ſo he proceeded to juſtify the Authority of the Parliament; and tho' he own'd it was but a Remnant of a Parliament, 'yet in the Caſe of Commons to a Cottage, if a Stick be but left, the 'Commons ſtill belong'd to that Cottage.' Colonel *Downs*, upon his Tryal, had ſomething to plead which none of the reſt had; namely, that

in

in the King's Tryal, he had caus'd the Court to adjourn, and had ſaid and done what wou'd have been of the higheſt Importance to his Majeſty, had he not been over-rul'd; the Particulars of which may be ſeen in the former Part of this Hiſtory. Captain *Hewlet*, once a Serjeant of Colonel *Hewſon*'s Regiment, was indicted for being the Man that was in the Frock, and cut off the King's Head: This was averr'd from his own Confeſſion by three Witneſſes; and as many atteſted it was *Gregory Brandon* the common Executioner: 'That He, the Executioner, after it was 'done, was put into a Boat, and trembled every Joint of him; and that 'he affirm'd as much to the Lord *Capel* at his Suffering by the ſame Ax, of 'which the Executioner aſſured him.' The Priſoner further ſaid, 'That 'he cou'd make it appear he was not upon the Scaffold that Day, nor 'near it, for that he and other Serjeants were ſecured that Day, for re-'fuſing to be there.' But the other Witneſſes Evidence being expreſs, He was found guilty. The Court gave him all the Advantage that cou'd be, and repriev'd him, ſo that he eſcap'd with Life. 1660. Car. 12 Reſ. 1.

As the Lord chief Baron *Bridgeman* had open'd, ſo he concluded the whole Affair with a learned and affecting Speech, addreſs'd to the greateſt Number of the Criminals then ſtanding at the Bar. He told them, 'That what he did was with as much Sorrow of Heart as they had them-'ſelves, many of them being of liberal Education, and of great Parts.' He let them know, 'That they were now only before the Tribunal of 'Man, to receive Judgment for their Offence here; but there was another 'Judgment hereafter, and a Tribunal before which all muſt appear, and 'receive according to their Works. And ſince Mercy was reſerv'd 'by Heaven for the greateſt Offenders, he advis'd them to lay hold on 'the moſt probable Means to obtain it, and have a ſpecial Care of be-'ing given over to a Reprobate Senſe, and of a ſeared Conſcience, and 'bold Confidence, which wou'd prove the moſt ſignal Judgment upon 'them.' He did not at all blame them for making the beſt Defence they cou'd for their Lives; but then he fully made it appear, 'That their Con-'demnation was juſt, and according to the certain ſtanding Laws of their 'Country: Accordingly he repeated to them ſome Things he had for-'merly ſaid concerning the legal Supremacy of the Kings of *England*, 'and *that no Body or Community of Men had any coercive Power over 'their Perſons*. Then he nam'd the Words of the Act of the Firſt of 'King *James*, wherein the Lords and Commons *did acknowledge an hum-'ble and natural Liege Obedience to the King as Supreme, his Heirs and 'Succeſſors; and in the Name of themſelves and all the People, humbly 'ſubmit themſelves until the laſt Drop of their Blood be ſpent in De-'fence of the King and his Royal Poſterity*. Remember, added He, 'theſe were not Words of Compliment: You ſhall find that they, all of 'Them, and ſo did as many of You as were Members of Parliament, 'before you came into the Houſe of Commons, took the Oath of Alle-'giance, which was made after this Recognition, or otherwiſe were not 'to be Members: In which Oath you ſwore *to defend the King, his Per-'ſon, his Crown and Dignity*, &c. Therefore their Oaths were a far-'ther Aggravation of their Crimes; and there never was ſuch a Blow 'given to the Church of *England*, and the Proteſtant Religion.' Then, after a new adviſing them to beware of an *obſtinate, perverſe Courſe*, he proceeded to Sentence of Execution. *Bridgeman's concluding Speech.*

5. What follow'd was more tragical and amazing, which was the Execution and Behaviour of Ten of theſe wretched Criminals; in which there appear'd a prodigious Spirit of Deluſion and Enthuſiaſm. *Harriſon* was the Firſt, who on the thirteenth of *October*, ſuffer'd according to the *The Execution of* Harriſon, Carew, Cook, Peters, Scot, Glement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker *and* Axtel.

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the Letter of the Law at *Charing-Croſs*, the People loudly ſhouting at his exemplary Fall. He was firſt hang'd with his Face towards the *Banquetting-Houſe*, and then, being cut down alive, his Body was quarter'd and plac'd upon the City Gates, and his Head upon *Weſtminſter-Hall*. Two Days after Mr. *Carew* was brought to the ſame Place, and ſuffer'd in the ſame Manner; only, upon the Interceſſion of his Friends, the King permitted his Body to be bury'd. The following Day *John Cook* and *Hugh Peters* were together brought to the ſame Place, and were executed after the ſame Manner; *Cook*'s Head being plac'd upon *Weſtminſter-Hall* by *Harriſon*'s, and that of *Peters* upon *London-Bridge*. On the Day following four ſuffer'd at the ſame Place, at two ſeveral Times, firſt *Scot* and *Clement*, next *Scroop* and *Jones*. As to *Hacker* and *Axtel*, being Criminals of another Nature, and not the King's Judges, they were order'd to be hang'd and quarter'd at *Tyburn*; but the Body of *Hacker* was, by the King's Favour, given to his Friends, and bury'd. To aggravate the Severity of theſe Executions, *Ludlow* mentions two Circumſtances not obſerv'd by every Writer: The Firſt was, that when *Cooke* was drawn upon his Sledge, the Head of *Harriſon*, with his Face uncover'd, was plac'd before him, to the great Deteſtation of the People. The other was, when his Body was cut down and quarter'd, the Executioner, rubbing his bloody Hands together, came to *Peters*, then going to ſuffer, and ask'd him *How he lik'd that Work?* To whom the other reply'd, *He was not at all terrify'd, and that he might do his worſt.*

An Account and Character of them.

To give ſome ſhort Account of theſe Sufferers: Firſt, *Thomas Harriſon* was a Butcher's Son of *Newcaſtle Under-line* in *Staffordſhire*, who being brought up an Attorney, left his Employment, and betook himſelf to the Army in the Beginning of the Wars; where his pragmatical Spirit, his voluble Tongue, and his Enthuſiaſtical Preaching, ſo recommended him to the Army, and to *Cromwell* himſelf, that he was gradually rais'd to the Office of a Major-General. Being a great Confident, by his Aſſiſtance *Cromwell* broke the Power of the *Presbyterians*, purg'd the Houſe of Commons, and brought the King to his Tryal, and laſt of all deſtroy'd the long Parliament, call'd the Common-wealth of *England*. But upon his making himſelf ſole Governor, *Harriſon* left him with great Scorn and Indignation, and became the Ringleader of that dangerous Sect call'd the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*; and ſubmitted to be rebaptiz'd to gain the *Anabaptiſts* to his Party. Being very buſie in raiſing Forces to oppoſe the Reſtoration, he was prevented in his Deſign, taken Priſoner, and brought to his Tryal and fatal End. The next was Mr. *John Carew*, a *Corniſh* Gentleman, Brother to Sir *Alexander Carew*, who loſt his Head in 1644; who, notwithſtanding a liberal Education, fell into the *Fifth-Monarchy* Crew, and being an Enemy to all Regal Government, he not only hated King *Charles*, but afterwards *Cromwell* Himſelf, whoſe Power and Intereſt he had ſo much promoted. Mr. *John Cook* was a Man of mean Birth, and inconſiderable Fortune, but of very good Parts and a gentile Education; who being made a Barriſter at Law, his ſmall Practice made him ready to joyn with the Regicides; for which he was rewarded with the Title of Lord Chief Juſtice in *Ireland*, where he prov'd a great Preacher and Favourer of the *Anabaptiſts*. In the Height of his Preferment, he cou'd not always conceal the Laſhes of a troubled Conſcience, with Relation to his particular Crime; tho' at laſt he dy'd as impenitent as any of the reſt. *Hugh Peters* was firſt educated in, then whipt and expell'd out of *Cambridge*; and from thence became an Itinerant Preacher in *New-England*, *Holland*, and other Places, and afterwards a Chaplain in the Camp, where he acted ſeveral Parts, as that of Colonel and Agitator, and became the great Scandal of the Pulpit by

by his ſtrange Cant, Scurrility, and Buffoonry. At the Reſtoration he was diſcover'd by one of his *New-England* Confidents, ſeiz'd in Bed with another Man's Wife, and ſo brought to his Priſon and Tryal. *Thomas Scot* was born of obſcure Parents in *Buckinghamſhire*, being firſt a Brewer's Clerk or Partner in *London*, and then a Country Attorney; and ſignalizing his Zeal for the Cauſe, he was choſen a Member of Parliament for a Borough in his own County, and always continu'd a moſt inveterate Enemy againſt his Soveraign Maſter. *Gregory Clement* was firſt a Merchant; but failing there, he forc'd himſelf into the Parliament Houſe, and ſought to grow rich by a new Trade in Biſhop's Lands, wherein he got a conſiderable Eſtate: He was turn'd out of the Rump Parliament for his Lewdneſs, but was taken in again when they were reſtored after *Cromwell*'s Interruption. His Guilt or his Ignorance wou'd not ſuffer him to make any Plea at the Bar, or any Speech at the Gallows. Mr. *Adrian Scroop* was deſcended of a good Family in *Buckinghamſhire*, and ally'd to the Cavalier Family in *Lincolnſhire*, having above the reſt the Port and Mien of a Gentleman: He was a great Puritan and Stickler againſt the King, for which he was rewarded with ſeveral Employments, and particularly the Office of a Colonel. The next Man was Mr. *John Jones*, a Man of a mean Family in *Wales*, once a Serving Man to Sir *Thomas Middleton*; but riſing in the Wars, he got into the Parliament-Houſe, and marry'd one of *Cromwell*'s Siſters; after which he obtain'd ſeveral Places; and beſides that of Colonel in the Army, he was made Governor of *Angleſey*, and then a Commiſſioner for the Government of *Ireland*, where he behav'd himſelf after a ſevere and tyrannical Manner. There is little to be ſaid of the two laſt, *Hacker* and *Axtell*; only the former was a Soldier of Fortune, whoſe notable Reſolution and Conduct brought him into the Familiarity of *Cromwell*. The latter was firſt a Grocer's Apprentice in *London*; but being an Anabaptiſt, and a gifted Man, he ſoon became acquainted in the Army, where that and his barbarous Diſpoſition rais'd him to the Office of a Lieutenant-Colonel.

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Nothing can be more aſtoniſhing and ſhocking to good Chriſtians and Subjects than the Behaviour of theſe Criminals, as it is publiſh'd by their own ſpecial Friends under the Title of *The Speeches and Prayers of ſome of the late King's Judges*, &c. by which we ſee that they were ſo far from expreſſing the leaſt Repentance, that moſt of them glory'd in the Villany; and none of the primitive Martyrs left the World with ſo much Aſſurance and Self-Juſtification. *Harriſon* declar'd, *That the Lord's Spirit did witneſs with his Spirit, that all his Sins were done away by Jeſus Chriſt*; and as he was carry'd to his Execution, he ſeveral times cry'd out, *I go to ſuffer upon the Account of the moſt glorious Cauſe that ever was in the World!* Then in his laſt Speech he ſaid, *He believ'd, e'er it be long, the Lord wou'd make it known from Heaven, That there was more of God in it than Men were aware of.* *Carew* declared, *What he did was of the Lord, and if it were to be done again, he wou'd do it.* He ſaid, *The Lord had juſtify'd the Cauſe in the Field once already, but he wou'd again do it with a Witneſs.* He afterwards added, *I dye not in the Lord only, but for the Lord: And think not that this* bleſſed Cauſe *ſhall be loſt, for it ſhall reach the End of the Earth.* *Cook* began his Speech upon the Ladder in theſe Words, *The moſt glorious Sight that ever was ſeen in the World, was our Lord Jeſus upon the Croſs; and the moſt glorious next to that, is to ſee any poor Creature ſuffer for him in his Cauſe.* And in his laſt Prayer he has theſe Words, *I believe that an Army of Martyrs wou'd willingly come from Heaven, to ſuffer in ſuch a Cauſe as this I come here to ſuffer for.* *Scot* declar'd it *To be a Cauſe not to be repented of*; and expreſs'd no other Sorrow but for his asking the Benefit

Their prodigious Behaviour.

of

1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1. of the King's Proclamation. *Axtel* ſaid, *If he had a thouſand Lives, he cou'd lay them all down for the Cauſe*; and declar'd, *They had nothing againſt him, neither by God's Law, nor their own Law, to condemn him*; therefore, *They had meerly murther'd him, and might as well have done it at the* Tower, *as brought him thither to make this Buſtle:* Yet he very charitably wiſh'd, *That his Blood might not cry to the Third and Fourth Generation. Hacker* ſhew'd much of the ſame Spirit, and in a Paper he read at his Execution he ſaid, *I thank the Lord, I have nothing lyes upon my Conſcience as Guilt whereof I am now condemned; and do not doubt but to have the Sentence revers'd.* The Behaviour of *Scroop* and *Jones* was more decent than the reſt; for tho' both theſe aged Gentlemen in Effect maintain'd the ſame Cauſe, yet the former pray'd for the King, and the latter acquitted his Majeſty, 'as having done nothing but the Part 'of a loving Son to a Father; and the Court, as acting by Law accord-'ing to the beſt of their Underſtandings:' Yet ſpeaking of the Sledge that was to carry him to Execution, he cou'd not help ſaying, *It was like* Elijah's *fiery Chariot, only it goes through* Fleet-ſtreet.

Such were the prodigious Effects of Enthuſiaſm, Poſſeſſion, or ſomething that wants a Name; which were ſufficient to create Horror in good Men, and Infidelity in bad. Yet this obdurate and impenitent Behaviour is believ'd not to have riſen wholly from within, or from a ſedate Frame of Mind: For others tell us that moſt of them made uſe of Art, and prepared themſelves for their Journies by intoxicating Cordials and other ſtrong Liquors: Particularly *Harriſon* and *Carew*, in whoſe Looks there was a ſenſible and remarkable Change; which by *Carew*'s Friends is related in this ſhocking Expreſſion, *His Countenance ſhining with great Glory.* As to *Hugh Peters*, he had taken ſo large a Potion, that he for ſome time behaved himſelf like an Ideot, and was ſtupidly drunk; which caus'd *Cook*, who ſuffer'd with him, to ſay, *Here is a poor Brother coming, I am afraid he is not fit to dye at this Time.*

The reſt eſcape with Life. As to the nineteen other Priſoners, formerly mention'd, who came in upon the Proclamation, and were condemn'd as well as the reſt, they were all remitted to the *Tower*, till the farther Pleaſure of the King and Parliament ſhou'd be known. Their Eſtates were immediately ſeiz'd into the King's Hands; but they ſo far eſcap'd in their Perſons, that none of them ſuffer'd Death, as many expected and deſir'd: Only ſome few others, who were afterwards taken, ſuffer'd the Law, as will be mention'd in due Time.

6. During theſe Proceedings of Juſtice, the King and his Miniſtry were uſing all ſoftning Methods to allay and cure the Diſtempers of the Nation; eſpecially thoſe relating to Religion, which had been the principal Cauſes of the late Wars. Almoſt all Diſſenters from the Church of *England* had apply'd themſelves to the Crown, but more particularly the *Presbyterians*, who had a comfortable Proſpect from the Favours ſhewn to their chief Miniſters, the Countenance of great Men, and the King's Declaration at *Breda*. In order to bring all to a good Temper, the King, according to his Promiſe made at the Adjournment of the Parliament, on the 25th of *October* publiſh'd a long and healing Declaration to all his loving Subjects, moſt agreeable to that from *Breda*, which had particularly declar'd, 'That no Man ſhou'd be diſquieted or called in queſtion 'for Differences in Opinion in Matters of Religion, which did not di-'ſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that the King ſhou'd be ready to 'conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation ſhou'd 'be offer'd to him, for the full granting that *Indulgence*.' In this new De-

The King's Declaration. claration his Majeſty, towards the Beginning, complains, 'That he had

'not

'not been ſo candidly dealt with as he deſerv'd; and that there were un- 1660.
'quiet and reſtleſs Spirits who continu'd their Bitterneſs againſt the Car. 12
'Church, and endeavour'd to raiſe Jealouſies, as if he was not true to Reſ. 1.
'the Profeſſions he had made: And in order thereto, beſides their pub-
'liſhing of ſeveral ſeditious Pamphlets, they had printed and diſpers'd a
'former *Declaration* he had made in *Scotland*; of which he ſhou'd ſay
'no more, than *That the Circumſtances by which he was forc'd to ſign that*
'*Declaration, were well known to the World; and that the worthieſt and*
'*greateſt Part of that Nation did even then deteſt and abhor the ill U-*
'*ſage of him in that Particular.*' After this he proceeded to declare,
'That upon a full Conference with learned Men of ſeveral Perſwaſions,
'he found, That the Miſchiefs, under which both the Church and State
'at preſent ſuffer'd, did not reſult from any form'd Doctrine or Conclu-
'ſion maintain'd by either Party, but from the Paſſion, Appetite, and In-
'tereſt of particular Perſons, who contracted greater Prejudice from
'thoſe Affections, than from their Opinions.' After having declar'd his Affection and Eſteem for the Church of *England*, and that he cou'd not preſently call a Synod, according to his Deſign, he in the mean Time, to allay the preſent Diſtempers, thought fit to make theſe eight following Conceſſions or Orders. 'The firſt was to promote the Power of God-
'lineſs in the Exerciſes of Religion and the Lord's Day, and to encou-
'rage the frequent Preaching of Biſhops. 2. To appoint Suffragan Bi-
'ſhops, eſpecially in the larger Dioceſes. 3. That no Biſhop ordain, or
'exerciſe Church-Cenſures without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the
'Presbyters; and that Lay-Officers be excluded in Matters purely Spi-
'ritual. 4. That Deans and Chapters be better fitted to afford Coun-
'ſel and Aſſiſtance to the Biſhops in Ordinations and other Spiritual Mat-
'ters. 5. For the Regulation of Confirmation, Admiſſion to the Lord's
'Supper, and Catechiſm; in which Rural Deans were to be aſſiſting.
'6. That no Biſhop exerciſe any Power, or impoſe any Thing, but ac-
'cording to the known Law of the Land. 7. For appointing ſome learn-
'ed Divines to reviſe and make ſome Amendments to the Liturgy; and
'that ſcrupulous Perſons be not puniſh'd for the Diſuſe of it at preſent.
'The Eighth and laſt was concerning Ceremonies, in which Perſons were
'for the preſent left at Liberty, as to Kneeling in the Sacrament, the Croſs
'in Baptiſm, bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*, and even the Oath of Cano-
'nical Obedience.' Such was the Subſtance of theſe Conceſſions, which are thought by a late ingenious Writer to have been overſtrain'd, as not only to over-rule the Canons, and diſable the Diſcipline of the Church, but likewiſe to diſpenſe with the Statutes to the Conſtruction of a Repeal, and ſo to lye hard on the Civil Conſtitution. But theſe were Times of Unſettlement and Neceſſity, which required Uncommon and Irregular Remedies: And, with this Conſideration, if we read the Declaration at large, we ſhall find in general a noble Spirit of Wiſdom and Goodneſs, and an excellent Pattern for Poſterity, when they are beſt diſpos'd to conſider of the moſt proper and healing Methods, either for the Reſtoration of the Diſcipline, or the making up the Breaches of the eſtabliſh'd Church.

In the mean Time the Church of *England* and Epiſcopacy gradually reviv'd in the Nation; tho' the Biſhops themſelves, by Reaſon of the Act of Parliament in 1641, ſtill continu'd excluded from the Houſe of Peers. It is obſervable that only nine of the old Biſhops ſurviv'd the Times of Confuſion, who now all recover'd their Epiſcopal Sees; as *William Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, *William Pierce* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Robert Skinner* Biſhop of *Oxford*, *John Warner* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *William Roberts* Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Matthew Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Bryan Duppa* Biſhop

Epiſcopacy revives

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New Bishops.

Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Henry King* Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Accepted Frewen* Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. Of these, in a short Time, *Juxon* was translated to the See of *Canterbury*, *Frewen* to that of *York*, *Duppa* to *Wincheſter*, and *Skinner* to *Worceſter*. Seven or eight others were consecrated this Year, and appointed to their respective Bishopricks, as *John Cosens* to that of *Durham*, *William Lucy* to *Saint-Davids*, *Benjamin Laney* to *Peterborough*, *Richard Stern* to *Carliſle*, *Hugh Lloid* to *Landaff*, *Bryan Walton* to *Chester*, and *John Gauden* to *Exeter*. About the same Time several of the Presbyterian Ministers were invited to Church-Preferments; Mr. *Calamy* had the Bishoprick of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* offer'd him, Dr. *Reynolds* that of *Norwich*, and Mr. *Baxter* that of *Hereford:* Dr. *Manton* was offer'd the Deanry of *Rochester*, Dr. *Bates* the Deanry of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and Mr. *Bowles* the Deanry of *York*: But all refus'd, on the Account of the uncertain Continuance of the Terms of the *Declaration*, except Dr. *Reynolds*, who accepted of *Norwich*, and continu'd about sixteen Years in that Bishoprick. These Bishops, tho' they were still hinder'd from their Places and Votes in Parliament, were fully restored to their Spiritual Jurisdiction, and all other Rights of Ordination, Institution, Censures, *&c.* so that the establish'd Church daily recover'd its former Authority, and began to shine with its usual Splendor.

All this Time Joy and Pleasure appear'd in all Places; and the King was not only entertain'd with the continual Addresses of his Loyal Subjects, but with the more solemn Congratulations of Foreign Princes and States, who by their Agents and Ambassadors did often send over Presents as well as Compliments; and particularly those of the *United Provinces* distinguish'd themselves by an excellent Collection of Pictures, and other Rarities. In the paying of these Foreign Ceremonies a dreadful Rencounter hapned on *Tower-Hill*, in a Dispute of Precedence between the Coaches of the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors. In the midst of these Times of Festivity, the admirable Princess of *Orange*, having recommended the Interest of her young Son the Prince to the Care of the *States General*, who had now agreed to invest him with the Trust and Dignity of his Ancestors, came over into *England* to visit her Royal Brothers, and once again to see her native Country, from which she had been absent about nineteen Years. But the Joy in seeing her eldest Brother peaceably enthroned, was extreamly clouded by her Sorrow for the Loss of her youngest and beloved Brother *Henry* of *Oatlands* Duke of *Glocester*, who just before her landing dy'd of the Small Pox, on the 13th of *September*, aged twenty Years, two Months and five Days. His Funeral was solemniz'd in *Westminster-Abby*; his Brother the Duke of *York* being chief Mourner, attended by the three Dukes of *Richmond*, *Buckingham* and *Albemarle*, and follow'd by the rest of the Nobility, *&c.* He was not only lamented by his Royal Relations, but by all great and good Men, being a Prince excellently accomplish'd, Religious, Valiant, and Wise above his Years, a dutiful and affectionate Brother, a just Counsellor, a good Master, and a faithful Friend. As to his Religion, he was an inviolable Observer of his dying Father's Instructions, and an Invincible Asserter of the Protestant Faith against all the Errors of *Popery*; to preserve him from the Temptations of which, his pious Sister, now coming to visit him, had for some Years parted with one half of her annual Income that was left to her own Disposal, as I learnt from an unquestionable Hand.

The Arrival of the Princess of Orange.

The Death and Character of the Duke of Glocester.

The Arrival of the Queen Mother.

Within a few Days after, there arriv'd the Queen Mother from *France* with a considerable Train, among whom was her fair Daughter *Henrietta Maria*, now sixteen Years of Age, together with Prince *Edward*, Brother

ther to the Elector *Palatine*. Theſe were all formally met by the King, the Duke of *York*, and the Prince of *Orange*, and on the 2d of *November* conducted to *White-Hall*, from which Palace the Queen had been abſent nineteen Years. This Viſit was made to effect ſeveral political Ends, as particularly to adviſe of a Match between the young Princeſs and Monſieur, Brother to the *French* King; and likewiſe to promote a Match for the King himſelf. And firſt, we are inform'd, ſhe propos'd the famous *Hortenſia Mancina*, Neice to the Cardinal *Mazarin*, with a Portion of above twenty Millions of Livres. But that being rejected as an improper Match, ſhe then promoted the Alliance with *Portugal*, and a Match with the Infanta of that Kingdom, which had been ſet on foot by the *Portugal* Ambaſſador before the Reſtoration, and propos'd by General *Monk* to the King immediately after his Arrival in *England*. During her Majeſty's Stay, which was not above two Months, ſhe us'd her frequent Endeavours to perſwade her Son to remove the Chancellor *Hyde* from his Councils; and finding ſhe effected nothing in that Affair, ſhe became uneaſie and more willing to depart; yet, by the King's Importunity, ſhe at length admitted the new Dutcheſs of *York* to come into her Preſence; tho' by her Behaviour towards her, while preſent, it appear'd that ſhe thought her not worthy to be treated as a Daughter. Her chief Deſigns in this Viſit, contrary to thoſe of the Chancellor, ſeem'd to have been to promote the Intereſt of *France* and *Portugal* againſt the Monarchy of *Spain*: And notwithſtanding the former had articled not to aſſiſt *Portugal*, yet *Mazarin*, to encourage the *Engliſh* to a Treaty, and to ſend Forces thither, engag'd to eaſe them of their Tranſport Charge, and promis'd to advance two hundred thouſand Crowns in Specie as ſoon as the Treaty was ſign'd; and tho' he dy'd himſelf ſoon after, it was punctually perform'd by his Creature Monſieur *Colbert*. And here it is obſervable, that this Mony and new Alliance begot the 19th Article of that Treaty, by which it was ſtipulated, 'That *Dunkirk* ſhou'd never be given up to 'the King of *Spain*:' Which laid the Foundation for the ſelling of it to *France*, and which in a little Time was fully effected. 1660. Car. 12 Reſ. 1.

Rot. Parl. *Ludlow. Philips. Welwood. Orleans. Heath. Fuller. Wood.* &c.

The Second Meeting of the First PARLIAMENT.

VI. 1. After a Receſs of near two Months, the Parliament met on the 6th Day of *November* according to the former Adjournment; and one of the firſt Things done by the Houſe of Commons was, the Appointment of a Committee to attend the Queen Mother with a congratulatory Meſſage, 'Repreſenting the Joy and Contentment this Houſe had receiv'd 'on Occaſion of her Majeſty's Return to *England*.' To which the Queen in her Anſwer, 'acknowledg'd with Thankfulneſs the Expreſſions of the 'Houſe deſiring the Continuance of their Reſpects, *Which*, ſhe ſaid, '*ſhe ſhou'd never fail to do what lay in her Part to deſerve*.' The Compliment of the Commons was ſeconded with a Preſent of ten thouſand Pounds made to her Daughter *Henrietta Maria*, as likewiſe the ſame Sum to the Princeſs of *Orange*, which prov'd very acceptable at this Time. The next Concern was to compleat the Disbanding of the Army, which had been too great a Burthen and Terror to the Nation, which was now daily diminiſh'd and reduc'd to a ſmall Compaſs. The Effect of it ſo viſibly appear'd in the Declenſion and Downfall of the *Presbyterian* Intereſt, that Mr. *Prynne* cou'd not with-hold from expreſſing his former Zeal, and after he had reported to the Houſe the Number of Regiments disbanded, he deſired the Houſe, *That they wou'd be mindful not to do thoſe things that might bring them together again*; which ſo rous'd the other Party, that with Difficulty he eſcap'd a ſevere Cenſure.

1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1.

Their Active Proceedings.

Both Houſes apply'd themſelves to the making ſuch Laws as were moſt proper for the preſent Occaſion; in which they were the more diligent and ſpeedy, becauſe they receiv'd a Meſſage from the King informing them, That upon the Account of the Preparations for his Coronation, and other Reaſons, he had determin'd to diſſolve them in the End of *December*; and therefore deſired 'That they might the more vigorouſly apply 'themſelves to the Diſpatch of the moſt important Buſineſs that depend-'ed before them.' Shortly after the Houſe of Commons repreſented to his Majeſty 'The great Senſe that Houſe had of the many Expreſſions 'of Grace which they had receiv'd from him in his ſeveral Declarations; 'further acquainting him with the great Unanimity of the Houſe in 'ſettling a Revenue of Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* 'on his Majeſty, according to their former Vote.' To which Vote the King return'd his Thanks for their Care of him; and aſſured them, *That he wou'd employ his Revenue for the Good of Them and the Kingdom.* In the mean Time the Parliament order'd, 'That the ſeveral Bodies of *Oli-'ver Cromwell*, *John Bradſhaw*, *Henry Ireton*, and *Thomas Pride*, be 'taken out of their Graves, drawn on a Hurdle to *Tyburn*, there to be 'hang'd up from Ten a Clock till Sun-ſetting, and then bury'd under the 'Gallows.' At the ſame Time they made an Act of Attainder, which did not only extend to the Blood and Eſtates of theſe Four, but alſo to the nineteen Regicides that fled from Juſtice, namely, *Liſle*, *Say*, *Waulton*, *Whalley*, *Barkſtead*, *Ludlow*, *Liveſey*, *Okey*, *Hewſon*, *Goffe*, *Holland*, *Challoner*, *Cawley*, *Corbet*, *Love*, *Dixwell*, *Blagrave*, *Broughton*, and *Dendy*, who by this Act ſtood Adjudg'd, Convicted, and Attainted of High Treaſon.

The Commons likewiſe took Notice of an inferior Criminal, *William Drake*, a Citizen and Merchant of *London*, and drew up an Impeachment againſt him for writing and publiſhing a dangerous Book intituled *The Long Parliament Revived*, in which he endeavours to prove that the ſaid Parliament was not yet legally diſſolv'd. This rais'd a conſiderable Noiſe, but they wanted Time to bring it to a Tryal. About the ſame Time, upon the Rumour of Plots and Deſigns to ſeize the King, and the *Tower*, to kill the Queen Mother, and reſtore the long Parliament, of which we can give no certain and perfect Account, ſeveral old Officers were ſecured, as *Overton*, *Desborough*, *Salmon*, *Farley*, and *Whitby* in the City, and *Duckenfield*, *Morgan*, and ſeveral others, in the Country.

2. After a Seſſion of near two Months, and a Diſſolution expected, on the 29th of *December*, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd all the publick and private Bills that were ready for the Royal Aſſent. The Nature of thoſe that were of a publick Concern we find from the following Part of the Speaker's Speech. —— 'As I am com-'manded, I moſt humbly aſſure your Majeſty, That the many healing Ex-'pedients propounded by your Self in your ſeveral Gracious *Declarati-'ons*, have been the Subject Matter upon which your Commons have 'wrought all this Parliament. And in the firſt Place they took into 'Conſideration the great and growing Charges which then lay upon your 'People for the Pay of your Army and Navy. And they conceiv'd it 'neceſſary to begin with that Part wherein your People have the more 'Eaſe, and the greateſt Security and Satisfaction; Which was the diſ-'banding and diſcharging the Forces by Sea and Land: And this led them 'into a Conſideration of proper Ways and Means for raiſing Monies for 'that Purpoſe, as the *Poll-Bill*, and the *Aſſeſsment of Seventy Thouſand 'Pounds per Month.* But thoſe not having done the Works, here are 'Others

The Sum of the Speaker's Speech to the King.

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‘ Others ready in my Hand: The One entituled *An Act for levying the* ‘ *Arrears of the twelve Months Aſſeſsment*, &c. And the Other enti- ‘ tuled *An Act for the further Supplying ſeveral Defects in the* Act for ‘ Disbanding all the Forces both by Land and Sea; and they hope this ‘ Account will be clear'd off at laſt. Sir, your Commons have likewiſe ‘ taken into Conſideration the Charge of your Summer's Fleet, *&c.* and ‘ paſs'd a Bill entituled *An Act for Six Months Aſſeſsment at ſeventy* ‘ *Thouſand Pounds per Menſem*, to begin the Firſt of *January*. I have ‘ three other Bills in my Hand, which have Relation to your Majeſty's ‘ Revenue, and are Branches thereof: The One entituled *An Act for* ‘ *the better ordering the Selling of Wines by Retaile, and for preventing* ‘ *Abuſes in the Mingling, Corrupting and Limiting the Prices of the* ‘ *ſame:* And this Bill is tender'd to your Majeſty to prevent all future ‘ Diſputes touching the Legality thereof; for we know it is your Ma- ‘ jeſty's Deſire that Nothing be done otherwiſe by any of your Miniſters ‘ acting under your Command. Another is entituled *An Act for Ere-* ‘ *cting and Eſtabliſhing a Poſt-Office*; and this being legally Settled, ‘ will be of a great Uſe to all your Majeſty's Subjects for holding ‘ Intelligence with their Factors and Agents in Foreign Parts. The ‘ other Bill provides for the Encreaſe of your Majeſty's Ordinary and ‘ Conſtant Revenue, by Granting of *an Impoſt upon Ale, Beer, Syder,* ‘ *and other Liquors*, therein expreſs'd, to hold for your Majeſty's Life. ‘ As it is the Deſire of your Commons, That your Majeſty might never ‘ be neceſſitated to reſort to Extraordinary or Unparliamentary Ways, ‘ for raiſing of Mony upon your People; ſo they likewiſe acknowledge ‘ it to be their Duties to ſupport and uphold, to the utmoſt of their ‘ Powers, the Honour and Grandeur of your Majeſty's State and Dig- ‘ nity. And for a further Evidence of your Commons dutiful Affecti- ‘ ons to your Majeſty's Royal and Dear Perſon, they have paſs'd another ‘ Bill for *Raiſing ſeventy Thouſand Pounds for your Majeſty's further* ‘ *Supply*. All which Bills I am commanded humbly to preſent to your ‘ Majeſty; and to pray your Majeſty's gracious Acceptance and Royal Aſſent.

‘ There are other Bills of Publick Concernment which have paſs'd both ‘ Houſes, and now attend upon your Majeſty for your Royal Aſſent: ‘ The One entituled *An Act for Attainder of ſeveral Perſons guilty of* ‘ *the horrid Murther of his late Sacred Majeſty*, your Royal Father of ‘ ever Bleſſed Memory. Another entituled *An Act for Confirmation of* ‘ *Leaſes and Grants for Colleges and Hoſpitals*, which will tend much ‘ to the Quieting of Mens Eſtates, that in the late Unhappy Times were ‘ forc'd to renew and change their Revenues much for the worſe, were ‘ it not for the Favour your Majeſty intends them in this Bill. There ‘ is another Bill entituled *An Act to prohibit the Exportation of Wooll,* ‘ *Wooll-Fells, Fullers-Earth, or any other Scouring Earth*; which will ‘ be the beſt Encouragement for the Woollen Manufactures; and with- ‘ out which there wou'd be a double Loſs; Firſt to your Majeſty in your ‘ Cuſtoms, and next to your People, who wou'd be diſcourag'd, and in ‘ a ſhort Time beaten out of that ancient Native Staple Trade, upon ‘ which depends the Subſiſtence of many Thouſand Families. There is ‘ another Bill entituled *An Act for prohibiting the Planting, Setting, or* ‘ *Sowing of Tobacco in* England *and* Ireland; which if permitted wou'd ‘ occaſion the Abatement of your Majeſty's Cuſtoms, the Deſtru- ‘ ction of your Plantations abroad, and the Diſcouraging of Navigation, ‘ and conſequently the Decay of Shipping, which are the Walls and Bul- ‘ warks of your Majeſty's Kingdom. There is One Bill more, entituled, ‘ *An Act for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, together* ‘ *with Tenure in Capite, Knights Service, and Purveyances, and for ſet-* ‘ *tling a Revenue upon his Majeſty in lieu thereof.* This Bill *Ex re nata*

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‘ may properly be call'd *A Bill of Exchange*; for as Care is therein ta-
‘ ken for the Eaſe of your People, ſo the Supply of that Part of your
‘ Majeſty's Revenue, which formerly came into your Treaſury, by your
‘ *Tenures* and *Purveyances*, is thereby likewiſe fully provided for by the
‘ Grant of another Impoſition *upon Ale and Beer, and other Liquors*,
‘ to hold to your Majeſty, your Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever. And
‘ yet they ſhou'd not look upon the Conſiderations mention'd in this Bill
‘ as a full Compenſation for your Majeſty's parting with two ſuch Royal
‘ Prerogatives and Ancient Flowers of the Crown, if more were not
‘ imply'd than is expreſs'd. For your Tenures *in Capite* are not only
‘ turned into a Tenure of *Soccage* (which alone will for ever give your
‘ Majeſty a juſt Right and Title to the Labour of our Ploughs, and the
‘ Sweat of our Brows) but they are likewiſe turn'd into a Tenure *in*
‘ *Corde*. What your Majeſty had before in your *Court of Wards*, you
‘ will be ſure to find hereafter in the *Exchequer of all your Peoples*
‘ *Hearts*. The King of *Spain*'s Mines will ſooner deceive Him, than
‘ this Revenue will fail you: For his Mines have Bottoms, but the deeper
‘ your Majeſty ſinks into the Hearts and Affections of your People, the
‘ greater will you find your Wealth, and the more invincible your
‘ Strength. —— Royal Sir, you have deny'd us Nothing we have ask'd
‘ this Parliament. Indeed you have out-done your Parliament, by doing much
‘ more for us, than we cou'd agree among our ſelves to ask. And there-
‘ fore we muſt needs be a Happy Parliament, a Healing Parliament, a
‘ Reconciling and Peace-making Parliament, a Parliament *propter Ex-*
‘ *cellentiam* that may truly be call'd *Parliamentiſſimum Parliamen-*
‘ *tum* ——

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

Upon paſſing the foremention'd Acts, the King made the following Speech, which ought to be inſerted without any Abridgement: *My Lords and Gentlemen*, ‘ I will not entertain you with a long Diſcourſe; the Sum
‘ of all I have to ſay to you, being to give you Thanks. very Hearty
‘ Thanks: And I aſſure you I find it a very difficult Work to ſatisfy my
‘ Self in my own Expreſſions of thoſe Thanks. Perfunctory Thanks, Or-
‘ dinary Thanks for Ordinary Civilities are eaſily given; but when the
‘ Heart is full as mine is, it is a Labour to thank you. You have taken
‘ great Pains to oblige me; and therefore it cannot be eaſy for me to
‘ expreſs the Senſe I have for it. I will enlarge no further to You on this
‘ Occaſion, than to tell you, when God brought me hither, I brought with
‘ me an Extraordinary Affection and Eſteem for Parliaments. I need not
‘ tell you how much it is improv'd by your Carriage towards Me: you
‘ have out-done all the good and obliging Acts of your Predeceſſors to-
‘ wards the Crown; and therefore you cannot but believe my Heart is
‘ exceedingly enlarg'd with the Acknowledgment. Many former Parlia-
‘ ments have had particular Denominations for what they have done:
‘ They have been ſtiled *Learned*, and *Unlearned*, and ſometimes have
‘ had the worſt Epithets: I pray let us Reſolve that This be for ever call'd
‘ the HEALING, and the BLESSED PARLIAMENT. As I
‘ thank you, tho' not enough, for what you have done, ſo I have not the
‘ leaſt Doubt, but when I ſhall call the next Parliament (which I ſhall do
‘ as ſoon as you can reaſonably expect or deſire) I ſhall receive your hear-
‘ ty Thanks for what I ſhall then have done ſince I have parted with
‘ you. For I deal truely with you: I ſhall not more propoſe any one Rule
‘ to my Self in my Actions and Counſels than this: *What is a Parlia-*
‘ *ment like to think of this Action, and this Counſel?* And it ſhall be
‘ Want of Underſtanding in me, if it will not bear that Teſt. I ſhall
‘ conclude with this, which I cannot ſay too often, nor you too often
‘ where you go: *That*, next to the miraculous Bleſſing of God Almigh-
‘ ty, and indeed as an immediate Effect of that Bleſſing, *I do impute the*

‘ *good*

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'*good Diſpoſition and Security we are all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity and Oblivion:* That is the Principal Corner Stone which ſupports 'this excellent Building, that creates Kindneſs in us to each other, and 'Confidence in our joint and common Security. You may be ſure I will 'not only obſerve it Religiouſly, and Inviolably my Self, but alſo exact 'the Obſervation of it from Others: And if any Perſon ſhall ever have 'the Boldneſs to attempt to perſwade me to the contrary, he wou'd find 'ſuch an Acceptation from Me, as He wou'd have, who ſhou'd perſwade 'me to burn *Magna-Charta*, cancel the old Laws, and erect a new Go'vernment after my own Invention and Appetite.

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

After this he referr'd them to the Lord Chancellor, who diſplay'd his uſual Eloquence in a very long Speech, conſiſting of variety of Matter, chiefly tending to the healing of all former Differences, and expreſſing the great Happineſs of the preſent State of Affairs, together with the glorious Harmony between the King and his People, the beſt of Princes, and the moſt loyal Subjects. He applauded the Wiſdom of the Houſes in the King's Reſtoration, and likewiſe in all ſeveral Proceedings, and particularly told them, 'That he made no doubt but all ſucceeding Parlia'ments wou'd pay to Them their Thanks for all they had done, and look 'upon their Actions, and their Example, with all poſſible Approbation 'and Reverence.' As to the Reſtoration of the languiſhing Church to Peace, Unity and Order, he told them, 'the King had been ſo careful, 'that *Conſtantine* himſelf had hardly ſpent ſo much of his own Time in 'private and publick Conferences to that Purpoſe.' After many Topicks, entering upon the Glory and Reputation of *England*, he freely told them, 'That they were too partial to it, who believ'd it the beſt Country in 'the World: There was better Earth, better Air, and a warmer Sun in 'other Countries; but he was not unjuſt when he ſaid, *That* England '*was an Incloſure of the beſt People in the World, when they were well in*'*form'd and inſtructed:* A People in Sobriety of Conſcience, the moſt 'devoted to God Almighty; in the Integrity of their Affections, the moſt 'dutiful to the King; in their good Manners and Inclinations, moſt re'gardful to their Superiors!' Therefore he deſired the Houſe of Commons, in their Return home, to aſſure them, 'That his Majeſty 'thinks himſelf the happieſt and greateſt Prince in the World, not from 'the Situation of his Dominions, and the Power of his great Navy, with 'which he can viſit his Neighbours, and keep them from viſiting him; 'but from being poſſeſs'd of the Affections and Hearts of ſuch Subjects; 'that he does ſo entirely love them, and depend upon them, *That all* '*his Actions, and all his Counſels ſhall tend to no other End, but to make* '*them happy and proſperous.*' But notwithſtanding all this Care and Tenderneſs of his Majeſty, there were ſtill ſome Men, who by their Writings and Preachings endeavour'd to continue the former Breaches; and ſome others had been ſo dangerous to the publick Peace, that they had lately been ſecured in Priſon. And then he proceeded to give them a Narrative 'how a Party of the late disbanded Officers and Soldiers, 'and others full of Diſcontent and ſeditious Purpoſes, had reſolv'd to at'tempt the Change of the preſent Government, and to erect a Common'Wealth; in which *Ludlow*, and other deſperate Perſons, were con'cern'd.' Therefore, upon the Account of theſe unexpected Plots and Conſpiracies, he wiſh'd, 'That their other weighty Affairs wou'd have 'given them Time to have publiſh'd their Opinion and Advice in the Buſineſs of the *Militia*; That the People, after ſo many Diſputes upon 'that Argument, might have found, *That the King and his two Hou*'*ſes of Parliament, were as much of the ſame Mind in That, as in other* 'Things. Therefore to ſecure the Peace of the Nation, he acquainted them

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them 'That the King wou'd be constrain'd to establish it for the present, 'as formerly his Predecessors had done.' Then speaking of the former Successes so often insisted on by the Heads of the ruin'd Party, he retorted their Arguments, in the wonderful Preservation of the King's sacred Person, and alledg'd, 'That God Almighty wou'd not have led him 'through so many Wildernesses of Affliction of all Kinds, conducting 'him through so many Perils by Land; snatching him out of the midst 'of his Kingdom, when it was not worthy of him, and when the Hands 'of his Enemies were upon him, when they thought themselves so sure 'of him, that they wou'd bid so cheap and vile a Price for him: He 'wou'd not then have so cover'd him with a Cloud, that he travell'd with 'some Pleasure, and great Observation through the midst of his Enemies: 'He wou'd not so wonderfully have modell'd that Army; so inspired 'their Hearts, and the Hearts of the whole Nation, with an honest and 'impatient Longing for the Return of their dread Sovereign; and in the 'mean Time have so exercis'd him with those unnatural, or at least unu-'sual Disrespects and Reproaches abroad, that he might have a harmless 'and innocent Appetite to his own Country, and return to his own Peo-'ple full Value, and the whole unwasted Bulk of his Affections, without 'being corrupted or biass'd by extraordinary Foreign Obligations: God 'Almighty wou'd not have done all This, but for a Servant whom he 'will always preserve as the Apple of his own Eye, and always defend 'from the most secret Machinations of his Enemies.' In Conclusion, by the King's Command, he declar'd the present Parliament dissolv'd.

The Dissolution of the First PARLIAMENT.

Thus ended the famous CONVENTION, about eight Months after the first Meeting, and seven after the Restoration, when it receiv'd the Royal Stamp of PARLIAMENT: An Assembly that began with the greatest Expectation, and ended with the greatest Satisfaction of all People. Never was so glorious a Harmony between the King and Parliament of *England* for many Years before. And here we may observe, with an ingenious Modern Writer, that it looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary Care of the *English*, that they did not throw up all their Liberties at once, upon the Restoration of the King; for, tho' some were for bringing him back upon *Terms*, yet after he was once come, he so entirely possess'd the Hearts of his People, that they thought nothing too much for them to grant, or for him to receive. Among other Designs to oblige him, there was one form'd to settle such a Revenue upon him for Life, as shou'd place him beyond the Necessity of asking more, except in the Case of a War, or some such Emergency. And as to Particulars, another Writer informs us, That Mr. *Alexander Popham*, a Man of Intrigue and great Capacity, offer'd the King, with the Assistance of a Party he had in the Parliament, to procure an Act for settling on Him and his Predecessors above two Millions a Year by way of Subsidy; which, with the Revenue of the Excise and other Duties, must have made him a very rich Prince. The King was well pleas'd with the Proposal, especially since the Want of Money had occasion'd his Father's unfortunate Projects; but advising about it with Chancellor *Hyde*, that Minister told him, *That the best Revenue he cou'd have, wou'd be the gaining the Hearts of his Subjects; that if he wou'd trust to them, he wou'd find such Supplies as shou'd never fail him in Time of Need.* Therefore it may be added, with another Writer, It is to his Memory, that we owe our being a free People; for He with his two great Friends, the Duke of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, check'd the Forwardness of some who were desirous to load the Crown with Prerogative and Revenue. He put a Stop to all this, which being afterwards odiously represented, brought on that great and lasting, but honourable Disgrace. However,

The Behaviour of Hyde *and his two Friends.*

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one Project for additional Authority took Place without any present Opposition; which was, That upon the disbanding of the Army, the King, besides his usual Band of Pensioners, thought fit, in Imitation of *France* and Foreign Kingdoms, to establish a considerable Number of both Horse and Foot Guards, commonly call'd the *Life-Guard*; which, tho' not dislik'd at present, as being of special Use at this Time, was afterwards complain'd of as a considerable Grievance to the Nation, and as having too near an Alliance with a Standing Army. 1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1.

3. While the King was busily employ'd in setling and establishing the grand Affairs of *England*, in this memorable Year, he was no ways negligent with respect to the Peace and Happiness of his two other Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. As to *Scotland*, the *English* Commissioners having been employ'd as Judges for the Government of that Nation, and having had their Commissions continu'd for some Time after the King's Restoration, they were at length by Letters from the Duke of *Albemarle* acquainted with the King's Pleasure, 'That from the 22d of '*August* they shou'd cease to act in this their Judicatory Power, in re'gard that Kingdom was thenceforth to be reduc'd to its ancient Form 'of Government:' In order to which, Proclamation was made in the King's Name, for the speedy convening of the *Committee of the Three Estates of* Scotland; and a *Parliament* also was to be call'd there within a few Months. In the Interim, the chief Ministers of State were constituted; the Earl of *Glencarn* was made Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Crawford-Lindsey* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Cassiles* Justice General, the Earl of *Lauderdale* chief Secretary of State, and General *Middleton* the King's Commissioner, with several others. The *Committee of Estates* being assembled, made it their first Care to keep all Things in Peace and full Obedience to the present Government: For, notwithstanding the late Unanimity of the People at *Edinburgh*, as well as other Places, in the publick proclaiming of his Majesty, yet after a short Space, a Spirit of Discontent began to discover it self among certain prime Ministers of the Kirk Party, as appear'd by their meeting together at an appointed Place, for the drawing up a *Remonstrance* concerning certain Things in which they thought themselves aggriev'd: Of which the *Committee of Estates* having Notice, sent immediately to apprehend them, and secured them in Prison; and to prevent the like Disturbance for the future, they set forth a Proclamation *against all unlawful Meetings, and seditious Papers.* The like Imprisonment hapned also to their Country-Man the famous Marques of *Argyle*, who notwithstanding he came to the *English* Court, with other of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry, upon Pretence of rendering his Service to his Majesty, was found so culpable, that he was committed to the *Tower* for High Treason, and afterwards sent to be try'd in his own Country. *The Affairs of* Scotland.

But to make a perfect Settlement of the Peace and Prosperity of *Scotland*, as well as *England*, the King thought it necessary to summon a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh* the 12th Day of *December*. And to prepare the Way, he issu'd out a Proclamation in that Kingdom, which shew'd him to be of the same Disposition in all his Dominions. By this he solemnly declared, 'That he rely'd so much on the Loyalty, Pru'dence, and Care of his *Parliament*, as absolutely to commit to Them 'the trying and judging of the Carriage of his Subjects during the late 'Troubles, concerning which he wou'd receive Addresses and Informa'tions only from his *Parliament* or *Committee of Estates*. To whom, in 'the mean Time, he recommended the ordering and preparing that Af'fair, and to whom alone any of his People that were interested, might 'freely,

1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1.

'freely, and ſhou'd Only make their Applications; aſſuring them, That 'his own Honour once vindicated, and the ancient Prerogatives of the 'Crown once aſſerted, he wou'd grant ſuch a full and free Pardon, *An* '*Act of Indemnity*, as might witneſs, *That he deſired nothing more than* '*that his People ſhould be ſettled with abundance of Happineſs, Peace* '*and Plenty, under his Government.*

And of Ireland.

As to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, his Majeſty very early iſſu'd out his Proclamation againſt all Diſturbers of the Peace in thoſe Parts, and with good Effect; and Colonel *Eyres*, who had endeavour'd to raiſe a Party there, was ſoon reduced by Sir *Charles Coot*. The *Convention* that had aſſembled in that Kingdom upon the Change of Government, as ſoon as they had taken Order for the ſettling of the publick Affairs, and had appointed certain Commiſſioners to wait upon his Majeſty with their congratulatory Addreſſes, thought fit to diſſolve themſelves, in Expectation of the King's Pleaſure for the calling of a full *Parliament*, and to make Way for the ancient Conſtitution of the Government by a Lord Lieutenant, as had been determin'd by the King and his Council. But in the mean Time, for the preſent Government of that Kingdom, his Majeſty made Sir *Maurice Euſtace* Knight Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, *Roger* Earl of *Orrerey* Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, and *Charles* Earl of *Montraith* Lord Preſident of *Connaught*, to be Lords Juſtices, who manag'd and govern'd there with great Candor and Moderation. So that excepting from ſome whoſe Diſcontent and Guilt wou'd allow them no Reſt, there was now a general Quiet throughout the King's Dominions.

4. And now, to draw towards a Concluſion of this wonderful Year, we may take ſome Notice of the general Joy and Felicity that ſhined through the *Britiſh* Dominions, after ſuch Clouds of Darkneſs and Confuſion; which was introduc'd without one Drop of Blood, and afterwards eſtabliſh'd with the Execution of but ten Perſons in *England*, and the leſſer Puniſhment of a few more. This Revolution, begun by an over-ruling Providence, was moderated and compleated by the Wiſdom and Clemency of the preſent Adminiſtration, which ſo work'd up the Candour and Moderation of the Convention Parliament, that, in ſpite of the Repinings of ſome reſtleſs Perſons, the Happineſs was in Effect made univerſal. All Arts and Sciences at this Time acquired new Life and Vigour; all Sorts of Knowledge and Learning met with Countenance and Incouragement; all curious Inventions and Experiments were approv'd of and promoted, and Politeneſs and good Taſte came more and more into Faſhion; and even the *Engliſh* Tongue was daily more improv'd and refined, both as to Verſe and Proſe, by the ingenious Men of the Age, ſuch as *Waller*, *Cowley*, *Denham*, *Davenant*, *Sprat*, *Leſtrange*, *Dryden*, *Etheridge*, and others, beſides thoſe of the Court, as the King himſelf, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Rocheſter*; who altogether introduc'd a more juſt and judicious way of Writing and Speaking than had been known before in *England*.

The Beginning of the Royal Society.

This great Year likewiſe had the Fame of producing that memorable Eſtabliſhment, ſo much encourag'd by the King and the Court, call'd *The Royal Society*; a celebrated Body of Men, who this Year laid a glorious Foundation for the fineſt Inventions and Experiments in Mathematicks, Phyſick, Philoſophy, *&c.* which ſince then have met with innumerable Additions and Improvements, to the Glory of Learning, and the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation. The chief Promoters of this Society in its Infancy were Dr. *Ward*, Mr. *Boyl*, the Lord *Brouncker*, Dr. *Wilkins*, Dr. *Wallis*, Sir *William Petty*, Dr. *Goddard*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr. *Bathurſt*, Dr. *Wren*, and Mr. *Rook*; which afterwards receiv'd a great Addition

Addition of the moſt eminent Men in the Nation. The Felicity of this Year, being leſs reſiſtable by many than the preceding Adverſity, likewiſe unhappily produc'd other Sorts, or rather other Effects of Politeneſs and genteel Education, ſuch as jovial Entertainment, loyal Remembrances, free Converſation, amorous Intrigues, refined Courtſhip and Gallantry, with other ſoftning and faſhionable Expreſſions, which ſerv'd to cover the moſt enormous Viciouſneſs in the Court and other Places. All which was incourag'd and promoted by the Licentiouſneſs of the two new erected Theatres or Play-houſes, where there ſeem'd to have been very little Reſtraint, and where a new Cuſtom was now introduced of bringing in Women upon the Stage, which before had been perſonated by Boys or young Men. Thus the Felicity of the Times was firſt ſully'd, and afterwards corrupted, ſo as by degrees to bring inſuperable Inconveniencies upon the Nation. 1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1.

The general Joy of this Year was much interrupted at the Concluſion of it, by the immature Death of the King's beloved Siſter *Mary* Princeſs of *Orange*, who on the 24th of *December* dy'd of the Small-Pox, a Diſtemper that has been fatal to the Royal Family. Her Death was a moſt ſenſible Affliction to the King and all the Court, being a Lady of a noble Soul, of admirable Virtues, and all Princely Endowments, and one who had been the great Support and Comfort to her three Brothers in the Time of their greateſt Diſtreſs. She was now twenty nine Years of Age, and was bury'd in the ſame Place, and after the ſame Manner with her Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*. She left only one Son behind her, about ten Years of Age, *William* Prince of *Orange*, who afterwards became the prime Inſtrument in the wonderful Revolution that happened in the Year 1688. The Princeſs's Death was uſher'd in by a fatal Accident, the Overſetting of the *Aſſurance* Frigate, riding at Anchor at *Wolledge*, by a ſudden Blaſt of Wind, by which Misfortune ſeveral Perſons in the Ship were drown'd. Her Death was likewiſe in ſome Meaſure accompany'd by the Deaths of two of the Nobility, *William* Marqueſs of *Hertford*, lately advanc'd to the Dukedom of *Somerſet*, and *John* Lord *Colepeper*; both Perſons of great Worth and ſingular Loyalty, whoſe Characters have been given in the other Part or Volume of this Hiſtory. *The Deaths of* Mary *Princeſs of* Orange, *The Marqueſs of* Hertford, *The Lord* Colepeper,

Beſides thoſe of the higheſt Quality, this Year is remarkable for the Deaths of ſeveral others, whoſe Names ought to be remember d in Hiſtory; the firſt of which was Dr. *Henry Hammond*, the famous Divine, and the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, not only for Theology, but for many other learned Acquiſitions. He had been made Arch-deacon of *Chicheſter*, Canon of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and Orator to that Univerſity, and likewiſe made Chaplain in Ordinary to the late King, to whom he was ſignally ſerviceable in the Treaties of *Uxbridge*, the Iſle of *Wight*, and in other Emergencies. Notwithſtanding his admirable Learning and Piety, he was driven from *Oxford*; from whence he retired to the Houſe of Sir *John Packington* in *Worceſterſhire*, where after ſeveral Years living in the profoundeſt Devotion and Humility, and moſt unparallell'd Charity, he expired in the 56th Year of his Age, about a Month before the glorious Reſtoration; which if he had ſurviv'd, he wou'd have adorn'd the Church in one of its higheſt Stations. The next Perſon to be nam'd is Dr. *Richard Zouche*, a moſt celebrated Civilian, Profeſſor of that Faculty, Principal of St. *Alban's-Hall* in *Oxford*, and Judge of the Court of Admiralty; a Perſon noble by Birth, and highly accompliſh'd by Learning, whoſe Judgment and Works were not only held in great Eſtimation in *England*, but alſo in foreign Countries. Beſides this great Civilian, this Year, there dy'd a famous Common Lawyer, Mr. *Walter Rumſey*; educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, made a Bencher of *Gray's-Inn*, *Dr.* Hammond, *Dr.* Zouche, *Mr.* Rumſey,

1660. Car. 12 Ref. 1.

Mr. Oughtred,

Inn, and afterwards a Judge in *South-Wales*, being ſo noted for his Profeſſion, that he was uſually ſtil'd *The Pick-Lock of the Law*; and beſides, he was not a little admir'd for his Philoſophical and Muſical Genius, and his ſeveral curious Inventions. We ought likewiſe to mention Mr. *William Oughtred*, a Gentleman of an ancient Family, educated in *Cambridge* Univerſity, and Fellow of *King's-Colledge*; and afterwards Rector of *Albury* in *Surrey*; where, tho' he worthily perform'd the Offices of his Function, he moſt of all excell'd in the moſt difficult Parts of the Mathematicks, ſo that all his Contemporaries unanimouſly acknowledg'd him *the Prince of Mathematicians*; and he had the particular Happineſs to be a great Inſtructor of ſeveral of thoſe who form'd *the Royal Society*. And becauſe the moſt vile, as well as the moſt valuable Perſons, are ſometimes to be mention'd in Hiſtory, we ſhall laſtly take Notice of *James Nailor* the *Quaker*, whoſe ſtrange Crime and Puniſhment is already remember'd: The Extravagance of the former caus'd him, for a while, to be diſown'd by the *Quakers*; but upon his Repentance, as it is ſaid, he was again receiv'd into their Society, and ſo continu'd one of their Preachers till his Death, which happen'd this Year in the County of *Huntingdon*.

And James Nailor.

1660/61. Car. 13 Ref. 1.

The Inſurrection of the Fifth-Monarchy *Men.*

Heath. Manley. Philips. Ogilby. Baxter. Calamy. Collier. &c.

V. 1. While the Affairs of the Nation ſeem'd to be in Peace and Tranquillity, in the Beginning of the new Year there happen'd a ſtrange and unparallel'd Action in *London*, which ſtrengthen'd the Belief of thoſe ſecret Plots and Conſpiracies mention'd by the Lord Chancellor in his laſt Speech to the Parliament. This was occaſion'd by a ſmall Body of *Fifth-Monarchy* Men, who hating all Monarchy, and the Appearance of it, had formerly made an Attempt againſt *Cromwell*'s Government, but eſcap'd beyond Expectation. The Head of them was one *Thomas Venner*, ſometime a Wine-Cooper, who by the King's Indulgence held a Conventicle in *Coleman-ſtreet*, where he, and others, us'd to preach to them out of the Prophecies of *Daniel* and the Revelations, and from thence drew ſtrange Inferences, perſwading their Congregation *to take up Arms for King* JESUS, *againſt the Powers of the Earth*, the King, the Duke of *York*, General *Monk*, *&c.* aſſuring them, *That no Weapons form'd againſt them ſhould proſper, nor a Hair of their Heads be touch'd; for One ſhould chace a Thouſand, and Two put Ten Thouſand to Flight.* Upon which they got a Declaration printed, entitled, *A Door of Hope open'd*; in which they ſaid, and declared, 'That they wou'd never ſheath 'their Swords till *Babylon*, as they call'd Monarchy, became a *Hiſſing* 'and a *Curſe*, and there be left neither Remnant, Son, nor Nephew: 'That when they had *led Captivity Captive* in *England*, they wou'd go 'into *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *&c.* and rather dye than take the wicked 'Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*: That they wou'd not make any 'Leagues with *Monarchiſts*, but wou'd riſe up againſt the *Carnal*, to 'poſſeſs the *Gate*, or the World, *to bind their Kings in Chains, and their* 'Nobles in Fetters of Iron.' And ſo to accompliſh this heroick Deſign, they obſerv'd ſo much Policy as to put it in Execution when the King was attending his Mother and Siſter to embark at *Portſmouth*, for their Return into *France*. Accordingly on *Sunday* the 6th of *January*, being fully animated by the Sermon, which hinted to them, *that they had been praying and preaching, but not acting for God*, they ſally'd out well arm'd from their Meeting-Houſe, and march'd to St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard in the Dark of the Evening. Here they muſter'd their Party, amounting to above Fifty, and plac'd their Centinels for the Time, one of whom kill'd a poor innocent Man, who upon Demand had anſwer'd, *He was for God and King* Charles! This gave an Alarm to the City, and the

the Lord Mayor, Sir *Richard Brown*; and the Train'd-Bands being upon the Guard, ſome Files of Men were ſent againſt them, whom theſe deſperate Men quickly routed, and ſo march'd on to *Biſhops-Gate*, where they paſs'd without Oppoſition, and from thence to *Cripple-Gate*, where they came into the City again, and ſo to *Alders-Gate*. Here threatning the Conſtable, who was weakly attended, they were let out again. Then they declared themſelves for KING *JESUS*, and thus proceeded to *Beech-Lane*, where they kill'd a *Headborough* that oppos'd them, and ſo haſtned to *Cane*-Wood, about two Miles from the City, between *Highgate* and *Hampſted*, where they repos'd themſelves for that Night. 1660/61. Car. 13 Reſ. 1.

The Noiſe of this ſtrange Inſurrection caus'd the General to ſend a Party of Horſe and Foot the next Day, who drove them out of the Wood, and took ſome of them Priſoners, who were committed to the *Gate-Houſe*. The reſt having rally'd again, on *Wedneſday* Morning return'd to *London*, with Aſſurance by *Venner* their Leader *That no Weapon form'd againſt them ſhou'd proſper: Therefore they might look upon the Example of* Gideon: *It was the ſame Thing to God, whether he ſav'd by a Few or a Multitude.* Their firſt Appearance was in *Threadneedle-Street*, behind the *Exchange*, where they beat back a Party ſent by the Guard there. But, upon the Advance of more Forces, they retreated to *Biſhop-Gate-Street*; where, after a ſharp Encounter, two of each Side being ſlain, they gradually ſlipt away and diſappear'd. A while after, like the gathering of Clouds, they were ſeen again at *Colledge-Hill* and *Maiden-Lane*, where they deſign'd to ſacrifice the Lord-Mayor. But miſſing of him, they croſs'd *Cheapſide*, and paſs'd into *Wood-Street*. Here began a cruel Fight, wherein they ſhew'd Skill as well as great Valour; and having ruffled ſome Train'd-Bands, and repell'd the Horſe-Guards that came to aſſiſt them, they did not give Way till *Venner* was knock'd down and ſeverely wounded, and *Tuffney* and *Cragg*, two of their fierceſt Preachers and Combatants, were ſlain. Whereupon the greateſt Part of them retreated to *Cripple-Gate*, firing in good Order in their Rear upon the Train'd-Bands, who were in cloſe Purſuit of them. Colonel *Cox*, who commanded, lodg'd ten of them in an Ale-Houſe near the Poſtern, which Houſe they obſtinately maintain'd. The Houſe being ſurrounded, ſome of the Soldiers untiled the next Houſe, and ſhot in upon them, being in the upper Room, who ſtill refus'd Quarter: At the ſame Time another Party of Musketeers got up the Stairs, broke down the Door, and enter'd their Garriſon. Six of them were kill'd before, another refuſing Quarter was firſt knock'd down, and then ſhot with a Musket. The reſt being demanded why they did not ask Quarter before, anſwer'd *They durſt not for fear their own Fellows ſhou'd have ſhot them.* In this Inſurrection, twenty of the King's Men were ſlain, and as many of the Rebels. Thoſe taken were *Venner* himſelf, *Hodgkins*, *Gowler*, *Allen*, *Pym*, *Aſhton*, *Prichard*, *Fall*, *Hopkins*, *Wells*, and about as many more, not much worth the Naming; who blaſphemouſly alledg'd, *That if they were deceiv'd or miſ-led, 'twas God that deceiv'd them.*

Their Enthuſiaſm.

They are defeated.

Theſe, to the Number of twenty, were ſoon after arraign'd at the *Old Baily* for Treaſon and Murder; which being fully prov'd, with all the forementioned Particulars, they were all found guilty, except *Hopkins* and *Wells*, againſt whom the Evidence was not full, and againſt one *Patſhul* only a ſingle Witneſs: Wherefore they were acquitted by their Jury. When Sentence was pronounc'd againſt them, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſter* ſeriouſly charg'd *Venner* with the Blood of his unhappy Accomplices, he impudently reply'd, *It was not he, but Jeſus that led them.* Three of them confeſs'd their Crime, and crav'd Mercy, but the reſt continu'd obſtinate. Being ſentenc'd to be hang'd drawn and quarter'd,

Venner and others executed.

1660/61. Car. 13 Ref. 1.

Venner and *Hodgkins* were on the 19th of *January* executed over-against their Meeting-House in *Coleman-Street*. The former spoke little but in Vindication of himself and his Fact, and something of his Opinion, with an Assurance *That the Time was at Hand when other Judgment wou'd be*; highly reflecting upon the present Government. *Hodgkins* rav'd and curs'd in the Manner of Praying, *calling down Vengeance from Heaven upon the King, the Judges, and the City of* London; nor wou'd he desist, till the Executioner put an End to all his Extravagancies. Two Days after nine more were executed in five several Places of the City, without being quarter'd, as the two first were. All persisted, like the Regicides, in justifying their Crimes, except one young Man, who shew'd great Signs of Repentance.

The Consequence of the Insurrection.

Thus ended a Rebellion of a very strange Nature, which was begun and carry'd on with such infernal Rage, that if their Numbers had been equal to their Spirits, they wou'd have overturn'd the City, and the Nation, and the World, which in their Imagination they had divided among themselves. Tho' this was look'd upon as an Excursion so wild and extravagant, as not to be attributed to a whole Party; yet several Persons being seiz'd not long before, it was thought to be a Branch of the main Design against Monarchy and the present Establishment, and that only the over-hot Zeal of these Enthusiasts fired the Train before the grand Mine was ready to spring. However it was thus taken by the Government, which, having been merciful to the utmost Degree, now began otherwise to exert it self, and to bear a little harder upon a Party who had formerly promoted the most furious Methods. Accordingly a Proclamation was issu'd out 'Prohibiting all seditious and unlawful '*Meetings* and *Conventicles*, under Pretence of Religious Worship; and 'commanding that the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be tender'd to 'all Persons disaffected to the Government, and in Case of Refusal, that 'they be proceeded against, and suffer the severe Penalties of the Statute 'of the Seventh of King *James*.' So, for the present, all Things were reduced to Peace and Quietness; which was establish'd by the total disbanding of the Army in *England*, except the Lord General's Regiment of Foot, and Life-Guard of Horse, who were all paid off and disbanded on *Tower-Hill* the 14th of *February*, by the Commissioners nominated by Parliament, who intimated to the Officers and others, 'That tho' 'they were disbanded as to the Kingdom's Pay, yet they were to be 'timely advanc'd into his Majesty's Service, as an extraordinary Guard 'to his Royal Person.

1661. Car. 13 Ref. 1.

Preparations for the Coronation.

2. And now the King was preparing for two great Affairs, besides the Meeting of a new Parliament, a Coronation, and a Marriage. The first was appointed to be solemniz'd on the 23d Day of *April*; and was resolv'd to be made more pompous and magnificent than those of his two last Predecessors, who were thought too little mindful of what regarded the outward Grandeur and Honour of the Crown, which had been so wisely and visibly supported by the great Queen before them. These, for Reasons of State, had omitted the most chargeable and glorious Part of the Solemnity, the triumphant Cavalcade from the *Tower* to *Westminster*, which Sight had been much incourag'd and promoted by popular Princes. This was now resolv'd to be reviv'd; and Care was taken that no Expences shou'd be wanting that might compleat the Delight and Splendor of the Day. In order to which the City of *London*, according to their Charter, erected four Triumphal Arches of more than ordinary Magnificence, for his Majesty and his Train to pass through to the Coronation. The first in *Leaden-Hall-Street*, near *Lime-Street* End, made

made after the *Dorick* Order; nobly repreſenting his Majeſty's happy Arrival in *England*. The Second, being a fine Naval Repreſentation, was near the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*. The third, conſiſting of the *Corinthian* and *Compoſite* Order, and repreſenting the Temple of *Concord*, was plac'd in *Cheapſide*, near the End of *Wood-Street*. The Fourth, conſiſting of the *Dorick* and *Ionick* Orders, and repreſenting the *Garden of Plenty*, ſtood in *Fleet-Street*, near *White Friars*. All which, with their ſeveral Inſcriptions, Mottoes, *&c.* are fully deſcrib'd by Mr. *Ogilby* and others. 1661. Car. 13 Reſ. 1.

The better to grace the Solemnity, the King advanc'd ſeveral eminent Perſons to higher Degrees of Dignity. And firſt he ſettled and compleated the Number of Knights of the noble Order of the *Garter*, which on the 16th of *April* ſtood as following: *Charles*, King of *Great Britain*, *&c. James*, Duke of *York*; *Charles Lodowick*, Prince Elector Palatine; *Frederick William*, Elector of *Brandenburg*; *Rupert*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Cumberland*; *Edward*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*; *William* of *Naſſaw*, Prince of *Orange*; *Barnard*, Duke of *Eſpernon*; *Charles*, Prince of *Tarante*; *William*, Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas*, Earl of *Berkſhire*; *Algernon*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *James*, Duke of *Ormond*; *George*, Duke of *Buckingham*; *Thomas*, Earl of *Southampton*; *William*, Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*; *George*, Earl of *Briſtol*; *Gaſper*, Count of *Marſin*; *George*, Duke of *Albemarle*; *Edward*, Earl of *Sandwich*; *Aubery*, Earl of *Oxford*; *Charles*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*; *Montague*, Earl of *Lindſey*; *Edward*, Earl of *Mancheſter*; and *William* Earl of *Strafford*. About the ſame Time the King thought fit to create ſix Earls, and ſix Barons, ſome of whom are already mention'd: The Lord Chancellor was created Earl of *Clarendon*; *Arthur*, Lord *Capel*, Earl of *Eſſex*; *Thomas*, Lord *Brudenel*, Earl of *Cardigan*; *Arthur*, Viſcount *Valentia*, Earl of *Angleſey*; Sir *John Greenvile*, Earl of *Bath*; *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Carlile*; *Denzil Hollis*, Lord *Hollis* of *Ifeld*; Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Lord *Cornwallis* of *Eye* in *Suffolk*; Sir *George Booth*, Lord *de-la-Mere*; Sir *Horatio Townſhend*, Baron of *Lyn Regis*; Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Baron of *Winterburn St. Giles*; and *John Crew* made Lord *Crew* of *Stene*. *The Knights of the* Garter.

Beſides theſe Noblemen, for the greater Ornament of the Coronation, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make ſixty eight *Knights of the Bath*, intituled alſo *Knights of the Holy Trinity*; which, for the Curioſity of ſome Readers, are here nam'd. The Fifteen firſt were Sons, or Relations to Noblemen, as Sir *Edward Clinton*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Lincoln*; Sir *John Egerton*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Bridgewater*; Sir *William Egerton*, ſecond Son to the ſame Earl; Sir *Philip Herbert* ſecond Son to the Earl of *Pembroke*; Sir *Vere Fane*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Weſtmorland*; Sir *Charles Berkley* eldeſt Son to the Lord *Berkley*; Sir *Henry Bellaſis*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Bellaſis*; Sir *Henry Hyde*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*; Sir *Rowland Bellaſis*, Brother to the Lord *Faulconbridge*; Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*; Sir *John Vaughan*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Carbury*; Sir *Charles Stanley*, Grandſon to the Earl of *Derby*; Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Cornwallis*; Sir *Francis Fane*, and Sir *Henry Fane*, Grandſons to the Earl of *Weſtmorland*. The next Six were Baronets, as Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *William Ducy*, Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Sir *John Scudamore*, and Sir *William Gardiner*. The reſt were Sir *John Nicholas*, Sir *John Monſon*, Sir *John Bramſton*, Sir *Bourchier Wray*, Sir *John Coventry*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *John Knevet*, Sir *Philip Butler*, Sir *Adrian Scroop*, Sir *Richard Knightley*, Sir *Henry Heron*, Sir *John Lewknor*, Sir *George Brown*, Sir *William Tyringham*, Sir *Francis Godolphin*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, Sir *Grevil Verney*, Sir *Edward Harley*, Sir *Edward Walpole*, Sir *Francis Popham*, Sir *Edward Wiſe*, Sir *Chriſtopher* *The Knights of the* Bath.

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pher Calthorp, Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, Sir *William Bromley*, Sir *Thomas Bridges*, Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*, Sir *John Denham*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Sir *James Altham*, Sir *Thomas Wendy*, Sir *George Freeman*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, Sir *Richard Ingoldsby*, Sir *John Bates*, Sir *Edward Heath*, Sir *William Morley*, Sir *John Bennet*, Sir *Hugh Smith*, Sir *Simon Leach*, Sir *Henry Cheſter*, Sir *Robert Atkins*, Sir *Robert Gayre*, Sir *Richard Pawle*, Sir *Hugh Ducy*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, Sir *Ralph Buſh*, and Sir *Thomas Whitmore*. Theſe all receiv'd their Honours with very great Ceremony, and a Feſtival Solemnity.

The Solemnity of the CORONATION.

All Things being prepar'd, on *Monday* the 22d of *April*, his Majeſty, attended by all his Nobility, Judges, Officers, *&c.* made his grand Cavalcade from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, in ſuch a glorious and ſplendid Manner, and with ſuch a ſurprizing and aſtoniſhing Appearance, that it ſeem'd as if the Riches of both the *Indies* were ſent over to adorn this Day's Triumph. The Streets and Houſes were prepared after an extraordinary Manner, and fill'd with innumerable Multitudes of People from all Parts of the Country, beſides many Foreigners, who acknowledg'd they had never ſeen, among all the great Sights of the World, any that cou'd equal This: Even the *French* themſelves confeſs'd their late Nuptial Solemnities at their King and Queen's Entrance into *Paris* to be inferior in Pomp, State and Riches, to this illuſtrious Cavalcade. Nothing cou'd vie with it but the wonderful Reſtoration it ſelf, the Remembrance of which being now reviv'd, occaſion'd incredible Tranſports in the People. The next Day, being St. *George*'s Day, the Coronation was Solemniz'd at *Weſtminſter*, in the Preſence of ſeveral Foreign Ambaſſadors, after the uſual and ancient Manner, yet with ſeveral Additions as to Ceremony, Habit, Feaſting, and the greateſt Magnificence: So that it was very wonderful to all Strangers, that ſo much Wealth and Grandeur ſhou'd appear in a Kingdom ſo lately over-run with Confuſion and Deſolation. It is obſervable that theſe two Days were the only Days clear from Rain for above a Month together; but as ſoon as the whole Solemnity was over, and the King at Dinner in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, there fell ſuch a Storm of Thunder, Lightning and Rain, as had never been known at that Time of the Year; which ſeveral were ready to look upon as Ominous, and portending ſome future Calamities.

3. While Preparations were making for theſe great Solemnities, and the Meeting of a new Parliament, the King was buſily and ſecretly imploy'd in the Affair of a Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*; in which he came to ſuch a Reſolution, as to think it convenient to diſcover and lay it before his Parliament; the Steps and Proceedings of which will be mention'd in a more proper Place. In the mean Time his Majeſty was likewiſe carrying on another Deſign, purſuant to his large Declaration in *October* laſt, which began to take Place before the Meeting of the Parliament, and which was an Attempt and Endeavour to reconcile the different Parties as to Religious Matters, more eſpecially the Church of *England* and the *Presbyterian*. This was judg'd a very laudable Deſign; and accordingly the King iſſu'd out a Commiſſion directed to twelve Biſhops, and nine Epiſcopal Divines as Aſſiſtants, on one Side; and to twelve *Presbyterian* Divines, as Principals, and nine Others, as Aſſiſtants, on the other Side. The Biſhops were *Fruen* of *York*, *Couſens* of *Durham*, *Sheldon* of *London*, *Warner* of *Rocheſter*, *King* of *Chicheſter*, *Henchman* of *Salisbury*, *Morley* of *Worceſter*, *Sanderſon* of *Lincoln*, *Laney* of *Peterborough*, *Walton* of *Cheſter*, *Sterne* of *Carliſle*, and *Gauden* of *Exeter*: Their Aſſiſtants were Dr. *Earl*, Dr. *Heylyn*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Barwick*, Dr. *Gunning*, Dr. *Pearſon*, Dr. *Price*, Dr. *Sparrow*, and Mr. *Thorndike*. The twelve *Presbyterian* Divines were Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Tuckney*,

The Divines concern'd in the Savoy *Conference.*

Tuckney, Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Jackſon*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Clark*, and Mr. *Newcomen:* Their Aſſiſtants were Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Collins*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Rawlinſon*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*. All theſe were commiſſion'd by the King to act for four Months from the 25th of *March*, and more particularly 'To adviſe upon, and review the *Book of Common-Prayer*, comparing the ſame with 'the moſt ancient *Liturgies* which have been us'd in the Church in the 'primitive and pureſt Times, and to take into their ſerious and grave 'Conſiderations the ſeveral *Directions* and *Rules*, *Forms of Prayer*, and '*Things* in the ſaid *Book of Common-Prayer* contained; and to adviſe and 'conſult upon and about the ſame, and the ſeveral *Objections* and *Exceptions* which ſhall now be rais'd againſt the ſame; and, if Occaſion be, to 'make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary *Alterations*, *Corrections* and *Amendments*, as ſhall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for giving 'Satisfaction to *Tender Conſciences*, and the Reſtoring and Continuance 'of *Peace* and *Unity* in the Churches under his Majeſty's Government 'and Protection.—And to certify to his Majeſty in Writing, under their 'ſeveral Hands, the *Matters* and *Things* whereupon they ſhall ſo determine, to be by his Majeſty approv'd, *&c.* 1661. Car. 13 Reſ. 1.

Great were the Expectations of all Parties what the Reſult wou'd be of the Meeting of ſo many conſiderable Divines, who cou'd not be ſuppos'd to aſſemble without ſome Prejudices and Reſentments. The Biſhop of *London*'s Lodgings in the *Savoy* was the Place appointed for their Meeting; and when the Parties appear'd, that Biſhop, as One in Poſſeſſion, acquainted the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, *That Themſelves, and not the Biſhops, had requeſted the Conference for making ſome* Alterations *in the* Liturgy: *That therefore nothing was to be done, till they had deliver'd their* Exceptions *in Writing, together with the additional* Forms *and* Alterations *which they deſired.* This Method had before been declin'd by the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, when firſt offer'd by the King, and next by the Chancellor, excuſing themſelves, *as not having a Commiſſion from their Brethren, who were very numerous:* And when they were urg'd to declare their own Senſe, excluſive of their Party, they endeavour'd to evade it by begging, *That if they made their* Propoſals, *the other Party might bring in their utmoſt* Conceſſions *at the ſame Time, ſo that when both were compared, ſome Judgment might be made of the Succeſs.* According to this reſerved Way the *Presbyterian* Commiſſioners objected againſt the Propoſal of the Biſhop of *London*, and mov'd for *an amicable Conference, according to the Intent*, as they preſum'd, *of the Commiſſion*, and which they thought *more likely to contribute to a Diſpatch of their great End of Meeting; whereas Writing wou'd be a tedious endleſs Buſineſs, and prevent the Familiarity and Acquaintance with each others Minds, which wou'd beſt facilitate Peace and Concord.* But Biſhop *Sheldon* firmly adhered to the ſafer and more certain Way of bringing all their Exceptions, Alterations and Additions in one View in Writing, to which, in the ſame Manner, they ſhou'd likewiſe receive diſtinct Anſwers. After ſome Debate, it was finally agreed, 'That they ſhou'd bring in all 'their *Exceptions* at one Time, and all their *Additions* at another 'Time. *Their Meeting.*

Accordingly the *Exceptions* were drawn up by Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Dr. *Bates*, &c. and preſented to the Biſhops under this Title, *The Exceptions of the Presbyterian Brethren againſt ſome Paſſages in the preſent Liturgy.* In which Paper, their general Allegation and Requeſt was, 'That as the *Reformers* at firſt ſo com-'poſ'd the Liturgy, as might be moſt likely to win upon the *Papiſts*, 'and *The* Presbyterian *Exceptions.*

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'and draw them into their Church Communion by varying as little as well 'they cou'd from the *Romiſh Forms* before in uſe; ſo it might, accord-'ing to the ſame Rules of Prudence, be then ſo compos'd, as to gain up-'on the Judgments and Affection of Thoſe, who in the *Subſtantials* of 'the *Proteſtant Religion* are of the ſame Perſwaſion.' In Order to this they began with an impracticable Propoſal, namely, 'That the *Prayers* 'and *Materials* of the *Liturgy* might have nothing in them *Doubtful* or '*Queſtion'd* among pious, learned and orthodox Perſons.' Then they proceeded to deſire 'That the *Repetitions* and *Reſponſals* of Clerk and 'People might be omitted: That the *Petitions* in the *Litany* might be 'caſt into one ſolemn Prayer to be offer'd up by the Miniſter alone: 'That there be nothing countenancing the Obſervation of *Lent* as a 'Religious Faſt: That the Obſervation of *Saints Days*, &c. be omitted: 'That the *Gift of Prayer* be not excluded from being a Part of Publick 'Worſhip: That the new Tranſlation of the Scriptures be every where 'us'd inſtead of the Old Verſion: That all *Apocryphal* Leſſons be omit-'ted: That no Part of the *Liturgy* be read at the *Communion-Table*: 'That the Word *Prieſt* and *Curate* be turn'd into that of *Miniſter*, and '*Sunday* into *Lord's-Day*. And, beſides Others, That no *Ceremonies* of '*Habit* or Poſture be impos'd, but left to the Diſcretion of the Miniſter.' After theſe general *Propoſals*, they added their particular *Exceptions* to ſeveral Parts and Paſſages in the *Liturgy*, and expreſs'd or ſuggeſted many Alterations and Amendments to be made in them. To theſe the Epiſcopal Clergy gave in their Anſwer, and accepted of the other's Reply; and at length ſeveral Amendments and Alterations were made in the Publick Liturgy. But after all, it was an unfortunate Prejudice to the Peace of the Church and Nation, that the *Presbyterian* Divines thought theſe Conceſſions and Amendments not ſufficient for their own Honour, and the general Satisfaction of their Party: And on the other Side, the Biſhops and Clergy, that the more they yielded, the more importunate Demands wou'd be made upon them; as they found by the Practice of the aſſiduous Mr. *Baxter*. For when the drawing up the *Additions* to be made to the Liturgy, was by the Brethren committed to him alone, he ſhew'd ſo mean an Opinion of it, as if incapable of Amendments, that he drew up One in effect New, which he intituled the *Reformed Liturgy*. This, tho' perform'd by a ſingle Hand, not well vers'd in Antiquity, was read by the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, and generally approv'd, to the Diſſatisfaction of the other Party, who thought ſuch a total Alteration too great a Preſumption for any One to undertake; eſpecially ſince the old *Liturgy* had been compiled by learned Confeſſors and Martyrs, and conſider'd and approv'd by many eminent Foreign Divines.

And now the Diviſions were more ſenſibly encreas'd than diminiſh'd; after ſeveral ineffectual Papers of *Propoſals*, *Exceptions*, *Anſwers*, *Replies* and *Rejoynders*, when the Commiſſion was within ten Days of expiring, the *Presbyterian* Divines earneſtly deſired the Biſhops to admit them to a Perſonal Conference, upon the Subject Matter of the Papers that had paſs'd between them. To remove all Complaints, the Biſhops who always declin'd this Way of Altercation, did now yield to it; and Three of each Party were appointed to manage the Diſpute: The Biſhops choſe Dr. *Pearſon*, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Sparrow*; and the other Side choſe Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter*. When they met, the Conference through Want of Order, frequent Interruptions, and perſonal Reflections, turn'd to little or no Account. Time being thus ineffectually ſpent, Biſhop *Coſens* at length produc'd a Paper, containing an Expedient to end the Controverſy, by a Motion 'To put the Complain-'ants upon diſtinguiſhing between the Things they charg'd as *Sinful*, and '*thoſe*

A Perſonal Conference.

'thoſe they excepted againſt as only *Inexpedient*.' The *Presbyterian* Miniſters being deſired to draw up an Anſwer to it, they comply'd the next Morning, and deliver'd it, but in their own Names only. In this they charg'd eight things in the Liturgy as *flatly ſinful, and contrary to the Word of God:* 1. 'That no Miniſter be admitted to baptize without 'the tranſient Image of the *Croſs*. 2. That no Miniſter be permitted 'to Read, Pray, or exerciſe the other Parts of his Office, that dares not 'wear a *Surplice*. 3. That none be admitted to the Communion of the 'Lord's Supper, that dare not receive it kneeling. 4. That Miniſters 'be forced to pronounce all Baptized Infants *Regenerate by the Holy 'Ghoſt*. 5. That Miniſters be forced to deliver the Sacrament unto the '*Unfit*, both in Health and Sickneſs, and that with Perſonal Applicati-'on, putting it into their Hands. 6. That the Miniſters be forced to ab-'ſolve the *Unfit*, and that in abſolute Expreſſions. 7. That Miniſters 'are forced to give Thanks for all whom they Bury, as *Brethren whom God 'hath deliver'd and taken to himſelf*. 8. That none may be a Preacher 'that dares not ſubſcribe, *That there is nothing in the Common-Prayer 'Book, Book of Ordination, and the thirty nine Articles, that is contra-'ry to the Word of God*.' Theſe were ſhocking Things; and, as an ingenious Modern Author obſerves, this Charge looks like a naked Affirmation: For ought appears, they either begg'd the Queſtion, or elſe fail'd in the Proof. Beſides, in the fifth and ſixth Particulars, they went upon a Suppoſition evidently falſe: For, notwithſtanding Dr. *Calamy*'s Plea, by the *Common-Prayer Book* the Miniſter was never forc'd to adminiſter either the Sacrament, or the Abſolution, to any Perſon *Unfit*. 1661. Car. 13 Reſ. 1.

This Way of Management on the *Presbyterian* Side, gave but a ſlender Proſpect of an Accommodation. However the Epiſcopal Divines, being willing the others ſhou'd exert their whole Force, came to an Agreement to argue in Writing, and that each Party ſhou'd oppoſe and anſwer by Turns. And ſo they proceeded to diſpute upon this Queſtion, *Whether it was ſinful to enjoin Miniſters to deny the Communion to thoſe that dare not receive it Kneeling?* And here many Arguments were warmly urg'd about making Things, in their own Nature *Indifferent*, to become *Neceſſary* as to their *Uſe*, when commanded by lawful Authority. In this Debate, Mr. *Baxter* is repreſented to have been either perplex'd in his Underſtanding, or indiſpos'd for cloſing the Difference, for no Propoſition cou'd be made plain enough to gain his Aſſent. His Talent is ſaid to have layn in retiring to Foreign Diſtinctions, and Miſapplications of the Rules of Logick; and it was hard to ſay whether his involving an Argument, and raiſing a Miſt, was Art or Infirmity. Thus, after much Diſputing, ſome Cavilling, and ſeveral warm Expreſſions, the famous Conference ended without Union or Accommodation; the *Presbyterian* Divines depending too much on the Encouragement they had receiv'd from the King and the Miniſtry, on the Aſſurances from ſome leading Members in Parliament, and on the Affections of the People: In all which they found themſelves miſtaken. Mr. *Baxter* lays all the Blame upon the Managers of the Church Side; and that at a Time ſo proper for the Reconciling of Differences, they wou'd yield nothing at the Deſire of the *Presbyterians*, and the more paſſionately they preſs'd for any thing, the more tenacious they were of it. But others are of Opinion that he himſelf was much too forward, and to blame in the Management of this Conference; and notwithſtanding all his Induſtry and Activity, and his no ſmall Parts, he was inferior in Temper, Judgment and Learning to ſeveral of his Brethren. However in Concluſion, it was mutually agreed, That the Report of the Conference ſhou'd be deliver'd to the King in Writing: And that each Party ſhou'd give in this general Account, *The Meeting breaks up.*

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'That the Welfare of the Church, Unity and Peace, and his Majeſty's Satisfaction, were *Ends* upon which they were all agreed; but as to the *Means*, they cou'd not come to any Accommodation.

The Second PARLIAMENT.

VI. 1. Some Time before the finiſhing of this Conference, the much expected Parliament met, on the 8th Day of *May*, with unuſual Solemnity. It was the firſt that was regularly choſen in this Reign, and continu'd, with ſeveral Intermiſſions, for above ſeventeen Years; ſo that in Time it obtain'd the Name of the *Long Parliament*. In the main, and in general, it muſt be ſaid to have been excellently well and wiſely choſen for the good and peaceable Eſtabliſhment of the Publick Affairs; the Houſe of Commons conſiſting of the moſt conſiderable and eminent Perſons for Birth, Eſtates, Knowledge and Experience, that were to be found in three Kingdoms: Tho' by Length of Time, Changes upon Deaths, and other Accidents, ſeveral of the Members were thought to be too liable to Impreſſions from a degenerate and corrupted Court; for which Reaſon ſome afterwards gave it the opprobrious Name of the *Penſionary Parliament*. Being met upon the appointed Day, the King, to revive and eſtabliſh the ancient Grandeur of the Crown, rode in State from his Palace to *Weſtminſter*-Abby, attended with the whole Body of the Nobility in their Robes, and all his great Officers in Order, with Drums, Trumpets and other Muſick, after ſuch a ſolemn and pompous Manner, as was little inferior to the Glories of a Coronation. Rot. Parl. *Heath. Wood.* Synodus Anglicana. &c.

After this Ceremonial was over, and a learned Sermon preach'd before him by Dr. *Ironſide* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty went into the Houſe of Peers, and from his Throne open'd the Parliament with this following Speech to both Houſes, which deſerves to be inſerted without any Abridgment:

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'*My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I will not ſpend the Time in telling you why I call'd you hither; I am ſure I am glad to ſee you here. I do value my ſelf much upon keeping my Word, upon making good whatſoever I promiſe to my Subjects: And I well remember when I was laſt in this Place, I promis'd that I wou'd call a Parliament as ſoon as cou'd be reaſonably expected or deſired; and truely, conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, and all that has been done ſince we parted, you cou'd not reaſonably expect to meet ſooner than now we do. If it might have been a Week ſooner, you will confeſs there was ſome Reaſon to defer it to this Day: For this Day, we may without Superſtition love one Day, prefer one Day before another, for the Memory of ſome Bleſſings that befel us that Day; and then you will not wonder that the Memory of the great Affection the whole Kingdom ſhew'd to me this Day Twelve-Month, made me deſirous to meet you again this Day, when I dare ſwear you are full of the ſame Spirit, and that it will be laſting in you. I think there are not many of you who are not particularly known to me; there are very few of whom I have not heard ſo much Good, that I am ſure, as I can be of any thing that is to come, that you will all concur with me, and that I ſhall concur with you in all Things which may advance the Peace, Plenty and Proſperity of the Nation, I ſhall be exceedingly deceiv'd elſe.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, you will find what Method I think beſt for your Proceeding, by two Bills I have caus'd to be prepar'd for you, which are for Confirmation of all that was enacted at our laſt Meeting: And above all, I muſt repeat what I ſaid when I was laſt here: *That next to the miraculous Bleſſing of God Almighty, and indeed, as an immediate Effect of that Bleſſing, I do impute the good Diſpoſition and Security we are all in, to the happy Act of* Indemnity *and* Oblivion: *That is the principal* Corner-Stone *which ſupports this excellent Building,*

'*that*

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'*that creates Kindneſs in us to each other, and Confidence in our joint* '*and common Security.* I am ſure I am ſtill of the ſame Opinion, and 'more, if it be poſſible, of that Opinion, than I was, by the Experience 'I have of the Benefit of it, and from the Unreaſonableneſs of what *ſome* '*Men* ſay againſt it, tho' I aſſure you not in my Hearing. In God's 'Name provide full Remedies for any future Miſchiefs; be as ſevere as 'you will againſt *new Offenders*, eſpecially if they be ſo upon *Old Prin-* '*ciples*, and pull up thoſe Principles by the Roots. But I ſhall never 'think him a wiſe Man, who wou'd endeavour to undermine or ſhake 'that Foundation of our Publick Peace, by infringing that *Act* in the 'leaſt Degree; or that he can be my Friend, or wiſh me well, who 'wou'd perſwade me ever to conſent to the Breach of a Promiſe I ſo ſo-'lemnly made when I was abroad, and perform'd with that Solemnity; 'becauſe, and after I promis'd it, I cannot ſuſpect any Attempts of that 'kind by any Men of Merit and Virtue.

'I will not conclude without telling you ſome *News*; News that I 'think will be very acceptable to you; and therefore I ſhou'd think my 'ſelf unkind and ill-natur'd, if I ſhou'd not impart it to you. I have 'been often put in Mind by my Friends, *That it was now high Time to* '*Marry*; and I have thought ſo my ſelf ever ſince I came into *England:* 'But there appeared Difficulties enough in the Choice, tho' many Over-'tures have been made to me; and if I ſhou'd never marry till I cou'd 'make ſuch a Choice, againſt which there cou'd be no Foreſight of any 'Inconvenience that may enſue, you wou'd live to ſee me an old Batchelor, 'which I think you do not deſire to do. I can now tell you, not only 'that I am reſolv'd to marry, but to whom I reſolve to marry, if God 'pleaſe: And towards my Reſolution, I have us'd that Deliberation, and 'taken that Advice as I ought to do in an Affair of that Importance; and 'truſt me, with a full Conſideration of the Good of my Subjects in ge-'neral, as of my ſelf: It is with the Daughter of *Portugal.* When I 'had, as well as I cou'd, weigh'd all that occur'd to me, the firſt Reſo-'lution I took, was to ſtate the whole Overtures which had been made 'to me, and in Truth, all that had been ſaid againſt it, to my *Privy-* '*Council*; without hearing whoſe Advice, I never did, nor ever will re-'ſolve any thing of *Publick Importance.* And I tell you with great Sa-'tisfaction and Comfort to my ſelf, that after many Hours Debate in a full 'Council, for I think there was not above one abſent; and truly I be-'lieve, upon all that can be ſaid upon that Subject, for or againſt it, my 'Lords, without one diſſenting Vote, yet there were very few ſate ſilent, 'advis'd me with all imaginable Chearfulneſs to this Marriage: which I 'look'd upon as very Wonderful, and even as ſome Inſtance of the Ap-'probation of God Himſelf; and ſo took my own Reſolution, and con-'cluded all with the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, who is departing with the 'whole Treaty ſign'd, which you will find to contain many great Advan-'tages to the Kingdom: And I make all the Haſte I can to fetch you a 'Queen hither, who I doubt not will bring great Bleſſings with Her, to 'Me and You.

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

He referr'd the reſt to the Lord Chancellor, who made an elegant Speech, too long to be inſerted but by way of Abridgment. He told them, 'That the King had call'd them hither by his Writ, which was the 'only good and lawful Way to the meeting of a Parliament; and they 'ought to thank God he had reſerv'd them to that Day, a Day that ma-'ny good Men had dy'd praying for, that after all the Prodigies in 'Church and State, they had liv'd to ſee the King at the opening of the 'Parliament. That his Majeſty had caus'd a Bill or two to be prepared 'for the Confirmation of all that was enacted in the laſt Parliament;

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'which, tho' not call'd by the King's Writ, might be reaſonably thought 'to have been call'd by God Himſelf, upon the Prayers of the whole 'Kingdom, as the only Means to reſtore the Nation to its Happineſs, to 'its Self, to its Honour, and even to its Innocence. That for the King 'after ſo many Injuries and Loſſes to have been not only willing to con-'firm and enact the Act of *Oblivion* and *Indemnity*, but to prepare ſuch 'an Act for them, to conjure them by that was precious, by their 'Friendſhip to him, to diſpatch thoſe Acts with Expedition, was ſuch a 'Piece of Fatherly Tenderneſs and Piety, as cou'd proceed from no 'Heart, but ſuch a one in which God had treaſur'd up a Stock of Mer-'cy, and Juſtice and Wiſdom, to redeem a Nation. That the laſt Par-'liament which had done ſuch Wonders, had ſtill left great Things for 'them to do: They wou'd find the Revenue the laſt Parliament in-'tended to raiſe for the King, very much ſhort of what they promis'd: 'They wou'd find the publick Debts for the Diſcharge of the Army and 'the Navy, which the laſt Parliament thought ſufficiently provided for, 'to be ſtill in Arrear, and unpaid. That they were now the great Phy-'ſicians of the Kingdom; and God knows had many wayward, froward 'and diſtemper'd Patients; ſome who in truth were very ſick, others 'who thought themſelves ſicker than they were, and ſome who thought 'themſelves in Health, and were moſt ſick of all: They were therefore 'to uſe all the Diligence, Patience and Compaſſion, which good Phyſi-'cians have for their Patients; all the Chearfulneſs, Complacency and 'Indulgence, their ſeveral Habits, Conſtitutions and Diſtempers might 'require. But there were a ſort of Patients who deſerv'd none of their 'Lenity; ſuch who were ſo far from valuing their Preſcriptions, that 'they accounted them not as their Phyſicians, but as their Patients: Theſe 'were the ſeditious Preachers, who cou'd not be contented to be diſ-'pens'd with for their full Obedience to ſome Laws eſtabliſh'd, without 'reproaching and inveighing againſt thoſe Laws how eſtabliſh'd ſoever.' After ſome ſevere Expreſſions againſt theſe Preachers, he told them, 'That when the King ſpoke laſt in this Place, he ſaid, *He ſhou'd not 'more propoſe to himſelf any one Rule in his Actions or Councils, than 'this: What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, or of that 'Counſel?* and that *it ſhou'd be want of Underſtanding in him, if it 'wou'd not bear that Teſt.* That in a little Time after the Diſſolution of 'the laſt Parliament, while his Majeſty accompany'd his Mother to the 'Sea-Side, the moſt deſperate and prodigious Rebellion broke out in this 'City, that had been heard of in any Age; and by the Multitude of in-'tercepted Letters from and to all the Counties of *England*, in which 'the Time was ſet down wherein the *Work of the Lord* was to be done, 'by the deſperate Carriage of the Traytors themſelves, and the Brag-'ging of their Friends, it might be concluded the Combination reach'd 'very far; and if the indefatigable Induſtry of the Lord-Mayor had not 'prevented it, probably the Fury wou'd not have been extinguiſh'd, be-'fore this famous City, or a great Part of it, had been burnt to Aſhes: 'And therefore it wou'd become their Wiſdoms to provide new Reme-'dies for new Diſeaſes, and to ſecure the precious Perſon of their So-'vereign from the firſt Approaches of Villany, and the Peace of the King-'dom from the firſt Overtures of Sedition.' Then he proceeded to ſpeak of the King's intended Marriage, which he ſaid, 'wou'd be the 'moſt grateful News that the whole Kingdom cou'd receive: That it 'wou'd be judg'd an irrecoverable Error in Policy, if *Portugal* ſhou'd be 'ſuffer'd again to be ſwallow'd up by *Spain*: That the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſa-'dor was ſolicitous to obſtruct the Match; and the King had not con-'ceal'd from his Council, what that Ambaſſador had offer'd againſt this 'Marriage;

'Marriage; what Proffers he had made of Others, what Threats of War in one Caſe, what Advantage of Dowry in another; nay, that he had pretended to be ſo ſolicitous for the Advancement of the *Proteſtant* Religion, that he had offer'd ſeveral *Proteſtant* Princeſſes, to whom his Maſter ſhou'd give a Portion, as with the Infanta of *Spain*: But he had withal preſs'd very earneſtly the Delivering up of *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica*; by what it was plain the *Spaniſh* King wou'd have that Recompence for the Portion he wou'd give. That there being an unanimous Advice from his Council to make this Marriage, his Majeſty had ſent for the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, had declared his Reſolution to him, had writ himſelf to *Portugal*, and was preparing his Fleet to fetch home their Queen.' In the laſt Place he told them, 'There were ſome other Particulars of Weight, but he wou'd reſerve them till they met again, after they had choſen their Speaker. 1661. Car. 13 Reſ. 2.

The Houſe of Commons having the King's Licence to chuſe their Speaker, where was a noble Appearance of worthy Patriots, upon the Motion of Sir *Charles Berkley* Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold, they made Choice of the Duke of *York*'s Solicitor-General, Sir *Edward Turner*, a worthy, ingenious, and experienc'd Perſon, whoſe great Modeſty in declining the Office, heighten'd the Deſire of the Houſe for him to undertake it; and thereupon was led up to the Chair by three eminent Servants of his Majeſty, Sir *Charles Berkley*, Sir *George Carteret*, and Sir *Heneage Finch*. On the tenth of *May* he was preſented to the King in the Houſe of Peers, where having again declin'd the Office, and receiv'd an Anſwer from the Lord Chancellor that he cou'd not be excus'd, he proceeded to make a full and elegant Speech concerning the late Troubles of the Nation, and the happy deliverance out of them, and particularly obſerv'd, 'That as the former Spirit of Reformation at firſt brought us into this Miſery; ſo the Spirit of Giddineſs which God ſent among our *Reformers*, at length cured us.' Then applying himſelf to the King, he ſaid, 'As we have Cauſe at all Times to bleſs God, that he hath thus brought your Majeſty to your People; ſo we have juſt Cauſe at this Time to return our hearty Thanks unto your Majeſty, that you have thus brought your People to your Self. The Sun exhales the Vapours from the Earth, and then ſends them down in Showers of Plenty; ſo we joyfully find that our Obedience and Affection to your Majeſty, are return'd upon our Heads in Plenty, Peace and Protection. The laſt Meeting here in Parliament was happy in healing the bleeding Wounds of this Nation; they were bleſs'd alſo, even for their Works ſake, your ſacred Majeſty did bleſs them, and therefore they ſhall be *bleſſed to all Poſterity*. But, Sir, we hope you have a Bleſſing left for us too: That was your Parliament by *Adoption*, but this is yours by *Birth-Right*: This Parliament is *Free-Born*: I hope this Honour will beget in us an Emulation to exceed the Actions of our Predeceſſors, and not only to meet your Majeſty as our Sovereign, with the Duty of Subjects, but with the Love of Sons to a moſt indulgent Father.—If the Affections of all *Engliſhmen* can make you Happy; if the Riches of this Nation can make you Great; if the Strength of this warlike People can make you Conſiderable at Home and Abroad, be aſſured you are the greateſt Monarch in the World. Give me Leave to double my Words and ſay it again, I wiſh my Voice cou'd reach to *Spain*, and to the *Indies* too, '*You are the greateſt Monarch in the World!*' Then he concluded with the uſual Requeſt for the Commons wonted Priviledges, Freedom of Speech, Protection from Arreſts, and Acceſs to his Majeſty upon all Occaſions.

Sir Edward Turner *choſen Speaker of the Commons.*

His Speech to the King.

Upon

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The Chancellor's ſecond Speech.

Upon the finiſhing of this, the Lord Chancellor made a ſecond Speech by way of Supplement to his former; in which he told the Speaker and the Commons, 'That the King had done his Part, by publiſhing the very 'Day he intended the Parliament ſhou'd meet, a good Time before the 'Writs were ſeal'd, that the Country might not be ſurpriz'd in their 'Elections; but that they might ſend up ſuch a Repreſentative to him 'as he might make a clear View and Proſpect of the Affections and De-'ſires of his People: And He is perſwaded that the Commons of *Eng-'land* were never *more exactly repreſented* than they were in the preſent 'Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes.' After that he took Notice of the 'great Priviledge of the common People of *England* to be repreſented 'by the greateſt, and learnedeſt, and wealthieſt, and wiſeſt Perſons that 'cou'd be choſen out of the Nation: But, added he, the compounding 'the Commons of *England*, that noble Repreſentative, with the com-'mon People of *England*, was the firſt Ingredient of that accurſed Doſe 'which intoxicated the Brains of Men with that Imagination of a *Com-'mon-Wealth*; a Government as impoſſible for the Spirit and Genius of 'the *Engliſh* Nation to ſubmit to, as it is to perſwade them to give their 'Cattle and their Corn to other Men, and to live themſelves upon Herbs 'and Roots.' He told them, 'There was not a Common-Wealth in '*Europe*, where every Man that was worth one Thouſand Pounds, did 'not pay more to the Government, than a Man of a Thouſand Pounds a 'Year ever did to the Crown here before the late Troubles; and he was 'perſwaded that that Monſter *Common-Wealth* coſt this Nation more in 'the few Years ſhe was begot, born and brought up, and in her Funeral, 'than the Monarchy had done theſe ſix Hundred Years.' Then he pro-ceeded to other Heads, and particularly urg'd them to provide againſt the exceſſive Drinking and Expences that prov'd inconvenient in Elections; and recommended to them the great Improvements to be made by drain-ing of Fens, and the like. Laſtly he deſired them 'That they wou'd 'uſe ſuch Expedition in their Counſels of moſt Importance, that the reſt 'may be left to a Receſs in the Winter, after an Adjournment, that his 'Majeſty might have Time to beſtow himſelf upon his Subjects in a Pro-'greſs which he wou'd be glad to begin before the End of *July*. That 'his Majeſty deſired again to ſee his good City of *Worceſter*, and to 'thank God for his Deliverance there; and to thank God even in thoſe 'Cottages, and Barns, and Hay-Lofts, wherein he was ſhelter'd, and 'feaſted, and preſerv'd: And in the Cloſe of that Progreſs he hopes he 'ſhall find his Queen in his Arms; and ſo return to meet them there in 'the Beginning of Winter.

Both Houſes approve the King's Marriage.

2. Theſe uſeful Ceremonies being over, the Parliament proceeded to the great Affairs of the Kingdom; and within three Days both Houſes came to a Vote and Reſolution concerning the King's intended Marriage, and accordingly attended his Majeſty at *Whitehall* with their 'humble 'Acknowledgment and Thanks for the free and gracious Communicati-'on of his Reſolution to marry with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*; which 'they conceiv'd to be of ſo high a Concernment to this Nation, that 'they receiv'd it with great Joy and Satisfaction, and did with all Earneſt-'neſs beg a Bleſſing upon, and a ſpeedy Accompliſhment of it; and they 'cou'd not but expreſs their own unanimous Reſolutions, which they 'were confident wou'd have a general Influence upon the Hearts of all 'his Subjects: That they ſhou'd upon all Occaſions be ready to aſſiſt his 'Majeſty in the Purſuance of theſe his Intentions againſt all Oppoſitions 'whatſoever.' To which the King return'd his particular Thanks, de-claring,

claring, *That he did, in the Matter of the intended Marriage, as much ſtudy their Good, as his own.* 1661

While this was tranſacting, the Houſe of Commons, for the greater Solemnity of their Proceedings, and to teſtify their Approbation of the eſtabliſh'd Church, order'd all their Members to receive the Sacrament according to the preſcrib'd Liturgy, within a certain Time, upon Pain of being prohibited the Houſe. Then proceeding with the ſame Zeal, and joining with the Houſe of Peers, on the 20th of *May* they order'd, 'That the *Inſtrument* of *Writing*, that had caus'd ſo much Miſchief, 'call'd, The *SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT*, 'ſhou'd be burnt by the Hand of the common Hang-Man, in the *Pa-* 'lace-Yard at *Weſtminſter*, in *Cheapſide*, and before the *Old Exchange*, 'on the 22d of *May*; and be forthwith taken off the Record in the Houſe 'of Peers, and all other Courts and Places where the ſame is recorded; 'and that all Copies thereof be taken down out of all Churches, Cha- 'pels, and all other publick Places in *England* and *Wales*. All which was perform'd in Triumph, to the great Mortification of the Adorers of this Idol. A few Days after, *May* 28, The Act for *Erecting a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, for Trying and Judging* Charles Stuart, was burnt by the Hands of the Common Hang-Man in the midſt of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, while the Courts were ſitting. Likewiſe the Act for *Subſcribing the ENGAGEMENT againſt a King and Houſe of Peers*; Another, for *declaring the People of* England *to be a COMMON-WEALTH and Free State*; Another, for *Renouncing Title of* CHARLES STUART, and alſo another *for the Security of the Lord* PROTECTOR's *Perſon*, were all burnt with the ſame ſolemn Abhorrence and Deteſtation. During the Debate of the Houſe of Commons on theſe Subjects, and Matters of the like Nature, the warm Mr. *Prynne*, againſt the Privilege of the Houſe, cou'd not withhold from publiſhing certain Reaſons againſt an intended Bill for *regulating Corporations*, as contrary to *Magna Charta*; for which the Houſe cenſur'd him: But upon his Submiſſion, and Recantation, and in Conſideration of his good Services towards the King's Reſtoration, he was by the Houſe remitted of the Cenſure and Puniſhment he had incurr'd by his Overſight.

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The Loyalty of the Commons.

The Covenant, *and other Papers burnt.*

The Commons were ſo unanimous and zealous in their Loyalty and Affections to their Soveraign, that the Republican Party began to be apprehenſive that the late *Act of Oblivion and Indemnity* wou'd not ſecure them from an After-Reckoning. They fear'd that the Validity of that Act might be queſtion'd, unleſs confirm'd, and expreſly eſtabliſh'd by the preſent Parliament; therefore they had ſollicited the King for this new Security, and he had promis'd to procure it for them. But leſt the Inclinations of the Houſe ſhou'd not ſo readily concur with the King's Deſire, upon the Importunity of thoſe who were conſcious of their Guilt and Danger, his Majeſty, on the 20th of *June*, ſent this following kind and obliging Letter to the Houſe of Commons: 'At the Opening our 'Parliament you were told, That we had a great Deſire this Summer to 'make a Progreſs through ſome Parts of our Kingdom, which we reſolve 'to begin in Devotion to our City of *Worceſter*, that we may pour out 'our Thanks to God for our Deliverance there; and the Seaſon of the 'Year quickens us in that Inclination, as we preſume it diſpoſes you to a 'Deſire to withdraw from this City, and to viſit your Countries. But 'you may remember we told you then, That we had caus'd ſome Bills to 'be prepared for you, for Confirmation of what we enacted in our laſt 'Meeting; and we ſaid all we cou'd to you of the Value we ſet upon 'the *Act of Indemnity* (as we have great Reaſon to do) and if we cou'd 'have

The King's Letter for Act of Indemnity.

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'have us'd ſtronger Expreſſions to have conjur'd you ſpeedily to have 'diſpatcht it, we aſſure you we wou'd have done it. And we did think 'what we ſaid wou'd have made an Impreſſion in all who profeſs a De-'ſire to ſerve us; and therefore we expected every Day, that the ſame 'Bill wou'd have been preſented to us for another Aſſent. We muſt con-'feſs, we hear you have ſhewed great Affection to us, ſince your coming 'together, and that you have already prepared and paſs'd ſome very good 'Bills (for which we heartily thank you) that are ready for the Royal 'Aſſent: Yet we cannot but tell you, That tho' we are enough con-'cern'd to expedite thoſe Bills, we have no mind to paſs them till the *Act 'of Indemnity* be likewiſe preſented to us, upon which, if you take our 'Word, moſt of our Quiet and Good depends, and in which we are 'ſure our Honour is concern'd. Therefore we muſt again, and as earneſtly 'as is poſſible, conjure you to uſe all poſſible Expedition in Paſſing that 'Act in the ſame Terms we already paſs'd it (to which we take our 'Self oblig'd) and that you will for the preſent lay aſide all private Bu-'ſineſs, that ſo betaking your ſelves only to the Publick, you may be 'ready to adjourn by the Middle of the next Month, which will beſt ſuit 'with all our Occaſions.

The Commons Care of the King's Revenues.

This Letter had the deſired Effect of prevailing with the Commons, and obliging the People; but firſt they reſolv'd to do ſomething for the King in the Matter of his Revenues, 'and to conſider of ſettling ſo 'much as might maintain the Splendor and Grandeur of his Kingly Of-'fice, and preſerve the Crown from Want, and from being undervalu'd 'by his Neighbours.' In which Sir *Philip Warwick* made a Report, That upon a full Examination he found the Cuſtoms, eſtimated at 500000 Pounds *per Annum*, wou'd fall ſhort 100000: That the Crown Lands, valu'd at 120000 Pounds *per Annum*, wou'd fall ſhort 40000: That the Exciſe, valu'd at 300000 Pounds *per Annum*, wou'd fall ſhort 50000: That the Eſtimate upon the Advance of the Queen's Joynture, at 50000 Pounds, wou'd fall ſhort 40000: That the Eſtates forfeited, eſtimated at 38000 Pounds, wou'd fall ſhort 25000: And that the Wine Licences, eſtimated at 25000 Pounds, wou'd fall ſhort 10000: The Total of the Defect was 265000 Pounds. But that no Time might be loſt, in the Point of the King's Revenues, the Commons order'd, 'That forthwith be pro-'vided a plentiful Supply for his Majeſty's preſent unavoidable great Oc-'caſions, as well as a Settlement of a conſtant and ſtanding Revenue:' And accordingly they order'd a Bill to be brought in, 'To enable his Majeſty 'to ſend out Commiſſions to receive the free and voluntary Contributi-'ons of his People, towards the preſent Supply of his Majeſty's Affairs, '*&c.*'

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

Having finiſhed this, and afterwards the Bill for Confirmation of the Act of *Oblivion and Indemnity*, on the 8th Day of *July* the King came to the Houſe of Peers, where being ſeated on his Throne, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, among other things, ſpoke thus to his Majeſty: 'Your Majeſty was pleas'd, at the Opening of the Parliament, to re-'commend unto us two Bills; one for Confirmation of publick Acts, a-'nother for the private Acts that paſſed the laſt Parliament: They were 'ſo many in Number, and great in Weight, that hitherto we cou'd not 'conſider of them all; but ſome we have peruſed, as the Act for *Confir-'mation of Judicial Proceedings*, that for *taking away the Court of Wards 'and Liveries*, and alſo all thoſe that relate to your Majeſty's *Cuſtoms* 'and *Exciſe*. And that we might with ſome Chearfulneſs ſee your Ma-'jeſty's Face, we have brought our Brother *Benjamin* with us, I mean 'Your *Act of Oblivion*. I take the Boldneſs to call it *Yours*, for ſo it is 'by many Titles: Your Majeſty firſt conceiv'd it at *Breda*, you help'd to

'contrive

'contrive and form it here in *England*, and we muſt all bear you Witneſs, you labour'd and travell'd till it was brought forth: And ſince it had a Being, ſome Queſtion being made of its *Legitimation*, your Royal Heart is not at Eaſe until it be confirm'd. And now, Sir, give me Leave to ſay, By the Suffrage of a Full, a Free, and Legal Parliament, it is preſented to your Majeſty to be *naturaliz'd*. Your Majeſty's Deſires are fully anſwer'd by all the Repreſentatives of the People; and their hearty Prayer to God is, That all your Subjects may be truly thankful to you, and that your Majeſty may long live to enjoy the Fruits of the *unparallel'd Mercy*. Your Majeſty was pleas'd lately to intimate to us, *That you ſo valu'd the Quiet and Satisfaction of your People, and the Keeping of your Royal Word, that tho' divers other Bills were made ready for you, you wou'd vouchſafe the Honour to this Bill alone, your Favourite, to come and paſs it.* Sir, hereby you have made this a great *Holiday*, and we ſhall obſerve it with Joy and Thankſgiving. Upon ſuch ſolemn Feſtivals, there us'd to be a ſecond Service, and Anthem, and a Collect, or at leaſt an Offering: My Anthem ſhall be, *Quid tibi retribuam Domine?* and my Collect *A ſhort Report of your Revenue.*' Then mentioning the King's Patience, Providence, and Frugality abroad, in not bringing home any Debts for the Nation to pay, *&c.* he thus concluded: 'The Commons of *England* do by me their Servant humbly preſent you with this Bill, intitled, *An Act for a free and voluntary Preſent*, and wiſh it a Succeſs anſwerable to your Royal Heart's Deſire.' 1661. Car. 13 Reſ. 2.

The King's Speech at his paſſing two Bills.

In the paſſing of the two Bills mention'd in the Speaker's Speech, the King himſelf ſpoke as follows: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, It is a good Time ſince I heard of your paſſing this Bill of Money, and I am ſure you wou'd have preſented it to me ſooner, if you had thought I had deſired it; but the Truth is, tho' I had need enough of it, I had no Mind to receive it from you, till I might at the ſame Time give my Aſſent to this other very good Bill that accompanies it, for which I long'd very impatiently. I thank you for Both with all my Heart; and tho' there are other good Bills ready, with which you will eaſily believe I am very well pleas'd, and in which I am indeed enough concern'd, yet I choſe rather to paſs theſe two Bills together, and to paſs them by themſelves without any other, that you may all ſee, and in you the whole Kingdom, *that I am at leaſt equally concern'd for You and them, as for my ſelf:* And in Truth it will be want of Judgment in me, if ever I deſire any thing for my ſelf, that is not equally good for you and them. I am confident you will believe that my Well-Being is of ſome Uſe and Benefit to you, and I am ſure your Well-Being, and being well pleas'd, is the greateſt Comfort and Bleſſing I can receive in the World. I hope you will be ready within a few Days to diſpatch thoſe other publick Bills which are ſtill depending before you, that I may come hither and paſs all together, and then adjourn till Winter, when what remains may be provided for. The laſt Parliament by God's Bleſſing laid the Foundation of the Happineſs we all enjoy; therefore I thought it but Juſtice to the Memory of it, to ſend you Bills for the *Confirmation* of what was then enacted; and I cannot doubt but you will diſpatch what remains of that kind with all convenient Speed; and that you will think, that what was then thought neceſſary for the publick Peace, ought not to be ſhaken now, or any good Man leſs ſecure of what he poſſeſſes, than he was when you came together. It is to put my ſelf in mind, as well as you, that I ſo often mention to you my *Declaration* from *Breda:* And let me put you in mind of another *Declaration* publiſh'd by your ſelves about the ſame Time, and which I am perſwaded made mine the more effectual, an honeſt, generous, and

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'christian *Declaration*, sign'd by the most eminent Persons, who had 'been the most eminent Sufferers, in which you *renounc'd all former A-* 'nimosities, all Memory of former Unkindnesses, vow'd all imaginable Good- 'Will to and all Confidence in each other. Therefore let it be in no Man's 'Power to charge Me or You with Breach of our Word or Promise: 'Let us look forwards, and not backwards, and never think of what is 'pass'd, except Men put us in mind of it by repeated Faults we had for- 'got, and then let us remember no more than what concerns those very 'Persons. God hath wrought a wonderful Miracle in settling us as he 'hath done; I pray let us do all we can to get the Reputation at Home 'and Abroad of being well settled. We have Enemies and Envyers e- 'nough, who labour to have it thought otherwise; and if we wou'd in- 'deed have our Enemies fear us, and our Neighbours love and respect 'us, and fear us enough to love us, let us take all the Ways we can, 'that as the World cannot but take Notice of your extraordinary Affe- 'ction to me, and of the Comfort I take in that Affection, so that it 'may likewise take Notice of your Affection to, and Confidence in each 'other; which will disappoint all Designs against the publick Peace, and 'fully establish our joint Security.'

Proceedings against some of the Regicides.

3. All this Time the Parliament proceeded with Vigour in finishing the other Bills projected and intended; and tho' the *Act of Indemnity* was the King's Favourite Act, yet they resolv'd to consider the Honour of his injur'd Father in some Particulars, and so proceeded to the Confiscation of the Estates of twenty one Regicides deceas'd, *viz. Pelham, Skippon, Edwards, Constable, Dean, Danvers, Moore, Alured, Stupeley, Frye, Allen, Maleverer, Blakestone, Hammond, Bourchier, Horton, Purefoy, Norton, Ewer, Ven,* and *Andrews*. They likewise order'd the Lord *Mounson*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and Mr. *Robert Wallop*, who had been favour'd, as the others had been reserv'd in the Act of *Indemnity*, to be brought to the Bar of the House of Commons; where confessing their Crimes, a Bill was order'd to be brought in to confiscate their Estates, as also Sir *James Harrington* and *John Phelps*, not yet apprehended: And it was farther order'd, 'That the Lord *Mounson*, Sir *James* 'Harrington, and Sir *Henry Mildmay* shou'd be degraded of their several 'Honours and Titles; and that those now in Custody, and the other 'two, when apprehended, shou'd all be drawn upon Sledges with Ropes 'about their Necks, from the *Tower* of *London* to, and under the Gal- 'lows at *Tyburn*, and thence convey'd back to the *Tower*, there to re- 'main Prisoners during their Lives.' Which Sentences were solemnly executed upon the 30th of *January* following.

As much Business being effected, and as many Acts prepared as cou'd well be compleated in a limited Time, the King came to the House of Peers on the 30th Day of *July*, when he thought a Recess very necessary. Being seated on his Throne, the Speaker of the House of Commons presented the several Bills for the Royal Assent, the Nature of which will be best understood by giving the Substance of his Speech to his Majesty: 'Your loyal House of Commons have with unwearied La- 'bour consulted for the Service of your Majesty, and the Good of this 'Nation; and now the Fields grow white to Harvest. In the great Field 'of Nature all Fruits do not grow ripe together, but some in one Month, 'some in another: So it is in the Course of our Proceedings; some of 'our Fruits are in the Blossom, when others are in the Bud; some are 'near ripe, and others fit to be presented to your Majesty. Amongst the 'Number of our choicest ripe Fruits, we first present you with a *Bill* 'for the Safety and Preservation of your Majesty's Royal Person and Go- 'vernment;

The Speaker's Speech at the Breaking up of the Parliament.

'*vernment*; wherein we deſire it may be enacted, *That if any Perſon* 1661.
'*ſhall compaſs, imagine, or deſign your Majeſty's Death, Deſtruction, or*
'*bodily Harm, to impriſon or reſtrain your Royal Perſon, or depoſe you,* Car. 13
'*or ſhall levy War againſt your Majeſty, within or without your Realm,*
'*or ſtir up any foreign Power to invade you, and ſhall declare or expreſs* Reſ. 2.
'*ſuch his wicked Intention by Printing, Writing, Preaching, or malici-*
'*ous and adviſed Speaking, being thereof legally convicted, ſhall be ad-*
'*judg'd a Traytor.* And becauſe much of our late Miſery took its Riſe
'from ſeditious Pamphlets, and Speeches from the Pulpits, it is provid-
'ed, *That if any Man ſhall maliciouſly and adviſedly publiſh or affirm*
'*your Majeſty to be an* Heretick, *or a* Papiſt, *or that you endeavour to*
'*introduce* Popery, *or ſhall ſtir up the People to Hatred or Diſlike of*
'*your Royal Perſon or Government, then every ſuch Perſon ſhall be*
'*made incapable of any Office or Imployment, either in Church or State.*
'And if any Man ſhall maliciouſly and adviſedly affirm, *That the Parlia-*
'*ment begun in* Weſtminſter *the 3d of* November 1640, *is yet in Being,*
'*or that any* Covenant *or* Engagement, *ſince that Time impos'd upon the*
'*People, doth oblige them to endeavour a* Change *of the Government ei-*
'*ther in* Church *or* State; *or that Either, or Both Houſes of Parliament*
'*have a* Legiſlative Power *without your Majeſty, then every ſuch Offen-*
'*der, being thereof legally convict, ſhall incur the Penalties of a* Pre-
'munire, *mention'd in the Statute made 16th of* Richard II.

'In the next Place, Sir, give me Leave, I beſeech you, without any
'Violence to the *Act of Oblivion*, to remember a ſad Effect of the Di-
'ſtempers in the laſt Age: When the Feaver began to ſeize upon the
'People, they were impatient till they loſt ſome Blood: The *Lords*
'*Spiritual*, who in all Ages had enjoy'd a Place in Parliament, were by
'an Act of Parliament excluded. Your Majeſty's Royal Grandfather
'was wont to ſay, *No Biſhop no King:* We found his Words true; for
'after they were put out, the Feaver ſtill increaſing, in another Fit the
'Temporal Lords follow'd, and the King himſelf: Nor did the Humour
'reſt there, but in the Round, the Houſe of Commons was firſt garbled,
'and then turn'd out of Doors. It is no Wonder, when a Sword is put
'into a Mad-man's Hand, to ſee him cut off Limb by Limb, and then
'to kill himſelf. Your Majeſty is now happily reſtored to the Govern-
'ment, the Temporal Lords and Commons are reſtored to their Seats in
'Parliament, and ſhall the Church alone ſuffer? *Sit Eccleſia* Anglicana
'*libera, & habeat Libertates ſuas illæſas!* In order to this great Work,
'the Commons have prepared a Bill to *repeal the Law made in the*
'*17th Car.* whereby the Biſhops were excluded this Houſe. Theſe no-
'ble Lords have all agreed, and now we beg your Majeſty will give it
'Life: *Speak but the Word, Great Sir, and your Servants yet ſhall live.*

'We cannot forget the Method, how our late Miſeries, like Waves of
'the Sea, came in upon us: Firſt the People were invited to *Petition*,
'to give Colour to ſome illegal Demands; then they muſt *Remonſtrate*;
'then they muſt *Proteſt*; then they muſt *Covenant*; then they muſt *Aſ-*
'*ſociate*; then they muſt *Engage* againſt our lawful Government, and for
'the Maintenance of the moſt horrid Tyranny that ever was invented.
'For the Prevention of this Practice for the future, we do humbly ten-
'der to your Majeſty a Bill entituled, *An Act againſt Tumults and Diſ-*
'*orders, upon Pretence of preparing or preſenting publick Petitions or*
'*Addreſſes to your Majeſty or the Parliament.* In the next Place we hold
'it our Duty to undeceive the People, who have been poyſon'd with an
'Opinion, *That the Militia of this Nation was in Themſelves, or in their*
'*Repreſentatives in Parliament:* And according to the ancient known
'Laws we have declared *the ſole Right of the Militia to be in your Ma-*

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'*jesty.* And forasmuch as our Time hath not permitted us to finish a 'Bill intended for the future ordering of the same, we shall present you 'with a Temporary Bill, for the *present managing and disposing of the* '*Land Forces:* And likewise another Bill, for *the establishing certain Orders* '*for the Regulation and Government of your Majesty's Navies and Forces* '*by Sea.* According to your Majesty's Commands, we have examin'd 'many of the publick and private Bills which pass'd last Parliament, and 'have prepared some Bills of Confirmation. We have also ascertained 'the *Pains and Penalties to be impos'd upon the Persons or Estates of* '*those Miscreants who had a Hand in the Murder of your Royal Father* '*of blessed Memory*, and were excepted in your Majesty's *Act of Oblivi-* '*on:* Wherein we have declared to all the World, how just an Indigna- 'tion we had against that *horrid Regicide.* We have likewise prepared 'a Bill for the *Collection of great Arrears of the Duty of Excise*, which 'I do here, in the Name of the Commons of *England*, present unto your 'Majesty.—— Your Majesty was pleas'd, at the Opening of the Parlia- 'ment, to tell us *you intended this Summer to take a Progress, and see* '*your People, and at your Return hop'd to bring a Queen home with you.* 'Sir, this welcome News hath made us cast about all Ways for your Ac- 'commodation; and therefore that no Conveniencies might be wanting 'for your Self, your Queen, or Attendants, we have prepared a Bill in- 'tituled, *An Act for providing necessary Carriages in all your Royal Pro-* '*gresses and Removals.* Your Majesty was likewise pleas'd, at our first 'Meeting, to say, *You wou'd not tire us with hard Duty, and therefore* '*about this Time intended a Recess.* That Royal Favour will now be 'seasonable, and we hope advantagious to your Majesty, and our selves. 'We know in our Absence your Princely Heart and Head will not be 'free from Cares and Thoughts of our Protection: And when we leave 'our Hive, like the industrious Bee, we shall but fly about the several 'Countries of the Nation to gather *Honey*; and when your Majesty shall 'be pleas'd to name the Time, return with loaded Thighs unto our 'House again.'

The King's Speech at the same Time.

At the passing of the afore-mention'd Bills, the King made this follow- ing Speech, which cannot conveniently be abridg'd: '*My Lords and Gen-* '*tlemen*, I perceive by the thin Appearance of the Members of both Houses 'this Day, that it is high Time to Adjourn: In Truth, the Season of 'the Year, as well as your particular Affairs, require it, and therefore I 'do willingly consent to it. I thank you for the many Bills you have 'presented me with this Day, of which I hope the Benefit will redound 'to the whole Kingdom. I thank you for the Care you have taken for 'the *Safety of my Person*; which, trust Me, is the more valuable to Me, 'for the Consequence I think it is of to you, and, upon my Consci- 'ence, there is no Body wishes ill to Me, but they who wou'd quickly 'revenge themselves of You, if they cou'd. I thank you for the Care 'you have taken of Your Selves, of your own Safety and Honour, in 'the Act *against Tumults and Disorders* upon Pretence of Petitions; 'to which Licence we owe much of the Calamities we have undergone: 'But I thank you with all my Heart, indeed as much as I can do for 'any Thing, for the Repeal of that Act which *Excluded the Bishops from* '*Parliament*: It was an unhappy Act in an unhappy Time, pass'd with 'many unhappy Circumstances, and attended with miserable Events, and 'therefore I do again thank you for Repealing it. You have thereby 'restored Parliaments to their Primitive Institutions; and I hope, *my* '*Lords and Gentlemen*, you will in a short Time restore them to the Pri- 'mitive Order, and Gravity of Debates and Determinations, which the 'Licence of the late distemper'd Times had so much corrupted; which

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'is the only Way to reſtore Parliaments to their Primitive Veneration with the People, which I heartily wiſh they ſhou'd always have. 1661.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, You are now going to your ſeveral Countries, where you cannot but be welcome for the Services you have perform'd here: I do very earneſtly recommend the good Government and Peace of your Countries to your Care, and your Counſel, and your Vigilance. There are diſtemper'd Spirits enough, which lie in wait to do Miſchief, by laying Reproaches upon the Court, upon the Government, Reproaches upon Me, and Reproaches upon You; your Wiſdoms and Reputations, and Authority will, I doubt not, weigh down their light Credit; and the old and new good Laws will, I hope, prevent any Miſchief they intend. However you have done very well, and I do very heartily thank you for it, in declaring my ſole Right over the *Militia*, the Queſtioning of which was the Fountain from which all our bitter Waters flow'd. I pray make haſte to put the whole Kingdom into ſuch a Poſture, that evil Men, who will not be converted, may yet chuſe to be quiet, becauſe they find that they ſhall not be able to do the Harm they deſire to do. I know you have begun many Bills in both Houſes which cannot be finiſh'd till your Meeting again; and that they may be finiſh'd then, I forbear to make a *Seſſions* now, but am contented that You adjourn till the twentieth of *November*, when I hope, by God's Bleſſing, we ſhall come happily together again. In a Word, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, I thank you for what you have done, and am confident, that what you have left undone you will diſpatch with all Alacrity, and to all our Satisfactions at our next Meeting: And ſo you may adjourn till the twentieth of *November*. And thus ended the Firſt Meeting of the ſecond Parliament of this Reign, after it had ſat with great Satisfaction to the King and Kingdom two Months, three Weeks, and one Day. Car. 13 Reſ. 2.

The End of the Firſt Meeting of the Second Parliament.

4. At the Summoning this Parliament, the Church was not perfectly re-eſtabliſh'd; and the King having granted a *Commiſſion* to Divines of both Parties to treat of an Union at the *Savoy*, as is remember'd, the Court had once almoſt reſolv'd not to call a *Convocation* with the Parliament, as was uſually done. But before the Matter was fully ſettled, the learned Dr. *Heylin* wrote a Letter to a principal Miniſter to ſolicit the King, That the Clergy might be continu'd in their ancient Priviledge of holding *Synods*: of which ſome Part ought to be here mention'd: 'If 'tis objected, That the *Commiſſion*, now on foot, *for altering and explaining certain Paſſages in the Publick Liturgy*, may either paſs inſtead of a *Convocation*, or is thought to be neither compatible nor conſiſtent with it; I hope better in the One, and I can ſee no Reaſon in the Other. For firſt, the ſelecting ſome few Biſhops and other learned Men of the lower Clergy, to debate on certain Points contain'd in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, is not intended for a *Repreſentation of the Church of* England, which is a Body more diffuſed, and cannot legally ſtand bound by their Acts. And if this *Conference* be for no other Purpoſe, but only to prepare Matters for the *Convocation*, why may not ſuch a *Conference* and *Convocation* be held at once? For neither the ſelecting of ſome learned Men out of both the *Orders* for the compoſing and reviewing the two *Liturgies* in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, prov'd any Hindrance to thoſe *Convocations* held in the ſeveral Years of that Reign. Nor did the holding of a *Convocation* together with the firſt Parliament under Queen *Elizabeth*, prove any Hindrance to that *Conference* or *Diſputation* which was deſign'd between the Biſhops and ſome learned Men of the oppoſite Parties. All which conſider'd, I do moſt humbly

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'beg your Lordſhip to put his Majeſty in mind of ſending out his *Mandates* to the two Arch-Biſhops for Summoning a *Convocation*, according to the uſual Form; that this poor Church may be beheld with ſome Degree of Veneration, both at Home and Abroad.' Upon the Strength of theſe Arguments, and the Seaſonableneſs of this Application, the King, as it is ſaid, thought fit to diſpatch his *Mandates* for a *Convocation* in each Province; the *Writs* for ſummoning the Parliament having been iſſu'd ſome unuſual Time before.

Proceedings of the Convocation.

The 8th of *May*, which was the Day of the Meeting of the Parliament, was alſo that of the Convocation, which was ſolemnly open'd at St. *Pauls* by Divine Service and a *Latin* Sermon preach'd by Dr. *Thomas Pierce*, upon a very healing and accommodating Subject; which ſoon after was ſucceeded by the Election and Confirmation of a Prolocutor for the lower Houſe, Dr. *Henry Fearne*, Dean of *Ely*. But the Buſineſs they did, during the Sitting of the Parliament, was much the leſs, by reaſon of the foremention'd Meeting and Conference of the *Savoy*; from which many Things were expected proper to be tranſmitted to them. However they proceeded to draw up a ſolemn Thankſgiving for the King's Birth-day and Reſtoration, the 29th of *May*; and another ſpecial Form of Prayer to be us'd on that Calamitous Day, the 30th of *January*. Which done, the Preſident intimated to the Aſſembly the Want of a particular Form in the Liturgy *For the Miniſtration of Baptiſm to thoſe of riper Years*; and referr'd it to a ſelect Committee of both Houſes. They likewiſe proceeded to examine the Canons already made, and to conſider of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and the Regulation of Spiritual Courts and Officers; as alſo to form a *Book of Articles of Enquiry* to be us'd in the Viſitation of every Biſhop, with ſome other leſſer Matters. Laſtly, ſince the granting of Mony was then their inherent Right, they made a particular Subſcription for a Royal *Benevolence* to be preſented to the King; and ſo broke up at the ſame Time with the Parliament.

Proceedings in Scotland.

VII. 1. While Affairs were carry'd with ſo much Eaſe and Succeſs in *England*, the Parliament in *Scotland* proceeded with no leſs Satisfaction to the Court and loyal Party. And firſt they proceeded to reſcind that great Engine of Trouble and Confuſion, *The Solemn League and Covenant*; in which Caſe they expreſsly declar'd, 'That there is no 'Obligation upon this Kingdom by *Covenant*, *Treaties*, or otherwiſe, 'to endeavour by Arms a Reformation of Religion in the Kingdom of '*England*, or to meddle with the Government or Adminiſtration of that 'Kingdom.' They commanded, 'That none of his Majeſty's Subjects 'preſume, upon any Pretext of any Authority whatſoever, to require a 'Renewing or Swearing to the ſaid *League and Covenant*, or any other '*Covenants*, or publick *Oaths* concerning the Government of the Church 'or Kingdom, without his Majeſty's ſpecial Warrant and Approbation.' They next proceeded to declare the Power of the *Militia* to be in the King's Majeſty alone; and after that they put a particular Brand upon the Act of the 16th of *January* 1647, which related to the Sale and Diſpoſal of the King's Perſon, and declared 'That it was carry'd on and con-'cluded by a prevalent Party, againſt the Judgment of many of his Maje-'ſty's Loyal Subjects; And that it was a moſt ſinful, diſloyal, and unwor-'thy Act, contrary to the Will and Commandment of God; con-'trary to all Laws, Divine and Humane; contrary to the Duty and 'Allegiance of Subjects; contrary to all the Rules of Juſtice, Ho-'nour, Gratitude and Humanity, and highly reflecting on the Honour 'of this ancient Kingdom, and the Reputation of his Majeſty's good Sub-'jects therein. And therefore they do hereby Annull and Condemn the 'ſame for ever; and Ordain it to be expung'd out of all Records, and 'never

Collier. Heath. Leſtrange. Rot. Parl. Wood. Lloyd. Langbane

'never to be remember'd again, but with due Abhorrence and Deteſta- 1661.
'tion.

Epiſcopacy likewiſe reviv'd in this Kingdom, as well as in *England*: Car. 13
In order to which Mr. *James Sharp*, Mr. *Hamilton*, Mr. *Barwell* and Reſ. 2.
Mr. *Leighton*, all in *Presbyterian* Orders, came to *London*; where after being ordain'd Deacons and Prieſts, they were conſecrated Biſhops by the Biſhop of *Winchester*, with the Aſſiſtance of two other *Engliſh* Prelates. At the Solemnity, they expreſsly diſclaim'd the Validity of their former Ordination; and likewiſe procured a Proclamation, declaring the King's Pleaſure for reſtoring the Government of the Church by Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, as it was eſtabliſh'd in the Year 1637. It was likewiſe ſignify'd in this *Inſtrument*, That his Majeſty had nominated Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops to their reſpective Sees, to exerciſe the ſame Authority, with which the Prelates govern'd that Church in the Reign of his Royal Grand-Father. Purſuant to this Proclamation, the Privy-Council of *Scotland* ſtrictly diſcharg'd all Eccleſiaſtical Meetings at *Synods*, *Presbyteries*, &c. till they ſhou'd be authoriz'd by the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops. Not long after, on the 8th Day of *May*, the Reſtoration of Epiſcopacy was confirm'd by Act of Parliament. The Preamble of which Act ſets forth, *Epiſcopacy there reviv'd.*
'That in the Beginning of, and by the late Rebellion within this King- *And eſtabliſh'd.*
'dom, in the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred and Thirty Seven, the 'ancient and ſacred Order of Biſhops was cut off; their Perſons and 'Rights were injured and overturn'd, and a ſeeming Parity among the 'Clergy factiouſly and violently brought in, to the great Diſturbance of 'the *Publick Peace*, the Reproach of the *Reformed Religion*, and Vio-'lation of the Excellent *Laws of the Realm*, for Preſerving an *Orderly* 'Subordination in the Church, &c.' Another Statute was made, which Enacted Obedience from the inferior Clergy to their Dioceſans, and likewiſe prohibited all *Meetings* or *Conventicles* in Houſes for Religious Exerciſes. Another Act was made for Reviving the Right of *Patronages* which had been ſeiz'd by the *Presbyterian* Party. Beſides all theſe, Proviſion was made by another Act, that all Perſons in Publick Truſt or Office ſhou'd Sign a ſolemn Declaration againſt the *National Covenant* in 1638, and the *Solemn League and Covenant* in 1643; in which they declared it *unlawful to Subjects, upon Pretence of* Reformation, *or other Pretence whatſoever, to enter into* Leagues *and* Covenants, *or take up Arms againſt the King, or thoſe Commiſſion'd by Him*, &c.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſeveral Laws, Mercy was ſhewn to innumerable Offenders here, as well as in *England*: Only ſome few were excepted; more particularly the famous Marqueſs of *Argyle*, who had been ſo deeply ingag'd in the late Miſeries, and of whom much has been ſaid in the former Volume of this Hiſtory. Being brought before the Parliament, and many Articles of High-Treaſon exhibited againſt him, he made a long and ſubtle Defence; and afterwards preſented a Paper call'd *a Submiſſion to the King's Majeſty*; in which he acknowledg'd his Treſpaſſes in General, and ſaid, *That he had rather lye at the Mercy of the Prince, than plead any Thing tending to his own Juſtification.* This Paper was rejected, as being not fully ſubmiſſive and ſatisfactory, in regard he acknowledg'd *no Treaſonable Guilt* in it; but extenuating his Crimes, he call'd them *only Treſpaſſes, either through the Fatality or Neceſſity of the Times, wherein many others were involv'd as well as he.* He afterwards pleaded, 'That ſince his Majeſty in the Year 1641 had ratify'd in Parliament 'Things that he now ſtood indicted for, he ought not to be queſtion'd 'for them, and hoped that none thirſted after his Life or Eſtate; *for his 'Life wou'd little avail them, and his Eſtate wou'd be but of ſmall Va-'lue, when every Man had his own.*' But they prov'd ſeveral Treaſona- *Proceedings againſt the Marqueſs of Argyle.*

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ble Actings after that Year, and likewiſe ſome Expreſſions that aggravated his Crimes; as particularly he had diſſwaded the *Presbyterians*, both in *Scotland* and in *London*, not to pray for the King, *as One whom God had rejected*; and that he had ſaid, *If all were to do, that are done in theſe paſt Times, he wou'd do them over again.* After all his Apologies, in which he ſhew'd he cou'd fence well, he was found guilty of High-Treaſon, condemn'd to be beheaded, and his Head plac'd on the *Tol-Booth*, in the Room of that of his great Enemy the renowned Marqueſs of *Montroſs*. Being brought to the Scaffold on the 28th Day of *May*, he made there a ſhort Speech, in which he deny'd all Treaſon againſt his Majeſty, *and much rejoyc'd that he was reſtored:* He confeſs'd *he had us'd Compliance with the* Engliſh, *but not to extirpate the King and his Family, but, as others of that Nation did, to ſecure his Eſtate.* He likewiſe declared himſelf a great Friend to the *Covenant*; and at laſt tearing his written Speech into ſix Parts, and giving it to ſix Friends, he ſubmitted his Head to the Block, upon which Head the Blood of ſeveral was thought to lye heavy. Sure it was no ſmall Mortification to him to ſee the Funeral of the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* ſolemniz'd in *Edinburgh*, a few Days before he ſuffer'd, by Order of the Government, with a Pomp and Magnificence not inferior to that of a King.

He is beheaded.

2. To return to *England*, in the like manner as the great *Montroſs* had been interr'd, ſo with proportionable Solemnity the two moſt loyal Commanders Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle* were re-interr'd at *Colcheſter*, the 7th of *June*, the ſame Day thirteen Years they took up Arms for the King in that Town, which they nobly defended to the laſt. The neighbouring Gentry and Townſ-men, in Arms and deep Mourning, in a noble Proceſſion attended their Hearſes; and both Corps were depoſited in a Vault ſet apart for the Burying Place of Sir *Charles*'s Family. His Majeſty very much promoted all ſuch honourable Remembrances; but either did not, or cou'd not do much for that Party that had been ſuch ſignal Sufferers for his Perſon and Cauſe. He had once reſolv'd this Year upon a Summer Progreſs, and more eſpecially to *Worceſter*, and to the *Royal-Oak*, that he might the better manifeſt the Senſe of his Deliverance, and teſtify his Gratitude and Acknowledgments in thoſe Parts. In Order to which his Tent-Office was held at *Clarken-Well-Green*, to prepare all Things for his Equipage and Accommodation. But either Cares, Buſineſs, or Pleaſures intervening, the Progreſs was deferr'd till another Summer, and then not made. However the principal Inſtruments of his wonderful Eſcape were not forgotten: The Parliament took Notice of ſome of them, and particularly allow'd a thouſand Pounds to Mrs. *Jane Lane*; and the *Penderels*, thoſe faithful Brothers, waiting upon his Majeſty, were diſmiſs'd with a Princely Reward.

Great Complaints of the Cavaliers.

Yet ſtill the Cavalier Party had too much Reaſon to complain of the Hardſhips they labour'd under from the Neglect of the Government; and this very Year they were not ſparing of their Exclamations againſt many that were encourag'd and favour'd by the King, and againſt ſeveral Preachers who had ſhewn themſelves ungratefully diſſatisfy'd with the preſent Eſtabliſhment. In the Month of *Auguſt* a notable Book was publiſh'd by Mr. *Leſtrange* in Favour of the diſtreſſed Cavaliers; which took ſo wonderfully in the Nation, and contain'd ſo many bold Truths, that it will not be improper here to inſert ſome few Paſſages, leaving the Reader to make Allowance for the Vehemence of his Stile. He declar'd, 'That 'he verily believ'd the King was betray'd; That many of his Favours 'were ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd, and others abus'd and miſapply'd by ſe-'cond Hands, that were entruſted to diſpoſe of them better.' He likewiſe

wiſe ſaid, 'He that ſaw *Cromwell*'s, *Bradſhaw*'s, and *Saint John*'s Creatures, nay and the meaneſt of them, laden with Offices and Honours, might give himſelf a ſecond Thought to underſtand the Meaning of it: Eſpecially conſidering how many Thouſands of loyal Subjects were ready to periſh for want of That, which was ſuperfluouſly ſcatter'd among ſcarce ſo many ſingle Perſons on the other Side.' He then laid down one General Rule for his Majeſty to obſerve: '*The Prince who pinches his Subjects Bellies, will loſe their Hearts:* And Sir *Francis Bacon* obſerv'd, *That the Multiplying of the Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, doth ſpeedily bring a State to Neceſſity:* Which becomes yet more dangerous, where it happens that the ancient Nobility is ſhrunk into Nothing, and the new Nobility are rais'd out of Nothing.' In other Places he tells us, 'The Court was dangerouſly throng'd with Paraſites; Knaves repreſented to the King for honeſt Men, and honeſt Men for Villains; a Watch upon the King's Ear, to keep out better Information; ſeditious Miniſters protected and encourag'd; Libels againſt the King's Authority and Perſon diſpers'd even by his Majeſty's ſworn Servants; and to diſcover Treaſon, was, in ſome Reſpects, more hazardous, than to committ it.' Afterwards ſpeaking of the *Act of Indemnity*, he declar'd, 'That Act made the Enemies to the Conſtitution Maſters, in effect, of the Booty of three Nations, bating the Crown and Church Lands, all which they might now call their own; while thoſe who ſtood up for the Laws, were by theſe People abandon'd to the Comfort of an irreparable, but an honourable Ruin.' Then ſpeaking of many of the preſent Preachers, and the *Non-Conformiſts* in General, he ſays, 'As to their Numbers, upon a moderate Calculation, there wou'd ariſe at leaſt Thirty againſt One throughout the Nation; even in *Covent-Garden*, a Pariſh of the *Geneva* Stamp, the Odds was little leſs, betwixt the late Petitioners for the *Common-Prayer*, and the Oppoſers of it. And yet ſtill the Pulpits were profaned by unqualify'd and ſeditious *Lecturers*, and Thoſe too out of the rankeſt of the old Separatiſts, both *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, the better to advance the Common Work of ſtirring up the Rabble againſt his Sacred Majeſty; whom they more than covertly aſperſe with *Rottenneſs of Heart*; preſſing the Calamities of the Nation, and the Danger of *Perſecution*, ſo cloſe and home to the People, as if the Knife were already at their Throats. They pray for the King's Converſion, rather than his Eſtabliſhment. *Hancock* prays, *Give the King another, a* New *Heart, Lord! Mead* ſeconds him with a Word of Conſolation; *Ye do not know what a* Year, *nay what a MONTH may bring forth*: This laſt was repeated ſo often, and with ſuch an Accent, that it look'd more like the Timing of a *Plot*, than Preſſing of a *Duty*. Theſe Lecturers, he ſaid, were increas'd, both in Number and Boldneſs, to a moſt ſcandalous and prodigious Degree, even ſince the late Receſs of the Parliament, not only to the Hazard of the Publick Peace, but to the Diſhonour of the *Engliſh* Church.' In Sum he very freely declar'd his Thoughts, and let his Majeſty know, '*That miſ-plac'd Mercy was his Father's Ruin.*

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However, about this Time there was a great Noiſe of Projects and Plots carry'd on by a reſtleſs Party; which, ſeveral ſay, was an Invention to take Advantage againſt them. *Heath* tells us, That the good Progreſs made by this Parliament, highly rais'd the Diſcontents of the late *Anarchy*; and their Anger ſuggeſting ſome Hopes of undoing all, they parted themſelves, becauſe they ſaw the *Presbyterians* concern'd, who either muſt comply, or ſuffer with them by ſuch Proceedings: And therefore new Deſigns were thought of, and divers Conſpiracies fram'd,

A noiſe of Plots, &c.

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and Councils and Meetings held by ſeveral of that Party, who were afterwards taken into Cuſtody, after they had vainly endeavour'd and projected new Troubles; ſuch were *Praiſe God Barebone*, *Samuel Moyer*, Colonel *Salmon*, Major *Wildman*, late Alderman *Ireton*, Major *Hains*, and others. The *Presbyterian* Defenders alledge that theſe were only ſham Plots to help forwards the ſevere Act of *Uniformity* then in *Embryo*; but others believe the Contrary. We cannot fully determine a Matter that at this Time wants ſo much Light: We only take Notice that the People generally believ'd them to be true; and they are always ready to believe the worſt of ſuch as have once given them Occaſion.

Thus ſtood the Affairs of the Nation at the ſecond Meeting of the Parliament; about which Time the remaining Regicides were ſent away from the *Tower* to remote Priſons, in Caſtles and Iſlands, there to continue for Life. But before we proceed to the Parliament, we ſhall juſt take Notice of the Motions of our Fleet, now under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who ſet Sail with his Vice-Admiral Sir *John Lawſon*, on the 19th of *June*, toward the *Streights* to reduce the Pirates who had much obſtructed the *Engliſh* Trade and Navigation. On *July* the 29th he came before the Port of *Algier*, and ſent a Meſſage to the *Dey* of that Place, to come out and confirm the League formerly made with *England*. A Treaty accordingly began, but the *Algerines* appear'd ſo inſolent in their Terms, that the Admiral weigh'd and ſtood into their Harbour, but found it ſo well ſecur'd by a new Mole, with Forts and Batteries, that after firing ſome Ships, and ſtriking the Town into a great Conſternation, he found it adviſable to bring off the Fleet, which had ſuffer'd extreamly in their Sails and Rigging: Then, leaving Sir *John Lawſon* to block them up, he ſet Sail with part of the Fleet to the Coaſt of *Spain*; from thence croſſing to *Tangier*, he return'd back to *Lisbon*, according to his firſt Orders. The old Republicans made their envious and ſeditious Remarks, That the Naval Power of *England* wou'd never be ſo formidable under Monarchy, as it had been under a Common-Wealth.

The Motions of the Fleet.

The SECOND SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

3. After a Receſs of three Months, and as many Weeks, the Parliament met a ſecond Time on the 20th Day of *November*, in a full and compleat Manner, now conſiſting of the three Eſtates of the Realm. The King being ſeated on his Throne, made the following Speech, which to prevent the Danger of Mutilations, is inſerted in full Length:

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'*My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I know the Viſit I make you this Day is not neceſſary, is not of Courſe; yet if there were no more in it, it wou'd not be ſtrange that I come to ſee what you and I ſo long deſired to ſee: *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of* England *met together to conſult for the Peace and Safety of the Church and State*; by which Parliaments are reſtored to their primitive Luſtre and Integrity. I do heartily congratulate with you for *This Day*. But, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, as my coming hither at this Time is ſomewhat extraordinary, ſo the Truth is, the Occaſion of my coming is more extraordinary: It is to ſay ſomething to you on my own Behalf, to ask ſomething of you for my ſelf; which is more than I have done of you, or of thoſe that met here before you, ſince my coming into *England*. I needed not have done it to them; and, upon my Conſcience, I need not do it now. They did, and you do, upon all Occaſions, expreſs ſo great an Affection and Care of all that concerns me, that I may very well refer, both the Matter and Manner of your doing any thing for me, to your own Wiſdoms and Kindneſs: And indeed, if I did think that what I am to ſay to you now did alone, or did moſt concern my ſelf; if the uneaſie Condition I am in, if the Streights and

'Neceſ-

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'Neceſſities I am to ſtruggle with did not manifeſtly relate to the Publick 'Peace and Safety, more than to my own Particular, otherwiſe than I am con- 'cern'd in the Publick, I ſhou'd not give you this Trouble this Day. I can bear 'my Neceſſities, which meerly relate to my ſelf, with Patience enough.

'*Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I do not 'now importune you to make more Haſte in the ſettling the conſtant Re- 'venue of the Crown, than is agreeable to the Method you propoſe to 'your ſelves: I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider the inſupportable Weight 'that lies upon it, the Obligations it lieth under to provide for the Inte- 'reſt, Honour and Security of the Nation in another Proportion than 'in any former Times it hath been oblig'd to. I know very well, you 'have very affectionately and worthily taken all this into your Thoughts, 'and will proceed in it with as much Expedition, as I can reaſonably 'wiſh; but I come to put you in Mind of the crying Debts which do e- 'very Day call upon me for ſome neceſſary Proviſions, which are to be 'made without Delay, for the very Safety of the Kingdom; of the great 'Sums of Mony that ſhou'd be ready to diſcharge the ſeveral Fleets when 'they come home, and for the neceſſary Preparations that are to be 'made for the ſetting out new Fleets to Sea againſt the Spring; that Re- 'venue being already anticipated to as important Services, which ſhou'd 'be aſſign'd to thoſe Preparations. Theſe are the preſſing Occaſions 'which I am forc'd to recommend to you with all poſſible Earneſtneſs, 'and do conjure you to provide for as ſpeedily as poſſible, in ſuch 'a Manner, as may give us Security at home, and ſome Reputation a- 'broad. I make this Diſcourſe to you with ſome Confidence, becauſe 'I am very willing, and deſirous, that you ſhou'd throughly examine 'whether theſe Neceſſities I mention, be Real, or Imaginary; or whether 'they be fallen upon Us by my Fault, by my own Managery, or Exceſ- 'ſes, and provide for them accordingly. I am very willing that you 'make a full Inſpection into my Revenue, as well the Diſburſements, 'as Receipts; and if you find it hath been ill manag'd by any Corrupti- 'on in the Officers I truſt, or by my own Unthriftineſs, I ſhall take the 'Information and Advice you ſhall give me very kindly: I ſay, if you 'find it; for I wou'd not have you believe any looſe Diſcourſes, how 'confidently ſoever urg'd, of giving away eighty thouſand Pounds in a 'Morning, and many other Extravagancies of that kind. I have much 'more Reaſon to be ſorry that I have not to reward thoſe who have e- 'ver faithfully ſerv'd the King my Father, and my ſelf, than aſham'd of 'any Bounty I have exercis'd towards any Man.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am ſorry to find that the general Temper 'and Affections of the Nation are not ſo well compos'd, as I hop'd they 'wou'd have been, after ſuch ſignal Bleſſings from God Almighty upon 'us all, and after ſo great Indulgence and Condeſcenſions from me to- 'wards all Intereſts. There are many wicked Inſtruments ſtill as active 'as ever, who labour Night and Day to diſturb the publick Peace, and 'to make all People jealous of each other. It will be worthy of your 'Care and Vigilance, to provide proper Remedies for the Diſeaſes of that 'kind; and if you find new Diſeaſes, you muſt ſtudy new Remedies. 'Let us not be diſcourag'd, if we help one another, we ſhall by God's 'Bleſſing maſter all our Difficulties: Theſe which concern Matters of 'Religion, I confeſs to you are too hard for me; and therefore I do re- 'commend them to your Care and Deliberation, which can beſt provide 'for them: I ſhall not need to recommend, or put you in mind of the 'good Correſpondence that ought to be kept between you for the Good 'of your Selves, and Me, and the whole Kingdom; and I may tell you, 'it is very neceſſary for us all. You will find Whoſoever doth not be-

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'lieve Me, doth not love You; and they who have not Reverence for 'You, have little Kindneſs for Me. Therefore, I pray let us adhere faſt 'to each other, and then we ſhall, with the Help of God, in a ſhort 'Time perſwade, or oblige all Men to that Submiſſion, and Obedience 'to the Law, as may conſtitute a full Meaſure of Happineſs to Prince 'and People, and perſwade our Neighbours to that Eſteem and Value 'they have formerly had for us.

Purſuant to this Speech the Parliament proceeded diligently to Buſineſs, and the better to preſerve the Peace of the Nation, both Houſes immediately agreed to petition for a Proclamation, 'For diſarming the 'diſbanded and caſhier'd Officers and Soldiers, and to command them 'to depart twenty Miles from the City of *London*, for ſuch Time as his 'Majeſty ſhall think fit.' And the Commons, to ſhew their Readineſs to aſſiſt the King in his Wants, on the ſame Day, voted, 'That the Sum of 'twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds ſhou'd be ſpeedily paid and rais'd 'for the Supply of the King's Majeſty's preſent Occaſions;' and ſo proceeded accordingly. For which the King ſoon after return'd his hearty Thanks, and particularly expreſs'd *how exceeding much he was beholden to the Houſe of Commons for their great Gift, and the Manner of it, in giving ſo freely.* After which he ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, 'That making the Good of his People the Subject of his Thoughts, 'and conſidering that the calling in the Mony call'd *The Common-'Wealth's Mony* by the laſt of this Month, might be prejudicial to 'his People, and hazard the Exportation of a great Part thereof, was 'graciouſly pleas'd, by the Advice of his Privy-Council, to direct a Pro-'clamation to be iſſu'd, ſignifying his Majeſty's Pleaſure to accept of the 'ſaid Mony in any Payment to be made to him till the 25th Day of '*March* next.

A Vote for Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

Proceedings againſt the Regicides.

The firſt Parliament having reſpited the Puniſhments of ſeveral of the Regicides, as well thoſe that lay under Condemnation, as others not ſo flagrantly guilty of that Crime; the Houſes reſum'd the Matter, and on the 25th of *November* thoſe Regicides that came in upon Proclamation, were brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, to anſwer what they cou'd ſay for themſelves, why Judgment ſhou'd not be executed againſt them. They ſeverally alledg'd, 'That upon his Majeſty's gracious 'Declaration from *Breda*, and the Votes of Parliament, and his Majeſty's 'Proclamation, publiſh'd by the Advice of the Lords and Commons then 'aſſembled in Parliament, they did render themſelves, being adviſ'd that 'they ſhou'd thereby ſecure their Lives; and humbly crav'd the Benefit 'thereof, and the Mercy of the Houſes, and their Mediation to his Ma-'jeſty in their Behalfs.' *Harry Marten* briskly added, *That he had never obey'd any Proclamation before This, and hop'd that he ſhou'd not be hang'd for taking of the King's Word now.* New Debates aroſe about them, and a Bill was brought in for their Execution, which was read twice, but afterwards dropt; and ſo they were all ſent to their ſeveral Priſons, and but little more heard of them. The Difficulty had like to have been the heavier upon them, by reaſon of ſeveral ſeditious Pamphlets publiſh'd about this Time; and likewiſe by reaſon of a Meſſage from the King, deliver'd by the Lord Chancellor in a Conference between both Houſes. At which Time the Chancellor declar'd, 'That the ſame 'did concern Things of a high and dangerous Nature, and that there had 'been a real Deſign, which had been forming ever ſince *March* laſt, to 'diſturb the Union and Peace of this Kingdom:' And ſo proceeded to name ſeveral of the Parties engag'd, with the Manner and Contrivance of their barbarous Deſigns, and the Progreſs they had from Time to Time made therein. 'And that although their Deſigns were at preſent 'diſor-

New Plots.

'disorder'd, as to the effecting of them in this Town, to which End they 1661.
'made a general Invitation of disbanded Soldiers, and disaffected Per-
'sons, to resort hither about the 11th of this Month; yet they were still Car. 13
'practising to put the same in Execution in the Country: And that the Ref. 2.
'Lords, to provide a Remedy against these Evils, had appointed a Com-
'mittee of Twelve, of their House, and desired that an answerable
'Number of the other House be joyn'd with the Lords, who might, du-
'ring the Recess, examine the said Traiterous Designs, and find out
'such Expedients, as they shou'd perceive necessary for the preventing
'and suppressing them, and securing the Peace of the Kingdom.' All which they agreed to, and put in Practice.

The next Day, which was the 20th of *December*, the Mony Bill, and three other Bills being ready for the Royal Assent, the King came to the House of Peers, where the Commons Speaker presented to his Majesty a *Bill for granting Twelve Hundred and Sixty Thousand Pounds to the King, to be levy'd by an Assessment of Seventy Thousand Pounds by the Month, for Eighteen Months.* At the passing of this Bill, the King, in a short Speech, 'gave very hearty Thanks to the House for their *Great* '*Present*, and declared *That he had receiv'd the Benefit of it before he* '*had it*; the Reputation thereof having given him Credit both at Home 'and Abroad: And that he was not more willing to give his Royal As-'sent to that Bill, than he shou'd have been to pass any Bills whatsoever, 'which that House shou'd present to him for his People's Good.' He likewise pass'd other three Bills at this Time; the First, *An Act for the regulating Corporations*; the Second, *For preventing vexatious Delays in Law-Suits*; and the Last, *for impowering his Majesty to make Leases of his Lands in the Dutchy of* Cornwall. The First, since usually call'd the *Corporation Act*, made the greatest Noise, and met with some Struggles in the House. It prov'd a severe Mortification and a Blow to one Party, and made a mighty Alteration in several Places, which the Court look'd upon as Nests of Sedition. Part of the Preamble very well shews the Design of the Act, namely, 'That the Succession in such Corporations may 'be most probably perpetuated in the Hands of Persons well affected to 'his Majesty, and the establish'd Government; it being too well known 'that notwithstanding all his Majesty's Endeavours, and unparallel'd Indul-'gence in pardoning all that is past, nevertheless many evil Spirits are 'still working:' Therefore for the preventing this, every Mayor, Alder-man, Common-Council Man, or any other Officer in a Corporation, was oblig'd, besides the common Oath of *Allegiance and Supremacy*, and a particular Declaration against the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to take an Oath, declaring, *That it was not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King*; *and that he did abhor that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his* Authority *against his* Person, *or against those* commission'd *by Him.* And to put this in Execution the King was authoriz'd to grant a Commission to such Persons as he thought fit, to last above two Years, with sufficient Powers to answer the Ends of the Act. Upon the passing of these Acts, the Parliament was adjourn'd to the 10th Day of *January*; and so, breaking up, had a Recess for near three Weeks.

The King passes some Acts.

The Corporation Act.

4. During the Recess of Parliament, it being now *Christmas*, the Town was fill'd with extraordinary Feastings, Revellings, Mirth, Pleasure and Luxury, as well in rich Cloaths and Habits, as choice Eating and Drinking. The Honourable Society of *Lincolns-Inn* renew'd their old Custom of the Inns of Court, by chusing a Prince, who during the solemn Festival commanded like a Sovereign in, and in the Places adjoyning

Christmas.

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ing to, the ſaid Inn. The Gentleman elected at this Time was *John Lort* Eſquire, of a good Family in *Wales*, who invited the King Himſelf to the Inn, and gave him a noble Entertainment at Dinner. The King was pleas'd to ſee all the Ceremonies due to a Prince exactly obſerv'd in every Reſpect, as a Council, Judges and Officers of State, Honour and Nobility attending upon this his Highneſs; and his Majeſty, at the Expiration of the Term of his Royalty, was pleas'd to preſent him with the Honour of a Baronet of *England*.

The Death of the Queen of Bohemia.

And now, according to our uſual Method, we ſhall conclude the old Year with the Deaths of ſome Perſons of moſt eminent Conſideration: And firſt we ſhall begin with the renowned Lady, *Elizabeth Stuart* Queen of *Bohemia*, eldeſt Daugher of King *James* the Firſt, and the only remaining Child of that Prince. She had been marry'd to the unfortunate Elector Palatine in the Year 1612; and having, with great Conſtancy and Nobleneſs of Spirit, endured and ſurviv'd all the poſſible Misfortunes of her Family, ſhe this Year came to congratulate the Reſtoration of her Nephew the King, and to die in Peace in her Father's Dominions, on the 13th of *February*. Her Body was convey'd to *Somerſet-Houſe*, and from thence by Water to *Weſtminſter-Abby*; where, being accomany'd with Prince *Rupert* her Son, and many of the Nobility, it was privately interr'd in the ſame Vault with Prince *Henry* her eldeſt Brother. She had a numerous and noble Progeny of ſeven Sons and five Daughters, of whom the youngeſt ſurviving, the Princeſs *Sophia*, was after many Years declared and created Heir to the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

The Deaths of Biſhop Walton,

Beſides this illuſtrious Perſon, we are to take Notice of ſeveral others, that deſerve to be recorded in Hiſtory: And of theſe, we ſhall firſt mention two Biſhops, both of the ſame See of *Cheſter*, and educated both in the ſame Univerſity of *Cambridge*. The firſt was Dr. *Brian Walton*, admitted in *Magdalen*, and remov'd to *Peter-Houſe-Colledge*, and ſo to the City of *London*; a Perſon highly remarkable for his excellent Virtues, Learning and Sufferings for his Loyalty; but ſtill more eminently diſtinguiſh'd for his indefatigable Labours in bringing into the World that noble Work the *Biblia Polyglotta*, which, by the Aſſiſtance of many great Men, was brought to that Perfection, that it is confeſſedly the moſt abſolute, and moſt famous Edition of the BIBLE, that the Chriſtian World ever enjoy'd. After the Reſtoration he was juſtly preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*; but he poſſeſs'd that See but a few Months,

Biſhop Ferne,

before his Death made Room for his Succeſſor, Dr. *Henry Ferne*, the other Biſhop we are to mention, who alſo dy'd in the ſame Year, after he had been but a while remov'd from his Prolocutor's Place in Convocation. This pious and learned Man, tho' continuing a ſhort Time in *Oxford*, was both Fellow and Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and then became Dean of *Ely*, beſides Prolocutor, before he mounted the Epiſcopal Chair. He was celebrated in the late Times for his clear Reſolutions of the Differences between the King and Parliament, and between the Churches of *England*, *Geneva*, and *Rome*; which he perform'd with ſo mighty a Strength and Perſpicuity, that the two adverſe Parties confeſs'd, *That the Church of* England's *Cauſe never look'd ſo clearly and devoutly in any Writings, as in thoſe of Dr.* Ferne. After theſe two Prelates, we are to mention three Divines of different Talents and Cha-

Dr. Oliver,

racters; and firſt Dr. *John Oliver*, the worthy Preſident of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, and Prebendary of *Wincheſter*; from which Preferments he was ejected by the late prevailing Powers, notwithſtanding his eminent and conſpicuous Learning, Charity, and Humility; till in the great Year 1660, he was both reſtored, and made Dean of *Worceſter* by the Intereſt of the preſent Lord Chancellor, to whom he had the Ho-

nour

nour to be Tutor in the Univerſity. Before his Death he was infinitely deſirous to leave the World at a Time when all learned Men wou'd naturally have the ſtrongeſt Deſires to ſtay in it. The next to be mention'd was Dr. *Barten Hollyday*, a Perſon educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and one of a very various Genius; being a forward and eloquent Preacher, and a skilful Philoſopher, yet ſtill more diſtinguiſh'd by his Poetical Labours, both Tranſlations and Originals, of which ſome, tho' not ſo agreeable at this Time, were produc'd at an Age ſo young, as is not eaſily to be parallel'd. The third was Dr. *Thomas Fuller*, an eminent *London* Divine, Chaplain to his preſent Majeſty, educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, both in *Queen*'s and *Sidney* Colledge, who by his particular Temper and Management weather'd the late great Storm with more Succeſs than many other great Men. He was a general Scholar, an extenſive Hiſtorian, and a walking Library, and had a prodigious Memory, a moſt quick Wit, and a luxuriant Fancy and Invention, but not the moſt exact Judgment: He publiſh'd many Pieces, but was moſt of all diſtinguiſh'd by that laborious, but imperfect Work, *The Hiſtory of the Worthies of* England.

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Dr. Hollyday

Dr. Fuller,

Beſides theſe, we are to take Notice of four or five other Perſons of a different Character, as firſt Sir *John Glanvill*, Serjeant at Law, a famous Orator both in the Houſe and at the Bar, excellently skill'd in, and an Ornament to his Profeſſion; a Perſon who bravely ſtood in the Gap in the late Reign, both when the Prerogative was carry'd too high, and when it was too much depreſs'd, and for both which he was a remarkable Sufferer. Next, we are to mention two brave Loyaliſts and valiant Soldiers, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *John Stawell*, both magnanimous Sufferers for their King and Country; of whom leſs need to be ſaid, becauſe ſo particularly taken Notice of in the laſt Volume; only that the Former of the two was, before the Reſtoration, made a Baron of the Realm, by the Title of Lord *Langdale* of *Holme* in *Spalding-Moor*, in the County of *York*. Another Perſon ought likewiſe to be mention'd, which was *Henry Cary*, Earl of *Monmouth*, a noted Traveller, a general Scholar, and well skill'd in modern Languages, which Talents he honourably employ'd in tranſlating the beſt *Spaniſh*, *French*, and *Italian* Authors, during the Time of the Nation's Troubles; while Others of the Nobility were too often forc'd to ſubmit to the Company and Converſation of their aſſuming Inferiors. Laſt of all we ſhall mention Sir *Arthur Hazelrigg*, that implacable Incendiary, who had been ſo deeply involved in the Miſeries of the Kingdom, and of whom ſo much has been ſaid in the laſt Volume. Tho' he had the good Fortune to meet with an extraordinary Friend in General *Monk*, and ſo to eſcape both with Life and Eſtate, yet being made a Priſoner in the *Tower*, he pin'd away with Anger and Grief, being unable to bear either his own Diſgrace, or the common Felicity of theſe Times.

Serjeant Glanvill,

Lord Langdale, *Sir* John Stawell,

Earl of Monmouth,

And Sir Arthur Hazelrigg.

Rot. Parl. Synodus Anglicana. *Heath. Burnet.* &c.

VIII. 1. After the Feaſtings and Revellings were ſomewhat abated, the Parliament met on the 10th of *January* according to Adjournment, and proceeded to Buſineſs with all Vigour, ſhewing themſelves ready both to advance the Prerogative, as well as the Revenue of the King. They were now farther alarm'd with the Noiſe of Plots and Conſpiracies; and they began with receiving the Report of the ſelect Committee of Lords and Commons, appointed juſt before the Receſs. In this the Lord Chancellor gave an additional Account of the traiterous Deſigns ſet on foot at ſeveral Times, and acquainted them with the Names of ſuch as were engag'd, as *Wildman*, *Salmon*, and others before mention'd. He told them, 'That there was found with *Salmon* a Liſt of a 'hundred

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The Chancellor's Account of some Plots.

'hundred and ſixty Officers of the late Army: That it was further diſ-
'cover'd that there ſhou'd have been a Meeting in *London* about the 10th
'of *December*, and that they intended about the End of *January* to
'have made ſure of *Shrewsbury*, *Coventry*, and *Briſtol*, and that they
'ſhou'd riſe in ſeveral Parts at once: That where they were prevalent,
'they ſhou'd begin with Aſſaſſination, which mov'd one of them to re-
'late, *That ſome of the late King's Judges were entertain'd in* France,
'Holland, *and* Germany, *and held conſtant Correſpondence with thoſe,*
'*and were fomented by ſome foreign Princes.* That many Arms were
'bought in order to this Deſign, and that they bragg'd, *If they once got*
'*Footing, they ſhou'd not want Means to carry on their Work.* That they
'were diſcover'd by one of their Party, and his Relation confirm'd by
'ſuch Intelligence from abroad, as never fail'd.' He further told them,
'That at *Huntington* many there met under the Name of *Quakers*, that
'were not ſo; and rode there in Multitudes by Night, to the great Ter-
'ror of his Majeſty's good Subjects. That it might be wonder'd at that
'ſome Propoſals were not made to remedy this impending Evil: But the
'King had advis'd with the Duke of *Albemarle*, now preſent at this Com-
'mittee, and has put two Troops into *Shrewsbury*, and as many into
'*Coventry*, who by the Way had broken a great Knot of Thieves, and
'taken twenty. That a Rumour was ſpread, That the appointing of this
'Committee was only a Plot to govern by an Army; but the Commit-
'tee was very ſenſible of the real Danger, and hop'd the Houſes wou'd
'be ſo too; and that ſince all their Adverſaries were united to deſtroy
'them, ſo they ſhou'd unite to preſerve themſelves.' Upon this Report, the Houſe of Commons reſum'd their former Order of proceeding againſt *Vane*, *Lambert*, *Waller*, and ſome others that were ſtill under the Power of the Law, and proceeded with greater Activity in finiſhing the two great Bills for the Eſtabliſhment of the Crown and Church, one for in-ſuring the *Militia* to the Crown, and the other for ſettling *Uniformity* in the Church.

Nor were the Commons leſs careful in the improving and advancing his Majeſty's Revenues, and proceeded to offer great Incouragement to all who ſhou'd ſend him any Mony for his preſent Occaſions. While they were conſidering of this Point, on the 18th of *February*, they re-

A Meſſage from the King to the Commons.

ceiv'd a very obliging Meſſage from the King by Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, who inform'd the Houſe, 'That he had Directions from his Majeſty to
'deſire the Houſe, That they wou'd put a *Superſedeas* to any further
'Debate upon the Bill for *Permiſſion to ſuch Perſons as ſhou'd advance*
'*Mony for his Majeſty's preſent Occaſions, to take Intereſt at Ten* per
'Cent. That his Majeſty, finding the Bill might have ſome ungrateful Re-
'liſh in it, reſolv'd to put himſelf upon the greateſt Streights, rather than
'adventure upon any Courſe, that might in the leaſt ſeem to diſguſt this
'Houſe, or prejudice his good Subjects; and therefore wou'd endeavour
'to find ſome other Means to ſupply his preſent urgent Occaſions, and
'deſir'd the Bill might be laid aſide.' This Meſſage affected them ſo much, that they immediately return'd their humble Thanks to the King for his Tenderneſs to his People, and order'd, 'That his Majeſty be made
'acquainted, That this Houſe wou'd leave no Means unattempted to
'advance his Majeſty's Revenue, and ſupply his preſent urgent Occa-
'ſions.'

The King finding his Neceſſities to encreaſe, within ten Days after, order'd the Houſe of Commons to attend him at *White-Hall*, in a Body by themſelves: Which was accordingly done upon the Firſt of *March*; when his Majeſty, after ſome remarkable Acknowledgments of their extraordinary Services, and having declared, *That he knew moſt of their Faces*,

Faces, and never hop'd to find better Men in their Places, he proceeded thus: ‘ *Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,* you ‘ will wonder now, after I have willingly made this juſt Acknowledgment ‘ to you, that I ſhou'd lament, and complain That I, and You, and the King- ‘ dom are yet without that preſent Fruit and Advantage, which we might ‘ reaſonably promiſe our ſelves, from ſuch a Harmony of Affections, and ‘ an Unity in Reſolutions, to advance the Publick Service, and to pro- ‘ vide for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, that you do not ex- ‘ pedite thoſe good Counſels that are moſt neceſſary for Both. I know ‘ not how it comes to paſs, but for theſe many Weeks paſt, even ſince ‘ your laſt *Adjournment*, private and particular Buſineſs hath almoſt thruſt ‘ the Conſideration of the publick out of Doors: And in Truth, I do not ‘ know that you are nearer ſettling my Revenue than you were at *Chriſt- maſs*: I am ſure I have communicated my Condition to you without ‘ Reſerve; what I have coming in, and what my neceſſary Disburſements ‘ are; and I am exceedingly deceiv'd, if whatſoever you give to me, be ‘ any other ways given to me, than to be iſſu'd out for your own Uſe ‘ and Benefit. Truſt me, it ſhall be ſo; and if you conſider it well, you ‘ will find that you are the Richer by what you give, ſince it is all to be ‘ laid out, that you may enjoy the reſt in Eaſe and Security. *Gentlemen,* ‘ I need not put you in mind of the miſerable Effects which have attend- ‘ ed the Wants and Neceſſities of the Crown. I need not tell you that ‘ there is a *Republican* Party ſtill in the Kingdom, which had the Cou- ‘ rage to promiſe themſelves another Revolution: And you know the only ‘ Way, with God's Bleſſing, to diſappoint their Hopes, and reduce them ‘ from thoſe extravagant Deſires, is to let them ſee that you have ſo provided ‘ for the Crown, that it hath *wherewithal to ſupport it ſelf, and to ſecure you*; which is all that I deſire, and do deſire it only for your Preſerva- ‘ tion. Therefore I do conjure you by all the Profeſſions of Affection ‘ you have made to me, by all the Kindneſſes I know you have for me, ‘ to betake your ſelves to ſome ſpeedy Reſolutions, and ſettle ſuch a *re- al* and *ſubſtantial Revenue* upon me, as may hold ſome Proportion with ‘ my neceſſary Expences for the Peace and Honour of the Kingdom; ‘ that they who look for Trouble at home, may deſpair of their Wiſhes; ‘ and that our Neighbours abroad, by ſeeing all is well at home, may have ‘ that Value and Eſteem for us, as may ſecure the Honour and Intereſt ‘ of the Nation, and make the Happineſs of this Kingdom, and of this ‘ City, once more the Admiration and Envy of the World.

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A particular Speech to the Commons alone.

‘ *Gentlemen,* I hear you are very zealous for the Church, and very ſo- ‘ licitous, and even jealous that there is not Expedition enough us'd in ‘ that Affair. I thank you for it, ſince I preſume it proceeds from a good ‘ Root of Piety and Devotion: But I muſt tell you, I have the worſt ‘ Luck in the World, if after all the Reproaches of being a *Papiſt*, while ‘ I was abrord; I am ſuſpected of being a *Presbyterian*, now I am come ‘ home. I know you will not take it unkindly, if I tell you I am as zea- ‘ lous for the Church of *England*, as any of you can be, and am enough ‘ acquainted with the Enemies of it on all Sides; That I am as much in ‘ love with the Book of *Common-Prayer*, as you can wiſh, and have Pre- ‘ judice enough to thoſe who do not love it, who I hope in Time will ‘ be better inform'd, and change their Minds; and you may be confi- ‘ dent, I do as much deſire to ſee an *Uniformity* ſettled as any amongſt ‘ you. I pray truſt me in that Affair: I promiſe you to haſten the Diſ- ‘ patch of it with all convenient Speed; you may relye upon me in it. ‘ I have tranſmitted the Book of *Common Prayer*, with thoſe Alterati- ‘ ons and Additions, which have been preſented to me by the Convo- ‘ cation, to the Houſe of Peers, with my Approbation, that the *Act*

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'*of Uniformity* may relate to it; ſo that I preſume, it will be ſhortly di-
'ſpatch'd there: And when we have done all we can, the well ſettling
'that Affair will require great Prudence and Diſcretion, and the Abſence
'of all Paſſion and Precipitation. I will conclude with putting you in
'Mind, that the Seaſon of the Year, and the Good you may do, will re-
'quire a Receſs into the Country, where you will find that many Tares
'have been ſown in your Abſence: The Arrival alſo of my Wife, whom
'I expect the next Month, and the Neceſſity of my being out of Town
'to meet her, and to ſtay ſome Time before ſhe comes hither, makes it
'very neceſſary that the Parliament break up before *Eaſter*, to meet again
'in the Winter: And that it may do ſo, I pray lay aſide all private Bu-
'ſineſs, that you may in that Time diſpatch the Publick. — The mention
'of my Wife's Arrival puts me in Mind to deſire you to put that Com-
'pliment upon her, That her Entrance into the Town may be with
'more Decency, than the Ways will now ſuffer it to be; and to that
'Purpoſe, I pray you wou'd quickly diſpatch and paſs ſuch Laws as are
'before you in Order to the amending of thoſe Ways, and that ſhe may
'not find *White-Hall* ſurrounded with Water. I will detain you no
'longer, but do promiſe my ſelf great Fruits of this Converſation with
'you, and that you will juſtify the Confidence I have in your Affections,
'by letting the World ſee, that you take my Concernments to Heart,
'and are ready to do what I deſire for the Peace and Welfare of the
'Kingdom.

The Commons Vigour.

Upon this Speech, which we do not find in Print, the Commons proceeded with more Vigour in the diſpatching of the ſeveral Bills before them; and in a ſhort Time they finiſh'd that, which his Majeſty had propos'd to them, *For the repairing of the Streets and High-Ways in and near* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Parts adjacent*; together with another *Againſt the People call'd Quakers*, which inflicted certain Penalties upon them, both for their Meeting, and their refuſing the Oaths: Both which were paſs'd by Commiſſion. In the ſettling of the King's Revenue, they took into Conſideration, the Wants and Neceſſities of many of the Loyal Cavaliers, who had loſt their Eſtates in his Father's Service, and appointed threeſcore thouſand Pounds, out of the eighteen Months Aſſeſſment, to be diſtributed amongſt them by Commiſſioners of their own Nomination.

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The Proceedings of the Convocation.

2. All this while the Convocation was buſily employ'd about ſeveral Matters, but principally ſuch as were for the perpetuating and eſtabliſhing the Church of *England*. They had now choſen a new Prolocutor in the Room of Dr. *Fearne*, remov'd to the See of *Cheſter*, namely Dr. *John Barwick*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, a Man of great Worth and Conſideration. Among various Debates a remarkable Piece of Law was conſider'd and examin'd, as how far it was ſafe or lawful for the Biſhops to join in the Houſe of Lords, in the Tryal and Condemnation of Perſons impeach'd of Treaſon; and after many Arguments, it was agreed to take Advice of the chief common Lawyers, and Civilians, in the Nation: Theſe, after ſeveral new Arguments, deliver'd in their Opinion in Writing, 'That the Biſhops might ſit and act with other Peers in Parlia-
'ment, without Detriment or Prejudice, during the Tryal and Condem-
'nation of Perſons guilty of Treaſon and Blood.' But the greateſt Buſineſs of the Convocation was, their reviewing the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and making Amendments and Alterations in it, in order to prepare it for the intended *Act of Uniformity*. This important Buſineſs took up the Care and Application of both Houſes for a conſiderable Time; who made ſome few Alterations in the *Liturgy*, and added three Prayers,

particu-

particularly one for the *High Court of Parliament*, beſides a new Office for *Baptiſm to ſuch as are of riper Years*, and two more, one for the 30th of *January*, the other for the 29th of *May*. The Work being finiſh'd, it was ſolemnly receiv'd, approv'd, and ſubſcrib'd by all the Members of each Houſe. After that, being ſent to the Houſe of Lords, it was receiv'd with the utmoſt Satisfaction; and the Lord Chancellor, as well in his own Name, as in the Name of all the Peers in Parliament, return'd Thanks to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, for their great Care and Induſtry in reviſing the ſaid Book of *Common Prayer*; and return'd the like Thanks to the Prolocutor, the Dignitaries and Clergy, for their reſpective Care and Labour in the ſaid Work. 1662. Car. 14 Reſ. 2.

The Act of *Uniformity*, and ſeveral others being ready for the Royal Aſſent, on the 19th Day of *May* the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd all that were ready. The Nature of them will in ſome Meaſure appear from the following good Speech of Sir *Edward Turner* the Speaker, who, after ſome introductory Compliments, proceeded thus:

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

'If your Majeſty but pleaſe to caſt your Eyes upon the Table, and behold the great Number of Bills that there preſent themſelves before you, like ſo many Sheafs of Corn bound up, and ready to be houſed; and will vouchſafe to ſee how both my Hands are fill'd with no light Preſents from your Loyal Commons; and if your Royal Majeſty, the great Lord of the Harveſt, ſhall vouchſafe to crown this Day by your Conceſſions to our Deſires, the World will then ſee how great a Duty your People chearfully pay both to your Royal Perſon and your Government, and likewiſe how great a Zeal your Majeſty hath, by the faithful Advice of your Lords and Commons, to ſettle the Church in her ancient Glory, and to reſtore the happy People of this Nation to their ancient Rights and Priviledges. Some Foreign Writers, that envy the Happineſs of our Government, injuriouſly aſperſe this Nation with a reproachful Saying, *That the Crown of* England *is only maintain'd by the Benevolence of the People, which is never granted, but in Exchange of ſome Royal Prerogative.* Great Sir, we know the ſtrongeſt Building muſt fall, if the coupling Pins be pull'd out; therefore our Care hath been to prepare ſuch Conſtitutions, that the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Propriety of the People, may like ſquared Stones in a well built Arch, each ſupport the other, and grow the cloſer and ſtronger for any Weight or Force that ſhall be laid upon them. We cannot forget the late Diſputing Age, wherein moſt Perſons took a Liberty, and ſome Men made it their Delight, to trample upon the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; the Hedge being trod down, the Foxes and the Wolves enter'd, the Swine and other unclean Beaſts defiled the Temple: At length it was diſcern'd, the *Smectymnian* Plot did not only bend it ſelf to reform *Ceremonies*, but ſought to erect a popular Authority of *Elders*, and root out *Epiſcopal* Juriſdiction. In Order to this Work, Church Ornaments were firſt taken away, then the Means whereby Diſtinction or Inequality might be upheld among Eccleſiaſtical Governors; then the Forms of Common Prayer, which, as Members of the Publick Body of *Chriſt*'s Church, were enjoin'd us, were decry'd as ſuperſtitious, and in lieu thereof, Nothing, or worſe than Nothing, introduced. Your Majeſty having already reſtored the Governors and Government of the Church, the Patrimony and Priviledges of our Church-Men; we held it now our Duty, for the Reformation of all Abuſes in the publick Worſhip of God, humbly to preſent to your Majeſty a Bill for *The Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments.* We hope the God of Order

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‘ and Unity will conform the Hearts of all the People in this Nation, to ‘ ſerve him in this Order and Uniformity.

‘ Next to the Worſhip and Service of God, we apply'd our ſelves to ‘ the ſettling our great Concern, the *Militia*. We have already, ac- ‘ cording to our Duties, and the Laws, declared *the ſole Right of the* ‘ *Militia to be in your Majeſty:* And we humbly tender your Majeſty ‘ a Bill for *the better Regulation and Ordering the Standing Forces of the* ‘ *Nation*; wherein we have taken Care to make all Things ſo certain, ‘ that your Lieutenants and their Deputies may know what to command, ‘ and all the People learn how to obey. And becauſe our late Wounds ‘ are yet but green, and poſſibly before the Body Politick be well purg'd, ‘ may incline to break out again, whereby your Majeſty may be forc'd ‘ to draw your Sword before your Treaſury be ſupply'd with Mony; ‘ We have conſented that your Majeſty may raiſe for the three next en- ‘ ſuing Years, one Month's Tax in each Year, *after the Rate of Seventy* ‘ *thouſand Pounds* per Menſem, if Neceſſity ſhall ſo require. In the next ‘ Place, according to your Majeſty's Commands, we have ſurvey'd the ‘ waſted Revenue of the Crown; and in Purſuance of our Promiſes, do ‘ humbly propound to your Majeſty a fair Addition: We conſider'd that ‘ great Part of your Revenue is but for Life, and depends upon the Peace ‘ and Trade of the Nation, and therefore may be much impaired by Fo- ‘ reign Wars; therefore we have ſought ſomething that might ariſe ‘ within our own Walls, and not be ſubject to ſuch Contingencies. We ‘ fix'd at laſt upon thoſe Places where we enjoy our greateſt Comforts ‘ and Securities, our Dwelling-Houſes; and conſidering even that Secu- ‘ rity is ſecured to us by your Majeſty's Vigilance and Care in the Go- ‘ vernment, we have prepared a Bill, *That all Houſes in this Kingdom,* ‘ *of the yearly Value of above twenty Shillings, and not inhabited by Almeſ-* ‘ *men, ſhall pay to your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, two Shillings* ‘ *yearly, for every Chimney-Hearth in each Houſe for ever.* When the ‘ great *Achitophels* of our latter Age had by Force raviſh'd the venerable ‘ Laws of this Nation, then every petty Artiſt in his Way, yea the very com- ‘ mon Beggars had the Confidence to offer Violence to their Chaſtity. We ‘ have therefore been conſtrain'd to prepare ſeveral Bills for the Regulati- ‘ on of *Trade*, our *Cloathing-Trade*, our *Fiſhing-Trade*, our Trade for ‘ *Stuffs*, our Trade for *Silks*; and for the better Maintenance of *Inter-* ‘ *courſe* in Trade, to re-inforce our former Laws for maintaining the ‘ *High-Ways*, with ſome Additions for Decency and Pleaſure of Tra- ‘ vellers. God in his Providence hath determin'd, *That the Poor we* ‘ *muſt have always with us:* Some are made ſo by the immediate Hand ‘ of God; others by their Loyalty, Duty and Service to your Royal Per- ‘ ſon, and your bleſſed Father; others by their own Wickedneſs and Idle- ‘ neſs: We have taken care to relieve the Firſt, to encourage the Se- ‘ cond, and to reform the laſt. Nor hath the Caſe of any Private Per- ‘ ſon been unwelcome to us; thoſe many *Private Bills* that lye before ‘ your Majeſty do enough confirm this Truth, That where we found ‘ it juſt and honourable, we have deny'd our helping Hand to none that ‘ pray'd it. And now, great Sir, after theſe many Months moſt painful ‘ and faithful Service of your Majeſty and our Countries, we hope we ‘ ſhall have leave to go home, to viſit our Relations, to tell our Neigh- ‘ bours what great Things your Majeſty hath done for us, what great ‘ things, *abſit Invidia Verbo*, we have done for your Majeſty, and what ‘ great Things God hath done for us all; and to pray Almighty God for ‘ his Mercy to this Nation, in the Continuance of your Majeſty's long ‘ and happy Reign over us.

At

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The King's Speech to both Houſes at the Prorogation.

At the paſſing of the foremention'd Bills, the King made the following Speech, which is here inſerted without the leaſt Abridgement or Alteration: ‘ *My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I ‘ think there have been very few Seſſions of Parliament, in which there ‘ have been ſo many *Bills*, as I have paſs'd this Day: I am confident, ne- ‘ ver ſo many *Private Bills*, which I hope you will not draw into Ex- ‘ ample. It is true, theſe late ill Times have driven Men into great ‘ Streights, and may have oblig'd them to make Conveyances *colourably*, ‘ to avoid Inconveniencies, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and ‘ Men have gotten Eſtates by new and greater Frauds than have been ‘ heretofore practis'd; and therefore in this Conjuncture, extraordinary ‘ Remedies may be neceſſary, which hath induced me to comply with ‘ your Advice, in paſſing theſe Bills; but I pray let this be very rarely ‘ done hereafter. The good old Rules of the Law are the beſt Securi- ‘ ty; and let not Men have ſo much Cauſe to fear, *That the Settlements* ‘ *they make of their Eſtates, ſhall be too eaſily unſettled, when they are* ‘ *dead, by the Power of Parliaments.*

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, You have ſo much oblig'd me, not only ‘ in the Matter of thoſe Bills which concern my Revenue, but in the ‘ Manner of Paſſing them, with ſo great Affection and Kindneſs to Me, that ‘ I know not how to thank you enough. I do aſſure you, and I pray aſ- ‘ ſure your Friends in the Country, *That I will apply all you have given* ‘ *me, to the utmoſt Improvement of the Peace and Happineſs of the King-* ‘ *dom; and will, with the beſt Advice and good Husbandry I can, bring* ‘ *my Expences within a narrower Compaſs.* Now I am ſpeaking to you ‘ of my own good Husbandry, I muſt tell you, that will not be enough: ‘ I cannot but obſerve to you, *That the whole Nation ſeems to me a little* ‘ *corrupted in their Exceſs of Living.* Sure all Men ſpend much more ‘ in their Clothes, in their Diet, in all their Expences, than they have ‘ us'd to do. I hope it hath only been the Exceſs of Joy, after ſo long ‘ Sufferings, that hath tranſported us to theſe other Exceſſes; but let us ‘ take heed that the Continuance of them doth not indeed corrupt our ‘ Natures. I do believe I have been faulty my Self; I promiſe you, I ‘ will reform, and if you will joyn with me in your ſeveral Capacities, ‘ we ſhall by our Examples do more good, both in City and Country, ‘ than any new Laws wou'd do. I tell you again, I will do my Part, ‘ and I will tell ſome of you, if you do not do Yours. I hope the Laws ‘ I have paſs'd this Day, will produce ſome Reformation with ‘ Reference to the Multitude of Beggars and poor People which ‘ infeſt the Kingdom: Great Severity muſt be us'd to Thoſe who ‘ love Idleneſs and refuſe to Work, and great Care and Charity to Thoſe ‘ who are willing to Work. I do very heartily recommend the Execu- ‘ tion of thoſe good Laws to your utmoſt Diligence; and I am ſure I ‘ need not put you in mind ſo to ſettle the *Militia*, that all Seditious ‘ Inſurrections may not only be prevented, to which the Minds of too ‘ Many are inclined, but that the People may be without reaſonable Ap- ‘ prehenſion of ſuch Inſecurity. You will eaſily believe, that it is very ‘ neceſſary for the Publick Juſtice of the Kingdom, and even for the Pre- ‘ ſervation of the Reverence due to Parliaments, that I make this a *Seſ-* ‘ *ſion*; and it will be worthy of your Wiſdoms when you come together ‘ again, to provide that there be not ſo great a Clamour againſt the Mul- ‘ titude of *Protections*. I will ſay no more, but renew my hearty Thanks ‘ to you All, and refer the reſt to the Chancellor.

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

Accordingly the Lord Chancellor made a long and affecting Speech, of which ſome Account ought to be given. He told them, ‘ That they ‘ had, like the richeſt and nobleſt Soil, yielded the King two full Harveſts ‘ in one Year; and therefore it was but good Husbandry to lye Fallow for

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‘ ſome Time: They had not only ſupply'd the Crown to a good Degree ‘ for Diſcharging many Debts and Preſſures, under which it even groan'd, ‘ and enabled it to ſtruggle with the preſent Streights and Neceſſities, ‘ Debts not contracted, and Neceſſities not run into by Improvidence ‘ and Exceſs; but they had wiſely provided ſuch a conſtant growing Re- ‘ venue, as might with God's Bleſſing preſerve the Crown from thoſe ‘ ſcandalous Wants and Neceſſities, as had lately expos'd it and the King- ‘ dom to thoſe diſmal Miſeries, from which they were but even now ‘ buoy'd up: For whatſoever other Human Cauſes might be aſſign'd, ac- ‘ cording to the ſeveral Fancies of Men, of the late miſerable Diſtractions, ‘ they could not be ſo reaſonably imputed to any one Cauſe, *as to the extream* ‘ *Poverty of the Crown*: The Want of Power cou'd never have appeared, ‘ if it had not been for the Want of Money. They had therefore wor- ‘ thily provided for the Vindication and Manifeſtation of the One by the ‘ Bill of the *Militia*, and for the Supply of the Other by the Act for the ‘ *Additional Revenue*; and he doubted not but both the preſent and ſuc- ‘ ceeding Ages wou'd bleſs God, and celebrate their Memories for ‘ thoſe two Bills, as the Foundation of their Peace, Quiet and Secu- ‘ rity. Then he proceeded to take Notice ‘ That the Spirit of Libelling ‘ was never more pregnant than at preſent; neither King, Parliament, ‘ Church, nor State cou'd eſcape thoſe Strokes of the Tongue, from ‘ which God alone cou'd preſerve the moſt innocent and excellent Per- ‘ ſons. Men, he ſaid, were no ways diſpos'd to remember the general ‘ excellent Temper of the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, the bleſſed Reſig- ‘ nation of the People then to the Crown, the awful Reverence they then ‘ had to the Government, and to the Governors both in Church and ‘ State; but they remember, as if it was but Yeſterday, how few ‘ Subſidies Parliaments then gave to the Queen, how ſmall Supplies the ‘ Crown then had from the People, and wonder that the ſame Meaſures ‘ ſhou'd not give the ſame Reputation, and make the ſame Noiſe in Chriſten- ‘ dom. But they were ſuperior to ſuch Reproaches, and well knew, that as to ‘ his preſent Majeſty, at leaſt Two Parts of Three, that have been given to ‘ him, have been iſſu'd out for Disbanding Armies never rais'd by Him, and ‘ for Payment of Fleets never ſent out by him, and of Debts never contra- ‘ cted by him. They alſo knew the vaſt Diſparity between the former Times ‘ and the Preſent, upon the Account of the mighty Encreaſe of Com- ‘ merce, Naval Powers, and other extraordinary Things, in the ſeveral ‘ Parts of the World; ſo that the Crown was now at the neceſſary Ex- ‘ pence by Sea and Land, of eight hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year, ‘ which formerly did not coſt it Eighty Thouſand Pounds a Year.

After this he proceeded to other Topicks, and intimated the Neceſſity of making the People underſtand ‘ the Profit, Benefit and Eaſe, which ‘ always attended a chearful Obedience, and Submiſſion to Laws and Go- ‘ vernment; and declar'd that a little Pains, Kindneſs and Condeſcenſion ‘ in the Wiſe, towards the Weak, Half the Diligence and Dexterity in ‘ Converſation and Example, which had been us'd to corrupt the People ‘ in their Loyalty and Underſtanding, wou'd quickly reduce them to ‘ their Primitive Temper, namely, to be the beſt Neighbours, and the ‘ beſt Friends, and the beſt Subjects in the World. And he doubted not ‘ but the great Piety and Devotion, the Moderation, Charity and Hoſ- ‘ pitality of the Biſhops, in their ſeveral Dioceſes, wou'd in a ſhort Time ‘ recover the poor miſ-led People: And tho' the Frowardneſs and Pride ‘ of ſome of their Teachers was not enough ſubdued; tho' ſome of the ‘ Clergy ſtill repeated their old Errors, and did ſtill diſcredit all their ‘ other Doctrine, with the Abſence of any viſible Repentance; yet he ‘ hop'd the Laity wou'd ſoon return into the Boſom the Church, and ea- ‘ ſily diſcern the Fraud and Impoſture of their Seducers; and that all

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'Diligence wou'd be us'd, heartily to reconcile both Clergy and Laity, 1662.
'by all Means which may prove effectual.' Then ſpeaking of the Sharp-
neſs of the new Laws, he intimated, That the Execution of them 'ſtill Car. 14
'depended upon the Wiſdom of the moſt diſcerning, generous, and mer- Reſ. 2.
'ciful Prince, who having had more Experience of the Nature and Hu-
'mour of Mankind, than any Prince living, cou'd beſt diſtinguiſh between
'the Tenderneſs of Conſcience, and the Pride of Conſcience, between
'the real Effects of Conſcience, and the wicked Pretences to Conſci-
'ence; who knew how to guard Himſelf and the Kingdom from the
'Violence of a malicious corrupted Will and Underſtanding, and to ſe-
'cure both from the feeble Nets of deluded Fancies and Imaginations:
'In a Word, a Prince of ſo excellent a Nature, and ſo tender a Conſci-
'ence Himſelf, that he had the higheſt Compaſſion for all Errors of that
'Kind, and wou'd never ſuffer the Weak to undergo the Puniſhment or-
'dain'd for the Wicked.' Then he intimated to them, 'That many ho-
'neſt Perſons, in the late Times, were miſ-led by not diſcerning Conſe-
'quences, who wou'd as ſoon have renounc'd their Part in Heaven, as
'concurr'd in the firſt unwarrantable Action, if they had ſuſpected what
'follow'd. But the moſt dangerous Enemies to the publick Peace, he
'ſaid, were the Republicans, the Common-wealths-Men, who were every
'Day calling in the Aid of the Law, that they might overthrow the
'Law, which they knew to be their irreconcilable Enemy; a People
'reſtleſs in their Counſels, and no leſs punctual and induſtrious in their
'Correſpondencies, abroad as well as at home: Therefore they cou'd
'not be too vigilant and inquiſitive as to thoſe Men.' Then ſpeaking
of the Happineſs they had procured, he told them, 'That they wanted
'only one Bleſſing, the Arrival of their Queen, whom God had now
'ſafely brought to the Nation; a Queen of ſuch rare Perfection in Bo-
'dy and Mind, of ſuch great Endowments of Wiſdom, Virtue, and Pi-
'ety, that they might from her reaſonably promiſe themſelves all the
'Happineſs they were capable of; and there cou'd not be a more tran-
'ſcendent Inſtance of the King's Love and Paſſion for his People, than
'that he had ſtay'd theſe four Days to take his Leave of them; and that
'he might give them this Day's Work, all theſe good Laws, had deny'd
'himſelf ſo long the enjoying the greateſt Comfort he is aſſured of in
'this World.' Then exhorting them again to teſtify their Joy, and tranſ- *The End of the Second Seſſion of the Second Parliament.*
mit it into their Countries, he by the King's Commands prorogu'd the
Parliament till the 18th Day of *February*.

3. And thus ended the ſecond Meeting of the ſecond Parliament, after it had ſate, with ſome inconſiderable Intermiſſions, ſix Months wanting one Day. And here we may properly take Notice of two or three Acts now paſs'd, more particularly than what we find in the Speaker's Speech; as the *Militia* Act, and that for *Uniformity*; but firſt obſerve how far the Prerogative was advanc'd, or at leaſt confirm'd in the preceding, as well as the preſent Parliament. The preceding Parliament, tho' elected with Reſtrictions as excluſive as well cou'd be of the late and preſent King's Friends, was ſo forward, as in the *Act of Attainder of the Regicides*, to uſe theſe remarkable Words; *Be it hereby declared, That by the undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor Both together in Parliament or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively or Repreſentatively, nor any other Perſons whatſoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have any Coercive Power over the Perſons of the Kings of this Realm.* Anſwerable to this Declaration the *Militia* Act, paſs'd in this Parliament, begins with theſe Words; *Foraſmuch as within all his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, the ſole* The Militia Act.

and

1662. Car. 14 Ref. 2. *and Supream Power, Government, Command and Diſpoſition of the* Militia, *and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of Strength is, and by the Laws of* England *ever was, the undoubted Right of his Majeſty, and his Royal Predeceſſors, Kings and Queens of* England; *and that both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, cannot, or ought to pretend to the ſame; nor can, nor lawfully may raiſe, or levy any War, Offenſive or Defenſive, againſt his Majeſty, his Heirs, or lawful Succeſſors,* &c. Not ſatisfy'd with theſe Words, which ſeem'd to fence againſt all Evaſion and Reſerve, a particular Oath was added to be neceſſarily taken by all Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Officers and Soldiers, in theſe Words; *I* A. B. *do declare and believe, That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition, That Arms may be taken by his* Authority *againſt his* Perſon, *or againſt thoſe that are* Commiſſion'd by him *in purſuance of ſuch Military Commiſſions.* All theſe, put together, were ſo ſtrong and expreſſive, that they ſeem'd at once to give up the whole Conſtitution; and no Wonder if many of the Laity, as well as Clergy, upon the Account of theſe Acts, eſpous'd a Doctrine, which, if rigidly taken, was ſo hard to be reconciled to the great Deliverance afterwards. But ſomething ought to be remember'd by way of Explanation; that when the latter Part of the Oath, the Words *Commiſſion'd by him,* which ſeem'd moſt dangerous to the Conſtitution, came to be debated, it was mov'd in the Houſe of Commons, and particularly preſs'd by the great Lawyer Sir *John Vaughan,* that the Word *Lawfully* might be added, to make all clear. But the Attorney-General, Sir *Heneage Finch,* anſwer'd, 'That it was not neceſſary, for the very Word *Com-* 'miſſion imported it, ſince if it was not *Lawfully* iſſu'd out to *Lawful* 'Perſons, and for a *Lawful* Reaſon, it was no *Commiſſion*;' and the whole Houſe aſſented to this Interpretation. The ſame Word *Lawfully* was likewiſe preſs'd to be added in the Houſe of Peers by the Earl of *Southampton* himſelf; but much the ſame Anſwer, given in the Houſe of Commons, was made to him by the Earl of *Angleſey.* But the former inſiſted to have the Word added, 'Becauſe it wou'd clear all Difficulties 'with many, who not having heard the particular Senſe of both Houſes, 'might fancy, That if any ſort of *Commiſſion* was granted, it wou'd not 'be lawful to reſiſt it.' He did not prevail: for it was alledg'd as a ſatisfactory Anſwer, *That this Explandtion being the Senſe of both Houſes, it wou'd be ſoon ſpread and known over the Nation.*

The Act of Uniformity. As to the Act of *Uniformity,* it was form'd with as much Skill and Exactneſs as it well cou'd be for introducing a ſtrict Miniſterial Conformity, according to the new Book of *Common-Prayer,* and for excluding thoſe Miſchiefs that at firſt had crept into, and afterwards over-run the eſtabliſhed Church. By this Act every Parſon, Vicar, or other Miniſter was oblig'd to conform before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* next, upon Pain of loſing all his Eccleſiaſtical Preferments; for the compleating of which, theſe Words were to be us'd, *I* A. B. *do here declare my unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing contain'd and preſcrib'd in and by the Book intituled the Book of Common-Prayer,* &c. Every Perſon was likewiſe oblig'd to ſubſcribe a Declaration, containing the very Words of the foremention'd Oath in the *Militia* Act; in which Declaration he was not only to promiſe to conform to the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England,* but likewiſe to renounce the *ſolemn League and Covenant,* declaring it to be *an unlawful Oath, and impos'd upon the Subjects of this Realm againſt the known Laws and Liberties of the People.* Several Penalties were annex'd to this Act; particularly, 'No Perſon 'ſhou'd be capable of any Benefice, or preſume to conſecrate and admi-

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'niſter the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before he be ordained 1662.
'Prieſt by Epiſcopal Ordination, upon Pain to forfeit for every Offence
'the Sum of one hundred Pounds.' And becauſe Lecturers had been Car. 14
great Inſtruments in inflaming the People towards the late Miſeries of the Reſ 2.
Nation, none were allow'd by this Act, unleſs approv'd and licens'd by
the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſe; and as to reading the *Common-Prayer*, making the *Declarations*, &c. they were put under ſtricter Limitations than the legal Miniſters of Pariſhes. Theſe and ſeveral other things were contain'd in this famous Act, commonly call'd *The Bartholomew Act*, becauſe it took Place on that Day; an Act highly extoll'd and exclaim'd againſt by different Parties, as it ſupported or diſappointed their Expectations: accordingly it has been call'd both the Glory and Diſgrace of the Church, tho' the Laity as well as the Clergy were equally concern'd in the making of it. It preſs'd hard indeed upon the Principles of ſome good, as well as turbulent Miniſters, and caus'd great Numbers of both to quit their Preferments, as will be afterwards remember'd: But, notwithſtanding what has been alledg'd of late in their Favour, we think there is much Truth in theſe Words of a modern Hiſtorian; 'It was undoubtedly the Faction and Sedition of the ſeveral Sects
'and Parties, that work'd up the Wiſdom of the Nation into this expe-
'dient Awe and Reſtraint upon them.'

Something likewiſe ought to be ſaid of the Act for *ſettling an annual Revenue of Two Shillings upon every Fire-Hearth*, commonly call'd by the Name of *Chimney-Mony*. It was a new Revenue deſign'd to be for ever annex'd to the Crown of *England*; a Burthen that afterwards lay upon the Minds much heavier than the Fortunes of the People, eſpecially upon the Account of the arbitrary way of collecting it; and therefore the Remiſſion of it by King *William* was thought a wiſe Act of Popularity. This Tax afterwards amounted to about two hundred and fifty ſix thouſand Pounds a Year; which, together with *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, *Exciſe*, and other Duties, in length of Time made the Revenue of this King to be more than double to any of his Predeceſſors ſince the Reformation. Yet the Power and Prerogative of the Crown, notwithſtanding ſome extraordinary Words in the *Militia* Act and others, was not in ſeveral Caſes ſo great and extenſive as in the laſt three Reigns: For, beſides that the Act for *Triennial Parliaments* was in Force, the Crown had before the Year 1641 ſeveral legal Powers and Privileges ariſing from the *Star-Chamber*, the *High-Commiſſion Court*, the *Clerkſhip of the Markets*, the *Foreſts*, &c. which were then entirely given up, and never reſtored again; not to mention the *Court of Wards*, which was yielded for an annual Revenue of a hundred thouſand Pounds, immediately after the Reſtoration. *Chimney-Mony.*

MSS. Heath. Ludlow. Baron. Calamy. Burnet. Walton. Ward. Pope.

IX. 1. Before the Parliament broke up, the Court, as well as the King himſelf, were buſily employ'd in making Preparations for the Royal Marriage, the new Queen being juſt landed at *Portſmouth*. This Marriage having made a great Noiſe, and occaſion'd innumerable Reflections, the Steps and Progreſs of it ought to be a little traced, tho' with ſome ſmall Repetitions of ſome things formerly remember'd; eſpecially ſince they have been ſo little known, and ſo much miſtaken by the Nation; and this we ſhall do from a Manuſcript of Sir *Robert Southwell*, an intimate Friend to the great Duke of *Ormond*, and from ſome other Informations of unqueſtionable Veracity. The Occaſion and Root of this Marriage ſprung from the famous *Pyrenean* Treaty in 1659, concluded by the two great Miniſters of *France* and *Spain*, Cardinal *Mazarine*, and Don *Lewis de Haro*; in which the Former gain'd ſo much the Advan- Reſ. 3. *The Steps towards the King's* MARRIAGE.

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tage of the Latter, as to bring it ſo about, That his Enemy ſhou'd leave him in Peace, and he his Enemy in War. This War was with *Portugal*, which *Spain* now hop'd to recover, after near twenty Years Revolt, ſince *France* promis'd not to intermeddle directly or indirectly in the Affairs of that Kingdom, or give the leaſt Aſſiſtance either by Sea or Land. Tho' this Agreement was very unfaithfully obſerv'd by the Cardinal, yet the very Name of it gave great Terror to the *Portugueſe*; and his Eminence was willing to excite them to look out for other Help at preſent, that he might the more privately relieve them. This had its Effect; for Don *Franciſco de Mello*, afterwards Marqueſs *de Sandy*, being their Ambaſſador in *England*, ſo induſtriouſly apply'd himſelf to the Powers then uppermoſt, as that the *Council of State* did actually ſign with him a Treaty for the Defence of *Portugal*, as appears in the *Paper-Office* at *Whitehall*. But General *Monk* coming in this Juncture to *London*, and ſuperſeding all before him, the ſaid Ambaſſador as diligently apply'd to him for Aſſiſtance; and began with diſcovering a moſt uſeful Secret, 'That 'the *Spaniards* had reſolv'd, if the King was call'd home, to detain him 'at *Bruſſels*, till he ſhou'd deliver up *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica*: This cauſing his Majeſty's ſudden Removal to *Breda*, where he was out of the Power of *Spain*; *De Mello* proceeded to other Matters with the General, and propos'd a new Alliance, a Marriage between the King and the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. He then inſiſted, 'That this Match wou'd be the 'moſt advantagious to *England* of any in *Chriſtendom*; ſince, beſides the 'greateſt Portion in Mony that ever Queen had, the *Infanta* was to bring 'with her *Tangier*, which wou'd make the *Engliſh* Maſters of the Trade 'in the *Mediterranean*, and *Bombaim*, which wou'd give them the like 'Advantage in the *Eaſt Indies*; and over and above, wou'd ſerve to humble the proud *Spaniard*;' which the General, according to the Notions he had imbibed in his younger Days, thought to be the greateſt Advantage of all.

Firſt propos'd to General Monk,

Theſe ſpecious Propoſals were very acceptable to the General, who taking all theſe things in their full Extent, and eſpecially conſidering, That nothing was at preſent deſired but Forces, and that hereby the moſt mutinous of thoſe Regiments, bred up by *Cromwell*, might be ſent away, and the Peace of the Nation he had undertaken ſecured, he entirely clos'd with what was offer'd. This Affair was negotiated between Mr. *Morrice*, then in moſt Confidence with the General, and Mr. *Ruſſel* a Prieſt, then *Engliſh* Secretary and Interpreter to the ſaid Ambaſſador: And no ſooner did his Majeſty land in *England*, but the General offer'd him this Marriage Propoſal; which coming from one now reverenc'd as his Reſtorer, it was immediately embrac'd and purſu'd. When it was once well ſet on foot, it was highly encourag'd by ſuch as were Enemies to *Spain*, and by ſome who really thought the Power of that Monarchy ſtill too exorbitant; but what was further remarkable, Cardinal *Mazarine*, always fertile in Expedients, was a particular Promoter and Actor in it; which caus'd him to ſend over the Queen-Mother to countenance the Treaty in *England*, if the Propoſal concerning his Niece ſhou'd be ineffectual, as it ſoon prov'd. In ſum, the *Portugal* Intereſt was ſo puſh'd forward, that *France* engag'd to eaſe the *Engliſh* Tranſport-Charge of the Forces that were deſired; and promis'd two hundred thouſand Crowns, aſſoon as the Treaty ſhou'd be ſign'd and ratify'd, and before thoſe Forces cou'd be ready to embark; and tho' *Mazarine* dy'd in *March* $16\frac{60}{61}$, yet was his Undertaking punctually obſerv'd by his Succeſſor Monſieur *Colbert*, as was before mention'd. Yet after all this Induſtry, this Marriage Treaty in its Progreſs met with ſuch Obſtacles, that it was not

Who cloſes with it.

not concluded and ſign'd till the 23d Day of *June* 1661, the Parliament being then ſitting. 1662.

One conſiderable Obſtacle was the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, without whoſe Knowledge this Treaty was begun, and without his Approbation it was concluded; therefore he endeavour'd to overthrow it, while it continu'd in any Ballance. It is true, he did for ſome Time come in to the general Meaſures then on foot, till he made ſome Diſcovery of the probable Conſequences of the Marriage. Therefore upon one *Sunday* he begg'd of his Majeſty to call a Secret or Cabinet Council in the *Red-Chamber* in *White-Hall*; to which the King immediately conſented. At this Council, by the Chancellor's Management, none were preſent but the King himſelf, the Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*, and the Duke of *Ormond*. The Chancellor acquainting the King with the Occaſion of his having deſired this private Meeting, ſaid, *That he had hitherto, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Orders, chearfully gone on with the Marriage Treaty, without regarding what the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador had to object againſt it, which he conſider'd as coming from an Enemy: But that now he had certain Information that this Match, if concluded, wou'd bring ſuch a Calamity upon the Nation, as he was ſure his Majeſty wou'd prevent, if it were poſſible: For he had now undoubted Proofs that the Infanta of* Portugal *was not capable of having Children.* He then produc'd a Liſt of ſix Princeſſes, all Proteſtants, out of which his Majeſty might chuſe a fit and proper Wife. But the King frowning and ſwelling, anſwer'd *That this was all a Lie of the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador*, adding, *My Lord, I command you to go on with this Treaty*; and ſo the Meeting broke up. This Incapacity of having Children was publickly talk'd of among the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Lisbon* before this Princeſs left the Place; and they remonſtrated the ſame to the Earl of *Sandwich*, when he came to bring her to *England:* Of this Incapacity Sir *Robert Southwell* was fully aſſur'd afterwards by the Dutcheſs of *Guadiloupa* at *Madrid*, a Lady who had been acquainted with her from her Infancy, and in her Nurſery. But this is not to be imputed either to her Age, or her Country, but to ſome peculiar Infirmities of Body; and it is manifeſt from the Teſtimony of ſome Ladies about her, that ſhe was in a Child-Bearing Condition till after the King's Death, which was twenty two Years after her Marriage.

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The Chancellor oppoſes it;

But in vain.

The worthy and virtuous Princeſs *Donna Catharina*, Infanta of *Portugal*, was born on the 14th Day of *November*, 1638, ſo that ſhe was full twenty four Years of Age at this Time: She was Daughter of *Juan* Duke of *Braganza*, reſtored to the Crown of *Portugal* after that Monarchy had been interrupted for about ſixty Years, and only Siſter of *Don Alphonſo* the ſixth, and of *Don Pedro*, ſucceſſively Kings of *Portugal*. The Portion which ſhe brought with her was two Millions of *Croiſadoes*, about three hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, with the Inheritance of *Tangier* in *Barbary*, and the Iſle of *Bombaim* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; in Conſideration of which ſhe had a Jointure ſettled on her of thirty thouſand Pounds a Year. After the Return of the *Conde de Mello* with the Articles of Treaty and Marriage to *Lisbon*, and *Tangier* deliver'd into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, this Princeſs was marry'd by ſolemn Proxy in the Perſon of his Excellency the Earl of *Sandwich*, with great Joy and Triumph; and under his Conduct ſhe embark'd for *England* on the 23d of *April*, attended by a noble Squadron of the Royal Navy, and was met at the Iſle of *Wight* by the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, with many triumphant Salvos of the Navy. At *Portſmouth* ſhe was welcomed by a glorious Show of Nobility, Gentry and Citizens of *London*, who appear'd with the richeſt Habits and Equipages that cou'd be procured.

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cured. Here in a little Time ſhe was received by the King himſelf, and there on the 21ſt of *May* privately marry'd to him by Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* Biſhop of *London*, as was commonly reported to ſatisfy the People of *England*; tho' others report that the new Queen refus'd to be marry'd by any but a Prieſt of her own Religion. From *Portſmouth* the Royal Pair remov'd to *Wincheſter*, to *Farnham*, and to *Windſor*, and ſo to *Hampton-Court*, where their Majeſties took up a conſiderable Part of the *Summer*. Here the Queen receiv'd the Addreſſes of all the Nobility, and Submiſſions of the ſeveral Deputies for the Cities of *England*; more particularly from the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, who, by Sir *William Wylde* their Recorder, pronounc'd a *Spaniſh* Oration, and preſented her with a rich Purſe of Gold. On the 23d of *Auguſt* ſhe was with great Pomp and Splendor brought by Water from *Hampton-Court*, to finiſh her Voyage to *Whitehall*. Upon which Occaſion all the Companies in their Barges, nobly ſet out, attended the Lord-Mayor at the Solemnity, and ſeveral Pageants were plac'd upon the River, and Speeches made; all which made a very noble Sight, compleated by the glorious ſetting out of the King's own Barge. The whole Nation upon this Occaſion was fill'd with new Triumphs, Rejoicings and Feaſtings; which bore hard upon many of the old Cavaliers, who were moſt ready, and leaſt able to join in the Extravagancy of the Times.

The Marriage compleated.

The Queen Mother ſettles in England.

Upon the compleating of this Marriage, the Queen Mother, with the Earl of *St. Albans* and others, came over a ſecond Time into *England*, and had a ſplendid Court ſettled for her in *Somerſet-Houſe*, which ſhe propos'd to be the Abode of her remaining Widowhood. Another Effect of this Marriage was the Sale of *Dunkirk*, which happen'd not long after the Conſummation of it; of which the Foundation was laid by the very Treaty it ſelf: For the *Portugueze* had ſo far prevail'd, that by the nineteenth Article of the ſaid Treaty, it was expreſsly ſtipulated, 'That '*Dunkirk* ſhou'd never be parted withal to the *Spaniard*;' which gave *France* a fair Opportunity to cloſe with the King, and to make a Bargain with him at a Time when he wanted ready Mony for the extraordinary Expences of this Year, and particularly the Payment of his Siſter's Portion. Many Reaſons were urg'd for the parting with this important Place; and the firſt Motive to the King, as I am aſſur'd by a knowing Man, was the great Expence in the keeping of it, which *Rutherford* the Governor had encreas'd to an exorbitant Degree ſince the Diſmiſſion of Sir *Edward Harley*. And the Earl of *Sandwich* particularly alledg'd to his Majeſty, *That the Coaſt was generally ſo tempeſtuous, and the Grounds ſo rowling upon every Storm, that there wou'd never remain a certain Steerage to that Port*. Theſe and other Reaſons being alledg'd in Council, tho' oppos'd by Chancellor *Clarendon*, and Treaſurer *Southampton*, the King was content to deliver up the Town and Port of *Dunkirk*, with all the Ordnance and Ammunition, for the Sum of five hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling; one half to be paid down, and the other in a ſhort Time after. Several Books were written in Vindication of this Sale, ſhewing how uſeleſs the Place was to *England*, unleſs Millions of Mony were expended upon it; and at this Time we do not find many Complaints againſt either this, or the *Portugal* Match: But when the ill Effects of both began afterwards to appear, as the increaſing Power of *France*, and the Queen's want of Iſſue, great Outcries were made, and Chancellor *Hyde* was unreaſonably charg'd with the Scandal of both, when he was really free from the Guilt, or rather Misfortune of either.

The Sale of Dunkirk.

2. While the great Match was preparing, and Mens Minds taken up in the Joy and Triumph of the Times, ſeveral high Criminals were taken

ken and brought to their Execution; many being animated by the Zeal of the Parliament, fell again upon enquiring after the Regicides and Traytors excepted from the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. Several of them had fled beyond the Seas, among whom were *Miles Corbet*, Colonel *Okey*, and Colonel *Berkſtead*; who, having wander'd through many Parts of *Low* and *High Germany*, and for a while ſettled at *Hanow* under borrow'd Names, return'd in the Spring to *Delf* in *Holland*, having appointed their Wives to meet them there, to underſtand the Condition of Affairs in *England*. Their Letters being intercepted by the Vigilance of Sir *George Downing*, the King's Reſident at the *Hague*, one formerly of their own Party, they were all three ſuddenly ſeiz'd, and by the States Conſent put on Board the *Blackmore* Frigate, then lying at *Helvor-Sluce*, and ſo brought over and committed to the *Tower* at *London*. In this Affair, we are told that the States were very much ſurpriz'd, and wou'd have willingly revok'd their Orders when it was too late; ſo that they do not deſerve the high Exclamations againſt them, made by *Ludlow* and others, as if they, by delivering theſe Perſons, had broken a Fundamental Maxim of all Free Eſtates. 1662. Car. 14 Reſ. 3.

Corbet, Okey, *and* Berkſtead *ſeiz'd in* Holland.

After they had been ſome Time in the *Tower*, theſe three were brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar, and there demanded *what they cou'd ſay for themſelves, why they ſhou'd not die according to Law*, the Act of Attainder being read to them: To which they alledg'd, they were not the ſame Perſons mention'd in that Act; whereupon Witneſſes being ready, they were call'd, and a Jury impannell'd, who gave Verdict that they were the ſame Perſons; upon which the Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſter* proceeded to Sentence, which was the ſame with the former Accomplices and Sufferers for that Fact. They were ſoon after executed at *Tyburn*, where they made better Ends than moſt of the reſt of the Regicides, and particularly acknowledg'd their reſolv'd Acquieſcence under the King's Government, as of God, and exhorted others to do the ſame; eſpecially Colonel *Okey*, a Perſon that for his Valour, and other good Qualities, was pity'd by all Men, for having been ſo blindly engag'd in his own Deſtruction. They all profeſs'd they had no Malice to his late Majeſty, and that they had miſtaken the Parliament's Authority for good and ſufficient in that unhappy Act. Being all three hang'd, bowell'd and quarter'd, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd, in Regard to Colonel *Okey*'s Chriſtian and dutiful Carriage, to return his Quarters to his Friends to be interr'd; which was done in the Chappel of the *Tower*, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, to prevent the tumultuous Concourſe of the Fanaticks, who met in ſuch Numbers to attend the Corps, that the City Sheriffs were forc'd to diſperſe them. The Quarters of *Berkſtead*, and *Corbet* were ſet upon the City Gates; the Head of the former was plac'd upon a Pole on *Traitor's-Gate* in the *Tower*, and that of the other on *London-Bridge*. We have little to ſay of theſe three unhappy Criminals; only *Corbet* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Norfolk*, and brought up in the Society of *Lincoln's-Inn*, and being Member of Parliament, he was a great Actor in purging the Houſe of Commons, in Favour of the *Independent* Party, being one of the *Congregational Way*. *Berkſtead* and *Okey* were both Citizens of *London*, the firſt a Working Silver-Smith, and the latter a poor Chandler; but by their Induſtry, and the Commotions of the Times, rais'd to be Colonels in the Army, where, with the reſt of their Party, they effectually compleated the Miſeries of the Nation.

They are executed.

Some little Account of them.

Their Execution was not long after ſucceeded by that of a Superior Criminal, the famous Sir *Henry Vane*, whoſe Blood ſeems to have been demanded by the peculiar Vengeance of Heaven. This prodigious Man had been moſt deeply ingag'd in the darkeſt Scenes of the late Calamities,

Proceedings againſt Vane, *and* Lambert.

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lamities, which he carry'd on with infinite Subtlety and Artifice, to the Deception of incredible Numbers in the Nations; and tho' he cunningly kept himſelf from the impious Court that condemn'd the King, it was ſufficiently known that none contributed more to the bringing Him thither; and after that, none more zealouſly promoted the Eſtabliſhment of the new *Common-Wealth*; and his Actions daily diſcover'd ſo much of Republican Rancour, that it was impoſſible for him to live in Quiet under any Reſemblance of Monarchy. So after the Reſtoration, having been found tampering with ſome Malecontents of the Army, and Others, in Order to freſh Diſturbances, the Government thought fit to confine him; and tho' He, with *Lambert*, was particularly excepted in the Act of Indemnity, yet he found ſo much Favour afterwards from the Houſe of Commons in the ſame Parliament, that they petition'd the King, in which they were joyn'd by the Houſe of Peers, That he might yet be exempt from ſuffering the Pains of Death; to which, as his Friends alledge, his Majeſty conſented. This was look'd upon as ſufficient Security; yet either upon the Account of his own Behaviour, or that of his Party, or ſome private Reſentment, the preſent Houſe of Commons thought fit to addreſs the King to bring Him, together with Colonel *John Lambert*, to their Tryals.

Accordingly, on the 4th of *June*, they were both arraign'd at the King's-Bench Bar, before Sir *Robert Foſter* Lord Chief-Juſtice, and other Judges, and Indicted; Sir *Henry*, *for imagining and compaſſing the Death of the King, and for taking upon him, and uſurping the Government*; and Colonel *Lambert*, *for levying War againſt the King in ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom.* The Carriage and Behaviour of the Former was very extraordinary: for being charg'd by the King's Council with a continu'd Series of Treaſons from the King's Murder to the Reſtoration, without inſiſting upon the Rebellion with which they might have begun, he abſolutely deny'd they had any Power to try him, and declar'd, *That neither the King's Death, nor the Members themſelves cou'd diſſolve the Long Parliament, whereof he being One, no inferior Court cou'd call him in queſtion.* Then as to his Behaviour in the other Governments in Being after the King's Death, he urg'd this Pretence of Law, 'That his preſent 'Majeſty being at that Time but King *de Jure*, and not *de Facto*, he 'cou'd not be indicted for Treaſon before his Reſtoration.' He alſo alledg'd the Petitions of the Lords and Commons, and the King's Concurrence with them for the ſaving his Life, which he look'd upon as equivalent to an Act of Parliament. To which he was anſwer'd, That unleſs it had been paſs'd into an Act, it cou'd not be pleaded; and Replies were given to all his Queries and Difficulties, which he ſo often repeated, and with ſo many Pauſes, that he very much exercis'd the Patience of the Court. His whole Behaviour was ſo aſſuming and inſolent, that the Court and King's Council told him, *That his own Defence was a freſh Charge againſt him, and the higheſt Evidence of his inward Guilt, had there not been ſuch a Cloud of Witneſſes to prove the Particulars.* He ſtill found Means to ſpin out the Time with new Digreſſions and Queries, till with great Difficulty he was ſilenc'd, after he had often complain'd of his broken Memory, and long Impriſonment. At laſt the Jury, after a very ſhort Stay, brought him in guilty of High-Treaſon. Colonel *Lambert*'s Behaviour was quite contrary, full of Submiſſion and Diſcretion; ſo that the King's Council confeſs'd That his Carriage had been much different from the Other, not troubling the Court with Seditious Queries, but modeſtly urging his own Defence; but they added, *That good Manners muſt not commute for Treaſon*, and therefore demanded Judgment. He was likewiſe condemn'd, but when he was to receive Sentence with Sir *Henry Vane*, he was by the King's Favour repriev'd at the Bar, upon the Report that the Judges

Vane's bold Defence.

Lambert *ſubmits, and is repriev'd.*

Judges had given of his ſubmiſſive and handſome Deportment at his Tryal: upon which he deſired the Judges to return to his Majeſty his moſt humble Thanks for his *ſo unexpected Mercy*; *which*, the Judges ſaid, *might have been, and was once thought to be extended to Sir* Henry, *if his Frowardneſs and Contemptuous Behaviour had not precluded the Way to it.* The Colonel was confin'd during Life in the Iſle of *Guernſey*, where he continu'd a patient and diſcreet Priſoner for above Thirty Years. 1662. Car. 14 Reſ. 3.

The reſt of Sir *Henry Vane*'s Behaviour was ſo fill'd with Pride and Enthuſiaſm, that nothing can be more ſurprizing and ſhocking to Human Nature. According to *Ludlow He acquired Eternal Reputation by nobly Pleading for the dying Liberties of his Country.* His Friends Account of his Tryal, and Deportment afterwards, tends directly to this main End, *That in Right of* Jeſus Chriſt, *and his People, it was juſtifiable to ſtand up againſt any Government, and to Controll, and Subvert at Pleaſure.* Accordingly, when he receiv'd Sentence, at his Departure he us'd the Words of the bloody *Venner*, *Whom Man judges, God will not Condemn!* In like Manner, becauſe he was not ſuffer'd to defend the Treaſons he had acted for twenty Years together, he ſaid *It was a Violation of the Right of every Free-Born* Engliſh-*Man.* The King readily favour'd his Friends with changing his Sentence, from Hanging and Quartering to that of Beheading; and ſeem'd ſtill willing to have gone further; but when ſome perſwaded Him to ſubmit to the King, and endeavour to obtain his Life, he ſaid, *If the King did not think himſelf more concern'd for his Honour, and his Word, than he did for his Life, they might take it: Nay,* he declar'd, *That he valu'd his Life leſs in a good Cauſe, than the King cou'd do his Promiſe*; with ſuch like Rants, as if he deſign'd to precipitate his own Ruin. Then for his Religious Deportment, he declar'd *He had ſuch Signs of ſpecial Salvation, as to aſſure himſelf a Place no lower than the Right-Hand of Jeſus Chriſt.* He further ſaid, *This was the Day of his Spiritual Birth,* and even *whilſt here in Body, he was made Partaker of Eternal Life in the Firſt Fruits of it.* Being brought to the Scaffold on the 14th of *June*, he there run out into ſuch Lectures of Treaſon and Enthuſiaſm, that the Sheriff and the reſt, after two or three Warnings, were forc'd to drown them with the Noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, and were going to take his Papers from him; but he with great Rage and Indignation tore them in Pieces, and ſubmitted to the Block in a very diſcompos'd Manner. Yet his Friends tell us That his laſt Words at the Block, which concluded his Prayer, were Theſe: *Father, glorify thy Servant in the Sight of Men, that he may glorify Thee in the Diſcharge of his Duty to Thee, and to his Country!* He dy'd in the very ſame Place on *Tower-Hill* with the famous Earl of *Strafford*, of whoſe Death he was the prime Inſtrument, and for whoſe principally he was thought now to have Suffer'd. His Character and Actions have been fully accounted for in the laſt Volume of this Hiſtory; therefore we ſhall only obſerve That ſo much Diſſimulation and Enthuſiaſm, ſuch vaſt Parts and ſuch ſtrong Deluſions, ſo much good Senſe and ſo much Madneſs can hardly be believ'd to meet in any one Man in the World. And it is further obſerv'd, That as He was the firſt Man that open'd the Fountain of Blood that over-run the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo he was the laſt that clos'd it up in his own Execution; for we find none that ſuffer'd in *England* after him, upon the Account of the Grand Rebellion.

Vane's *prodigious Behaviour.*

His Execution and Character.

3. For about three Months after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Diſſenting Miniſters, eſpecially the *Presbyterians*, were under great Conſultations and Difficulties with Relation to the formidable *Act of Uni-*

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Difficulties among the Diſſenting Miniſters.

Uniformity. Some indeed were poſitive and reſolute againſt any Compliance with it, but great Numbers were very doubtful and uncertain, and appear'd to have had hard Struggles among the various Attractions of Conſcience and Honour, Intereſt and Humour. The Act was ſtrictly penn'd, and preſs'd hard upon late Principles and Practices; and the Severity of it was, no doubt, promoted by ſome who were concern'd in it, to keep out ſeveral particular Teachers, who they thought did not deſerve to enter into the Church. A continual Intercourſe of Letters and Meſſages paſs'd between thoſe in the City and the reſt in Countries, how to proceed in this nice Affair: Sometimes the Chief of them were for Compliance, as I have been aſſur'd by the beſt Hands; and then, upon further Conſideration, they chang'd their Minds. They were under conſiderable Temptations on both Sides: On one Side their Livings and Preferments were no ſmall Inducement towards their Compliance: On the other Side, beſides their Conſciences, they were much incourag'd by the Greatneſs of their Numbers, and were made to believe, That if they unanimouſly ſtood out, the Church muſt come to them, ſince the People wou'd never bear ſo ſhocking a Change, nor endure *ſo great a Silence of the Word*, as muſt happen if the Act took Place. Beſides they had great Expectations from ſeveral Friends at Court, and particularly the Popiſh Party, who gave them great Incouragement, not only by a Promiſe of Penſions to ſome, but alſo by a Toleration, and a Suſpenſion of the Act it ſelf, which not long after was partly made good. No doubt but the Non-Compliance of ſeveral proceeded purely from a Tender Conſcience; and in that Caſe ought not only to be pityed, but rather applauded than condemn'd.

Two thouſand ſilenc'd.

However it was, it appear'd upon the 24th Day of *Auguſt*, which they call'd *The Fatal* Bartholomew, that tho' the Grounds for Non-Complyance were not the ſame to every individual Perſon, yet about two thouſand of them quitted their Preferments, or refus'd new Offers, upon ſcrupling ſome Parts of the Statute. We have a tragical Account from ſome Writers of the great Miſchiefs that hapned to the Church, and to Chriſtianity it ſelf, by the Loſs of ſo many eminent Preachers and Divines, and it is repreſented as a Caſe not to be parallel'd. On the other Side we are told, That there was more Senſe and ſound Doctrine preach'd throughout the Kingdom in one Twelve-Month after their *Fatal* Bartholomew, than had been in nigh twenty Years before. We believe neither of them to be exactly true, but both over-ſtrain'd in the Expreſſion at leaſt. But if we come to examine the Catalogue of the two thouſand Miniſters, we may find many conſiderable Abatements in ſeveral Reſpects, and ſuch as may extreamly leſſen the Horror expreſs'd by their greateſt Friends. If we ſtrictly enquire into the Titles and Preferments of ſome, the Principles and Opinions of others, with the real Deſerts and Practices of others of theſe two thouſand, we ſhall find the Loſs ſuſtain'd, or at leaſt the Hardſhips ariſing from this Act, very much to diminiſh, and to be much more inconſiderable than of late repreſented. If conſider'd all together, they were a confus'd Maſs and Body of ſeveral Sects, and Men of different Principles, many of whom mortally hated each other; but the *Presbyterians* bearing ſo great a Share in the Catalogue, the reſt ſeem'd to have been taken in to fill up the Number. But after all, if it be remember'd how many of them had been unjuſt Intruders, how many had been Trumpets and Incendiaries in the late Miſeries of the Nation, and how many had been unmerciful Perſecutors of the legal *Clergy* of *England*, and likewiſe how few were willing to diſown their ſeditious Practices, it is no Wonder that they met with no more Favour from the Parliament and Convocation, tho' they did ſhortly after

after from the Court. It ought alſo to be acknowledg'd, that among Theſe there were ſeveral Men of real and conſiderable Worth, both as to Piety and Learning, who felt the Severity of this Act of Parliament, and who might, if conforming, been Ornaments to the Church of *England.* 1662. Car. 14 Reſ. 3.

Of the Two Thouſand Catalogue of thoſe Miniſters ejected or ſilenc'd, we find about Sixſcore about *London* and *Middleſex*, and above Fourſcore in the two Univerſities; the reſt being interſpers'd through the Kingdom. We ſhall mention about Forty of the moſt conſiderable and moſt noted amongſt them; either for Ability or Activity; whether they were *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *Anabaptiſt*, or bare *Non-Conformiſts:* In and about *London* were Dr. *Thomas Jacomb*, Dr. *Ezekiel Hopkins*, Dr. *William Bates*, Dr. *William Spurſtow*, Dr. *Thomas Manton*, Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, Mr. *Matthew Pool*, Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, Mr. *William Jenkin*, Mr. *Zachary Crofton*, Mr. *Philip Nye*, and Mr. *Matthew Mead.* In the Univerſity of *Oxford* were Dr. *John Owen*, Dr. *John Conant*, Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, and Mr. *Theophilus Gale.* In the other of *Cambridge* were Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, and Mr. *John Ray.* In the ſeveral Parts of the Country we may mention Dr. *Francis Cheynell*, Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs*, Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, Mr. *John How*, Mr. *Samuel Cradock*, Mr. *Ralph Ward*, Mr. *David Clarkſon*, Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, Mr. *Jonathan Jephcot*, Mr. *John Harmar*, Mr. *Joſeph Allen*, Mr. *Richard Heath*, Mr. *John Tombes*, Mr. *Joſeph Truman*, Mr. *John Hieron*, Mr. *George Hughs*, Mr. *John Rogers*, Mr. *John Shaw*, Mr. *Edward Bowles*, Mr. *Edward Reyner*, and Mr. *John Corbet.* Of theſe, ſome few afterwards conformed, as Dr. *Hopkins* and Dr. *Conant.* *The Chief of them.*

The Reaſons of the Nonconformity of ſuch great Numbers have been variouſly judg'd and reported; but as they and their Friends have given them, they are reduceable to theſe Five. 1. By the *Act of Uniformity* they were oblig'd to be re-ordain'd, if not Epiſcopally ordain'd before; which was the Caſe of only ſome of them. 2. They muſt declare their Aſſent and Conſent to every thing contain'd in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, &c. 3. They muſt take the Oath of Canonical Obedience. 4. They muſt abjure the *ſolemn League and Covenant*; and, 5. They muſt abjure the *taking Arms upon any Pretence whatſoever againſt the King*, &c. Tho' theſe Reaſons have been enlarg'd, and inſiſted on with the utmoſt Advantage every Particular wou'd admit of; yet it is juſtly believ'd, That that Temporary Part of the Act which was for the abjuring the *ſolemn League and Covenant*, rais'd greater Difficulties among many, than the conforming to the Ceremonies of the Church. Many People had ſtill an unaccountable Fondneſs and Veneration for it, therefore the Difficulty was inſuperable to ſeveral who thought themſelves under a perpetual Obligation to that lawleſs Engine of Miſery, which had been invented to eſtabliſh *Presbytery*, yet fram'd and finiſh'd by thoſe who hated both the Name and Thing. *Their Reaſons for Non-Conformity.*

And here in this Place we may properly take Notice of the Caſe of the *Church of England*, and that of the *Diſſenters*, both with Relation to the preſent, and ſome other Times of this Reign; which ſhall be in the Words of a knowing Writer, who never was thought partial to the Former, or unfavourable to the Latter. Dr. *Burnet*, before he was Biſhop, in the Year 1688, writing againſt the Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, proceeds thus: ‘ The King did indeed in his *Declaration* ‘ from *Breda* promiſe *Liberty of Conſcience*, on which he inſiſted in a ‘ large and wiſe *Declaration*, ſet out after he was ſettled on the Throne; ‘ but after he had got a Parliament, who for many Years granted him ‘ every *The Caſe of the Church of* England *with that of the Diſſenters.*

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'every thing that he desired, a severe *Act of Uniformity* was pass'd; and 'the King's Promise was carry'd off by this, *That the King cou'd not re-* '*fuse to comply with so loyal a Parliament.* It is well known, that those 'who were then secretly *Papists*, and who disguised their Religion for 'many Years after this, as the King himself did to the last, animated the 'chief Men of our Church to carry the Points of *Uniformity* as high as 'was possible, --- that there might be many *Nonconformists*, and great 'Occasion given for a *Toleration*, under which *Popery* might insensibly 'creep in: For if the Expedients that the King himself propos'd in his '*Declaration* had been stood to, it is well known, That of the two 'thousand *Conscientious Ministers*, as our Author calls them by an Affe-'ctation too gross to pass on them that were turn'd out, above seventeen 'hundred had staid in. Their Practices had but too good Success on 'those who were then at the Head of the Church; whose Spirits were 'too much soured by their ill Usage during the War, and whose Prin-'ciples led them to so good an Opinion of all that the Court did, that 'for a great while they wou'd suspect nothing. But at the same Time 'that the Church Party, that carry'd all before them in that Parliament, 'were animated to press things so hard, the *Dissenters* were secretly en-'courag'd to stand out, and were told, *That the King's Temper and Prin-'ciple, and the Consideration of Trade, wou'd certainly procure them a 'Toleration:* And ever since, that Party that had thus set us together 'by the Ears, has shifted Sides dexterously enough; but still they have 'carry'd on the *main Design*, which was to keep up the Quarrel in the 'Intervals of Parliament. *Liberty of Conscience* was in vogue; but 'when a *Session of Parliament* came, and the King wanted Mony, then 'a new severe Law against the *Dissenters* was offer'd to the angry Men 'of the Church Party, as the Price of it; and this seldom fail'd to have 'its Effect: So that they were like the *Jewels of the Crown*, pawn'd 'when the King needed Mony, but redeem'd at the next Prorogation.'

In another Book written by the same Author a little after, with the same healing Design, we may justly take Notice of what follows: 'I am 'sorry that I must confess, That all the Parties among us have shew'd, 'that as their Turn came to be uppermost, they have forgot the same 'Principles of Moderation and Liberty which they all claim'd when they 'were oppress'd. If it shou'd shew too much ill Nature to examine 'what the *Presbytery* did in *Scotland* when the *Covenant* was in Domi-'nion, or what the *Independents* have done in *New-England*; why may 'not I claim the same Priviledge with relation to the Church of *England*, 'if Severities have been committed by her while she bore Rule? Yet 'it were as easy, as it wou'd be invidious, to shew, That both *Presbyte-'rians* and *Independents* have carry'd the Principle of Rigour in the Point 'of Conscience much *higher*, and have acted more *implacably* upon it, 'than ever the Church of *England* has done, even in its *angriest Fits.*' Then he proceeded to declare, in Opposition to that of *Rome*, 'That 'the Church of *England* was the least Persecuting in her *Principles*;' and particularly manifested her wonderful Moderation after the blackest Persecutions in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; 'which, he says, is an Instance of 'the Clemency of our Church, that perhaps cannot be match'd in Hi-'story.' Then he thus states the Case in the present Reign of King *Charles:* 'It is to be consider'd, That upon the King's Restoration, the 'Remembrance of the former War, the ill Usage that our Clergy had 'met with in their *Sequestrations*, the angry Resentments of the Cavalier 'Party, who were ruin'd by the War; the Interest of the Court to have 'all those Principles condemn'd that had occasion'd it; the Heat that all 'Parties that have been ill us'd, are apt to fall into upon a Revolution;

'but

'but above all, the Practices of Thoſe who have ſtill blown the Coals; 1662.
'and ſet one againſt another, all concurr'd to make us loſe the happy Op- Car. 14
'portunity offer'd in the Year 1660, to have heal'd all our Diviſions, and Reſ. 3.
'to have triumph'd over all the *Diſſenters*; not by ruining them, but by
'overcoming them with the Spirit of Love and Gentleneſs. In ſhort,
'ſevere Laws were made at ſeveral Times,— But this Spirit of Severity
'was heighten'd by the Practices of the *Papiſts*, who engag'd the King
'in *December* 1662, to give a Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*.
'Thoſe who knew the Secret of his Religion, as they ſaw that it aim'd
'at the Introduction of *Popery*, ſo they thought there was no Way ſo
'effectual for the keeping out of *Popery*, as the maintaining the *Uniformity*, and the ſuppreſſing of all Deſigns for a *Toleration*.— And thus
'all the Slacknings of the Rigour of the Laws, during the firſt *Dutch*
'War, that were ſet on upon the Pretence of *Quieting the Nation*, and
'*Encouraging of Trade*, were reſiſted by the Inſtruments of an honeſt
'Miniſter of State, the Lord *Clarendon*, who knew as well then, as we
'do now, what lay ſtill at Bottom, when *Liberty of Conſcience* was pre-
'tended.' In this Manner he goes on with the reſt of the Deſign, and towards the latter End owns, 'That many Church-men, who underſtood
'not the Principles of Human Society, and the Rules of our Govern-
'ment, ſo well as other Points of Divinity, writ ſeveral Treatiſes con-
'cerning the *Meaſures of Submiſſion*, that were then as much cenſured,
'as their Performances ſince againſt *Popery* have been deſervedly admir-
'ed.' Then ſpeaking of their Proſecution of the Diſſenters, he ſays,
'*Self-Preſervation* is very natural: And it is plain, that many of them
'took that to be the Caſe; ſo that truly ſpeaking, it was not ſo much
'at firſt a Spirit of *Perſecution*, as a Deſire of *diſabling* thoſe, who they
'believ'd intended to ruin them, from effecting their Deſigns, that ſet
'them on thoſe unhappy things that follow'd.— I will not deny but ma-
'ny of the Diſſenters were put to great Hardſhips in many Parts of *Eng-*
'*land:* But this I will poſitively ſay, having obſerv'd it all narrowly, That
'he muſt have the Brow of a *Jeſuit*, that can caſt this wholly on the
'Church of *England*, and free the Court of it.' He concludes thus:
'Upon the whole Matter, all that can be made out of this is, That the
'Paſſions and Infirmities of ſome of the Church of *England* being un-
'happily ſtirr'd up by the *Diſſenters*, they were fatally conducted by the
'*Popiſh* Party to be Inſtruments of doing a great deal of Miſchief.

The Caſe of the Revenues of the Church.

4. But to return to the Hiſtory of the preſent Year; We are to remember, That no ſooner was the Church of *England* eſtabliſh'd by the noted *Act of Uniformity*, but the next Conſideration was, the providing a better Maintenance for the conformable Clergy. The Appropriations of Rectories made by the Popes to Religious Houſes; the Secular Views of ſome great Lay Perſons at the Reformation, continuing the Alienation of the great Tithes, and reſerving them to Themſelves, and the further Depredations afterwards made upon the Patrimony of the Church, had altogether reduc'd many of the Parochial Clergy to a lamentable Condition: In many Towns the whole Profits were appropriated, and only a ſlender Stipend allow'd to the Perſon officiating; and in many others a Vicarage was ſettled, but ſo meanly endow'd, that the Vicar, tho' without the Charge of a Family, cou'd not tolerably ſubſiſt upon it. This Defect, which had been the Burden and Scandal of the Nation, was often conſider'd after the King's Return; and all Men of Senſe and Conſcience ſaw that the Church of *England* cou'd not be eſtabliſh'd with Honour and Safety, without a more competent Maintenance for the Parochial Clergy. And in regard many of the Impropriate Rectories were annex'd

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to Sees, or Cathedral and Collegiate Bodies, or to other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, it was thought proper, that the good Example ſhou'd begin amongſt the Clergy themſelves; who were then more eſpecially enabled to augment the Cures, by reaſon of the conſiderable Fines lately receiv'd by them. Hence a Bill was depending in Parliament, for Rules and Orders to be obſerv'd in ſuch Augmentation of poor Vicarages and other inſufficient Cures: But, for particular Ends, it was thought more adviſable to refer the Matter to the King's *Inſtructions*. Purſuant to this Suggeſtion, his Majeſty directed his Royal Letters to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, requiring them, 'That forthwith Proviſion be made 'for Augmentation of all ſuch *Vicarages* and *Cures* where the Tithes 'and Profits are appropriated to them and their Succeſſors in ſuch Man-'ner, that they who immediately attend upon the Performance of Mini-'ſterial Offices, in every Pariſh, may have a competent Portion out of 'every Rectory Impropriate, *&c.*' Theſe Letters met with a chearful Compliance, and very conſiderable Augmentations were made in moſt of the Pariſhes appropriated to Eccleſiaſtical Corporations: But the Lay Impropriators too cloſely adhered to the Point of Intereſt, and refus'd to be govern'd by the King's Directions. Indeed, many of the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd well diſpos'd to a Remedy for this Evil, and ſeveral good Reſolves were made to that Purpoſe: But theſe pious Advances came to no Effect. The Miſcarriage is attributed either to the Members being diverted and call'd off by the King's preſſing Neceſſities, the Jealouſie and Avarice of ſome Lay Patrons and Impropriators, or the Profaneneſs and Irreligion of many of the leading Courtiers, who began to diſregard all that was good and ſerious.

A Deſign for Augmentation.

The Progreſs of the Fleet.

Before the Concluſion of the Year, we are to take Notice of ſome few other Particulars; and among the other Occurrences of it, it is to be remember'd, that the Vice-Admiral Sir *John Lawſon*, leaving the Earl of *Sandwich* this Summer to convoy the Queen from *Lisbon*, ſail'd with a ſtrong Squadron into the *Streights*, and there ſtruck ſuch a Terror into all the Neſts of Pirates, *Tunis*, *Tripoli* and *Algiers*, where Admiral *Blake*'s Actions were freſh in Remembrance, that he made them all yield to the Offer of a Treaty, and to the Acceptance of former Articles. Upon the Concluſion of this Peace, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, to their eternal Commendation, contributed a noble Sum of Mony, and ſent their Collection by two of their own Number, the Arch deacon of *Bath*, and a Prebendary, to *Algiers*, with which they redeemed above a hundred and fifty Chriſtian Slaves, *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, from the ſad Miſeries of a *Turkiſh* Captivity. The King of *England* had the greater Advantage of keeping the *African* Parts in Awe by the new Poſſeſſion of *Tangier*; to which the Lord *Rutherford*, late Governor of *Dunkirk*, newly made Earl of *Tiviot*, was ſent to be Governor in the Room of the Earl of *Peterborough*; and his Majeſty made it now a free Port, and granted it all the Priviledges of a Merchant City, being ſeated very commodiouſly for Strength and Safety to guard any Naval Power, and to command thoſe Seas. But the vaſt Expence in Fortifying and Defending, and the Neceſſity at laſt of demoliſhing that Place, in Time made it more a Burden than a Portion to the Crown of *England*.

Tangier *a free Port.*

All this Year the Commiſſioners for regulating Corporations, as they were empower'd by Act of Parliament, proceeded to the Diſmiſſion of ſuch from all Offices and Places in Council, and otherwhere, who refus'd to renounce the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and who were juſtly ſuſpected for Diſaffection to the preſent Government. For the Peace of the Nation, beſides the diſplacing of Officers, they order'd that the Walls of the reſpective Cities and Towns of *Gloceſter* and *Coventry*, *Northam-*

thampton, Taunton and *Leiceſter*, together with other Places which had maintain'd the War againſt the late King, ſhou'd be entirely demoliſh'd, as Examples and Security to ſucceeding Times; and the Country Troops and reſpective Train'd-Bands guarded thoſe Places when they were demoliſh'd. Whether diſguſted at theſe, or other Proceedings, a new Plot was form'd againſt the Government, and diſcover'd juſt about the End of the Year, carry'd on chiefly by *Fifth-Monarchy* Men and *Anabaptiſts*. The Diſcovery began from one Captain *Baker* a *New-England* Man, an Acquaintance of *Hugh Peters*, and one of *Cromwell*'s Band of Penſioners, who firſt in the Street inform'd one *Hill*, the Son of an *Independent* Preacher, of the whole Deſign, and brought him acquainted at ſeveral Meetings of divers of the Conſpiracy; of which he having ſufficient Information, reveal'd it, with the Names of the Conſpirators, to Sir *Richard Brown*, late Lord Mayor of *London*. For this, on the 11th of *December*, ſix of them were arraign'd for High-Treaſon at the *Old-Baily*, namely *George Philips*, Serjeant to a Company of Foot, *Thomas Tongue*, a Diſtiller of Strong-Waters, *Francis Stubbs*, a Cheeſemonger, *James Hind* Gunner, *John Sellars* Compaſs-Maker, and *Nathaniel Gibs* Felt-Maker. The following Particulars were prov'd againſt them, 'That they 'had a Deſign to ſeize and deſtroy his Majeſty's Perſon, the Duke of 'York, the Duke of *Albemarle*, and Major-General *Brown*, to ſeize the 'Tower of *London*, and *Windſor-Caſtle*; and that they had already de-'liver'd out ſix hundred Arms: That this Deſign was firſt manag'd by a 'Council of *Forty*, afterwards by a Council of *Six, viz. Thomas, Nye, Elton, Rawdon, Spurway* and *Ward:* That this Council was to unite 'the *Congregated* Intereſts: That an *Agitator* was ſent into every Coun-'ty, to draw in the late disbanded Soldiers: That old Army Colonels were to 'head the ſeveral Regiments, and *Ludlow* in chief: That ſeveral Forces were 'already liſted in *London*, and the Country, and that *All-Hallow*'s Eve 'was the Time appointed for their General Riſing.' They were convicted by Evidence of their Fellow-Conſpirators, *Rigge, Bradley*, and others; but only *Hind* pleaded Guilty, and crav'd the King's Mercy. They alledg'd, *That they never acted ſuch traiterous Intentions*; but the Deſign was prov'd to have been communicated and laid open to them: After their full Defence they were all found Guilty, and on the 22d of *December, Philips, Tongue, Gibs* and *Stubs* were executed according to Sentence; but the King was graciouſly pleas'd to give their Quarters to be bury'd, and diſpos'd of their Heads on *Tower-Hill*. At the Place of Execution *Tongue* confeſs'd *That he had ſeveral Times join'd with the Conſpirators at their Meetings:* The reſt acknowledg'd *They were at theſe Meetings*, but alledg'd, *They were drawn in:* So that upon the whole we cannot find on what Reaſon or Authority this can be reckon'd a Sham-Plot.

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The Walls of Glocester, &c. demoliſhed.

A new Plot.

Several executed.

Beſides theſe mean Perſons, this Year is memorable for the Deaths of many conſiderable Men, who ought to have a Name in Hiſtory; and firſt we ſhall mention two or three Prelates, as Dr. *Brian Duppa*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Almoner to the King, a Perſon who had formerly gone through many Preferments, as well as Troubles, and particularly had the Honour to be for ſeveral Years Tutor to his preſent Majeſty when Prince of *Wales*; in all which he behav'd himſelf with ſingular Moderation, and an unblemiſh'd Reputation: He was a Man of excellent Parts, exemplary Piety, and every way qualified for his Function; more particularly as to the Comelineſs of his Perſon, and the Gracefulneſs of his Deportment, which render'd him worthy of the Service of a Court, and moſt fit to ſtand before Princes: And he was ſo much belov'd and eſteem'd by his grateful Sovereign, that the Day before his Death, he made him

The Deaths of Biſhop Duppa,

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him a Visit at *Richmond*, and at his Bed-side crav'd his last Blessing in the most humble Posture of a Subject. The next was Dr. *Robert Sanderson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, a Person of a still greater Genius than the other, and one of the bright Ornaments of *England*, who was admired by all Learned Men, as well as by the late and present King; but signally distinguish'd for the Strength and Clearness of his Head and Judgment, and esteem'd the most knowing Casuist that the Nation ever produc'd: To compleat his Character from an eminent Hand, we are assur'd, 'That 'whether you consider him in his Writings, or Conversation, from his 'first Book of *Logick* to his Divinity *Lectures*, *Sermons*, and other *Di-* 'scourses, the Variety of his *Learning*, his unparallel'd Meekness, Hu- 'mility, and Constancy, you cannot but confess that the Church of *Eng-* 'land cou'd not lose a greater Pillar, a better Man, and more accom- 'plish'd Divine.' The third Prelate was Dr. *John Gauden*, Bishop of *Worcester*, a Person in some Respects inferior to both the other, yet not to be forgotten upon several Accounts: For he was a Man of very great Parts and Industry, and celebrated for an admirable Preacher; but cou'd not altogether preserve himself from the Disreputation of a *Time-Server*, nor his Memory from the Character of one criminally aspiring after Preferments, and falsly assuming to himself the Honour of Writing a *Royal Treatise*, and one of the most excellent of the Age; for which he is believ'd likewise to have suffer'd in his Posterity, being reduc'd to perfect Beggary. Next to these Bishops, we may properly mention a Divine, in several Respects, not inferior to any of them, which was Dr. *Peter Heylyn*; a Person of whom it can hardly be said which was most to be admired, his natural Parts and Abilities, or his active Pains and Industry; in both which he became remarkably conspicuous by the vast Variety of his Works and Writings, but more particularly in *History* and *Cosmography*; and all notwithstanding the innumerable Oppositions and Interruptions he met with from the late Sectaries, who cou'd not forgive so great a Favourite of Archbishop *Laud*, and so zealous an Advocate for the Crown and Church of *England*. After all his Services, Labours and Sufferings, he never arriv'd at any higher Church-Preferment than the Sub-Deanery of *Westminster*; which seems most justly to be attributed to a violent and inflexible Spirit, which had prov'd highly prejudicial to that very Church he had so often strenuously and nobly defended.

Bishop Sanderson,

Bishop Gauden,

Dr. Heylyn,

Mr. Ley,

Mr. Jeanes,

The Lord Say,

After these of the Church of *England*, we may justly mention two *Presbyterian* Divines, namely, Mr. *John Ley*, and Mr. *Henry Jeanes*: The First was justly esteem'd one of the Pillars of *Presbytery*, being a Person well vers'd in various Authors, and a most ready Writer and Preacher; who, after he had been one of *the Assembly of Divines*, and gone through divers Fortunes and Preferments, he dy'd in Retirement at *Sutton Coldfield* in *Warwickshire*. The Other, Mr. *Jeanes*, was Rector of *Chedsey* in *Somersetshire*; of whom *Wood* says 'He was a most excellent 'Philosopher, a noted Metaphysician, and well grounded in Polemical 'Divinity; a Scholastical Man, a Contemner of the World, gene- 'rous, free-hearted, jolly, witty and facetious;' He wrote many Books, and dy'd a little before the *Fatal Bartholomew*, and therefore not so properly, as Dr. *Calamy* has done, to be reckon'd among the ejected Ministers. After these we shall mention two famous Parliamentarians, the old Lord *Say*, and the Speaker *Lenthall*, whose Characters and Actions have been given and displaid in the last Volume of this History, yet something may here be properly added. The Former, after he had liv'd to see all his fine Projects, and ambitious Designs defeated by the over-ruling Power of his Friend *Cromwell*, was first content with a voluntary Retreat, or rather Imprisonment in the Isle of *Lundy*, and after that to employ the same

ſame Parts and Induſtry in Promoting the Reſtoration of the old Government: For which the Merciful King not only forgave all his former Crimes, but rewarded him with the *Privy-Seal*, to the great Diſguſt and Diſappointment of many of the old Cavaliers, who probably cou'd not then judge of the real Inducements to this Preferment. He dy'd in Peace after fourſcore Years ſpent in Variety of Troubles, at his Houſe at *Broughton* in *Oxfordſhire*, where he had help'd to lay the Foundation of our Civil Wars. The Other, Mr. *William Lenthall*, the famous Time-Server, after all his weak and wicked Proceedings, found Means at the Reſtoration, to ſave both Himſelf and great Eſtate, and ſo likewiſe dy'd quietly, and was bury'd moſt obſcurely at *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*; only we are to obſerve, That at his Death, contrary to moſt of his Party, he ſhew'd himſelf a great Penitent, as far as related to a free Acknowledgment, Confeſſion and Sorrow for the Crimes he had committed, and yielded to, when he was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. After him we may well enough mention *John Biddle*, the famous Heretick, who by his Parts, Induſtry and Writings made ſo much Noiſe in the late Times, when it was thought they were ſcarcely capable of any additional Diſturbance; After various Confinements, Strugglings and Tryals, in which his Life was often in Danger, he at laſt dy'd in Priſon, leaving ſome Works behind him, whoſe Venom has not yet been wholly cured. To make a Tranſition from the Worſt to the Beſt, we ſhall laſt of all mention Mr. *Lurence Rooke*, Profeſſor both of Aſtronomy and Geometry in *Greſham*-Colledge, and One of the Firſt and moſt glorious Members of the *Royal Society*; an admirable Man, not only in Mathematicks, but in all Sorts of Learning, 'in whom an incorrupt Probity of Manners, was joyn'd with 'an univerſal Knowledge of Things; a more than Virgin Modeſty, with 'a more than Virile Underſtanding; a moſt candid Simplicity, with a 'moſt ſagacious Prudence; a penetrating Sharpneſs of Wit, with a pro-'found Solidity of Judgment; an invincible Patience of Labour, with a 'vivid Chearfulneſs of Mind, and laſtly a ſevere unblameable Life, 'with a moſt ſweet Converſation; all which conſpired in Him, by a rare 'and almoſt incredible Temperament.

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Mr. Lenthall.

John Biddle.

And Mr. Rooke.

Clarendon. Heath. Rot. Parl. Philips. Ludlow. Lloyd. Wood. &c.

X. 1. For above two Years after the Reſtoration, and till after the King's Marriage and the Queen Mother's Settlement in *England*, while Chancellor *Hyde* continu'd prime Miniſter without any Rivalſhip, his Majeſty's Councils were for the moſt part regular and ſteady, and were carry'd on with Wiſdom and Forecaſt. But before the Beginning of this Year, as the Popiſh Intereſt gather'd Strength at Court, ſo that of the Chancellor, and his true Friends, began to decline, and his mighty Influence and Authority ſenſibly to diminiſh; tho' he ſtill retain'd his Place, and a conſiderable Power, for ſome Years. This firſt appear'd at the Removal of his Friend Sir *Edward Nicholas*, that wiſe and faithful Servant to two Kings, who is ſaid to have reſign'd his Secretary's Place upon the Account of his Age. However he readily parted with it for a good Conſideration, and the King offer'd further to reward him with making him a Baron of *England*; but this worthy Gentleman modeſtly declin'd the Honour, *That his Majeſty might not too much increaſe the Nobility*. He was immediately ſucceeded in his Place by Sir *Henry Bennet*, lately the King's Reſident in *Spain*, a Perſon of no mean Abilities, but One who ſecretly eſpous'd the Cauſe of Popery, and one who had much influenc'd the King towards the embracing that Religion, the Year before his Reſtoration, at *Fontarabia*; for which he was ſo much threatned by the Lord *Colepeper*, that it is believ'd he durſt not return into *England* till after the Death of that Nobleman. Not only the Removal of

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The Chancellor's Intereſt declines.

Sir Henry Bennet *made Secretary.*

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of Secretary *Nicholas*, and the Settlement and Influence of the Queen Mother, but likewiſe the Abſence of the Duke of *Ormond* ſeem'd to conſpire towards the Diminution of the Chancellor's Intereſt. That great Man and Friend had been ſent over into *Ireland*, where, as Lord-Lieutenant, he was receiv'd with greater Honour and Triumph, with more Magnificence and larger Preſents, than was ever known in that Kingdom.

After this new Alteration and Eſtabliſhment, which happen'd towards the End of the laſt Year, the King's Counſels began to be more unſteady and variable, and ſome different Meaſures began to be taken, which prov'd not altogether ſo agreeable to the Parliament, which till this Time had never differ'd with him in any Thing. The only Matter where they ſeem'd to have any Difference, was that of Indulgence and Toleration to the Nonconformiſts; of whom, the *Presbyterians* had the beſt Pretenſions to be favourably conſider'd: For they had been conſiderably inſtrumental in the King's Return, and had the Promiſe of his Favour; and moſt of their Divines had expreſs'd a good Temper for Moderation and Union, declaring for a Regulated Epiſcopacy, and a Reformed Liturgy. For which Reaſons the King had been particularly kind and gracious to them, and had given them great Hopes, that he wou'd either not paſs the Bill for *Uniformity*, or procure them ſome Clauſe of Exception and Exemption in it: But finding themſelves diſappointed in both theſe Expectations, and generally agreeing to ſuffer Ejectment at St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, they ſhortly after apply'd themſelves to the King and Council for a *Diſpenſation* from the Penalties of that Act. The Council ſhew'd their Averſeneſs to a *Diſpenſing Power* in general, and eſpecially to this particular Exerciſe of it. But the King betray'd a manifeſt Inclination for it, and ſeem'd to labour under a Promiſe that he wou'd effect it. And therefore to introduce it with leſs Offence and Surprize, he publiſh'd a handſom *Declaration* to all his loving Subjects, conſiſting of ſeveral Particulars.

The King's Declaration.

'In this, He firſt of all complains of four Things unjuſtly charg'd upon 'him: 1. That he intended nothing leſs than the Obſervation of the '*Act of Indemnity*. 2. That upon the Pretence of Plots, he intended to 'introduce a Military Way of Government. 3. That notwithſtanding 'his Promiſe from *Breda*, and *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, 'he had fetter'd the Scrupulous by the *Act of Uniformity*; and 4. That 'he was indulgent to *Papiſts* to ſuch a Degree, as might endanger the 'Proteſtant Religion. To all theſe he gave particular and direct Anſwers; 'but as to the *Act of Uniformity*, he declar'd his own firm Adherence 'to it, only, for the Sake of Others, he was ready and willing to 'Diſpenſe with ſome Matters in it.' In the Concluſion he promis'd 1. 'To 'puniſh by ſevere Laws that Licentiouſneſs and Impiety, which ſince the 'Diſſolution of the Government, had overſpread the Nation. 2. As well 'by Sumptuary Laws, as his own Example of Frugality, to reſtrain the 'Exceſs in Mens Expences, which was grown ſo general and exorbitant, 'beyond all Bounds, either of their Qualities or Fortunes. 3. So to re-'trench all his own ordinary and extraordinary Charges, as to bring them 'within the Compaſs of his ſettled Revenue, that thereby his Subjects 'might have little Cauſe to fear his frequent Preſſing them for new 'Aſſiſtances. And laſtly, ſo to improve the good Conſequen-'ces of theſe Three Particulars to the Advancement of Trade, that all 'his Subjects finding the Advantage of them in that prime Foundation 'of Plenty, they might all with Minds happily compos'd by his *Indulgence*, 'apply themſelves comfortably to their ſeveral Vocations, in ſuch a Man-'ner as the private Intereſt of every One might encourage him to con-'tribute to the general Proſperity.

This

This Declaration, which was ſpread through the Nation in the Beginning of *January*, is believ'd to have been fram'd at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where the Queen-Mother kept her Court; and it was generally perceiv'd that the chief Deſign was to make way for a Toleration of Diſſenters, contrary to the *Act of Uniformity*. This preſently appear'd in the particular Inſtance of Mr. *Calamy*, one of the Heads of the *Preſbyterians*, who, notwithſtanding he was diſabled by the Act, as ſoon as the Declaration was publiſh'd, ventur'd to preach at his former Church of *Aldermanbury*, upon the Default of a Preacher there expected. Upon which he was committed to *Newgate* by the Lord-Mayor, not only upon the Account of the Breach of the Act, but upon a Repreſentation that his Sermon tended to Sedition; yet in a few Days he was ſet at Liberty by the King's expreſs Order, without the due Manner of a legal Diſcharge; which gave a particular Offence to the Houſe of Commons, who, ſitting ſoon after, made a ſtrict Enquiry into the Fact. The King had partly ſatisfy'd the more ſober Diſſenters, that he had a tender Regard for their Eaſe and Indemnity; but they ſoon found that they had leſs Intereſt in the Parliament than in the Court. It was undoubtedly a preſent Unhappineſs, that they found ſo much Countenance from the Unſteadineſs of the King, and ſome of his Miniſters; for this did but ſerve to heighten their Prejudices againſt the eſtabliſhed Church, and render'd them ſtill leſs inclinable to Conformity and Union, becauſe they continually ſupported themſelves with the Hopes of Liberty and Toleration. Whereas if they had loſt all Dependence on a Court Intereſt, and had found the King and the Miniſtry as intent upon the Obſervance of the *Act of Uniformity*, as the Commons of *England*, moſt of the ſober Sort wou'd in all Probability have been brought over, and ſo added great Strength and Glory to the Church and Nation. What Motives diſpos'd his Majeſty to be ſo favourable to them, and to encourage their contending with the Laws of the Land, was not at this Time ſo eaſily determinable: Whether it was his Temper, whether it was his Promiſe, whether it was his Gratitude, and whether it was his real Judgment, or Political Opinion, it was then uncertain; but ſince then it has been gradually diſcover'd, that tho' theſe might all have their Weight and Influence, yet a main Reaſon was, under the Cover of an Indulgence to *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, to give the better Protection and Advantage to *Popery*; of which the Chancellor ſeem'd moſt ſenſible during the reſt of his Miniſtry.

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Deſign'd for the Eaſe of Diſſenters.

2. Thus ſtood the Affairs of the Nation at the Third Meeting of the preſent Parliament, which, according to Prorogation, fell on the 18th Day of *February*, after a long Receſs of about nine Months. The King's Speech to both Houſes was in theſe Words: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am very glad to meet you here again, having thought the Time ‘ long ſince we parted, and have often wiſh'd you had been together to ‘ help me in ſome Occaſions which have fallen out: I need not repeat ‘ them to you, you have all had the Noiſe of them in your ſeveral Counties; and, God be thanked, they were but Noiſe without any worſe ‘ Effects. To cure the Diſtempers, and compoſe the differing Minds among us, I ſet forth my *Declaration* of the 26th of *December*, in ‘ which you may ſee I am willing to ſet Bounds to the Hopes of Some, ‘ and to the Fears of Others; of which, when you ſhall have examin'd ‘ well the Grounds, I doubt not but I ſhall have your Concurrence therein. The Truth is, I am in my Nature an Enemy to all Severity for Religion and Conſcience, *how miſtaken ſoever it be*, when it extends to ‘ Capital and Sanguinary Puniſhments, which I am told were begun in ‘ *Popiſh* Times: Therefore when I ſay this, I hope I ſhall not need to ‘ warn

The THIRD SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

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'warn any here not to infer from thence I mean to favour *Popery*. I 'muſt confeſs to you, There are many of that Profeſſion, who having 'ſerv'd my Father and my Self very well, may fairly hope for ſome Part 'of that *Indulgence* I wou'd willingly afford to Others who diſſent from 'us: But let me explain my ſelf, leſt ſome miſtake me herein, as I hear 'they did in my *Declaration:* I am far from Meaning by this, a *Tolera-* 'tion, or *Qualifying* them thereby to hold any Offices or Places in the 'Government; nay further, I deſire ſome Laws may be made to hinder 'the Growth and Progreſs of their Doctrines. I hope you have all ſo 'good an Opinion of my Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion, as I need not 'tell you I will not yield to any therein, not to the Biſhops themſelves, 'nor in my Liking the *Uniformity* of it, as it is now eſtabliſhed; which 'being the Standard of our Religion, muſt be kept pure and uncorrupt- 'ed, free from all other Mixtures: And yet if the *Diſſenters* will de- 'mean themſelves peaceably and modeſtly under the Government, I 'cou'd heartily wiſh I had ſuch a *Power of Indulgence*, to uſe upon *Oc-* 'caſions, as might not needleſly force them out of the Kingdom, or ſtay- 'ing here, give them Cauſe to conſpire againſt the Peace of it. *My* 'Lords and Gentlemen, it wou'd look like Flattery in me to tell you to 'what Degree I am confident of your Wiſdom and Affection in all things 'that relate to the Greatneſs and Proſperity of the Kingdom. If you 'conſider well what is beſt for us all, I dare ſay we ſhall not diſagree. I 'have no more to ſay to you at preſent, but once again to bid you hear- 'tily welcome.'

This Speech, together with the late Declaration, gave ſome little Alarm to the Houſe of Commons, who were juſtly apprehenſive of the Dangers of a Toleration, becauſe the *Papiſts*, as well as other *Sectaries*, wou'd find their Advantage in it. Therefore they appointed the 25th of *February*, to take into Conſideration his Majeſty's gracious Declaration of the 26th of *December* laſt, and his Speech made at the Opening this Seſſion: At which Time they unanimouſly reſolv'd, That the Thanks of the Houſe ſhou'd be return'd to the King's Majeſty for all the other Parts of his Declaration; but as to the Point of *Indulgence*, they reſolv'd, *That it be preſented to the King's Majeſty, as the humble Advice of this Houſe, That no Indulgence be granted to the Diſſenters from the* Act of Uniformity. And they order'd, *That a Committee be appointed to collect and bring in the Reaſons of this Houſe for this Vote upon the preſent Debate.* On the next Day, a Report was made to the Houſe from the Committee by Sir *Heneage Finch*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor-General; and after ſome Amendments and Additions, the Reaſons and Addreſs were agreed to, and preſented to his Majeſty at the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *White-hall* the 27th of *February*, where it was read and deliver'd by the Speaker.

The Commons are againſt Indulgence.

In the Addreſs it ſelf, after they had return'd their particular Thanks for the ſeveral Parts of the Declaration, they proceeded thus: 'It is 'with extream Unwillingneſs and Reluctancy of Heart, that we are 'brought to differ from any thing which your Majeſty has thought fit to 'propoſe: And tho' we do no way doubt, but that the unreaſonable Di- 'ſtempers of Mens Spirits, and the many Mutinies and Conſpiracies 'which were carry'd on, during the late Intervals of Parliament, 'did reaſonably incline your Majeſty to endeavour by your *Declaration* 'to give ſome Allay to thoſe ill Humours, till the Parliament aſſembled; 'and the Hopes of *Indulgence*, if the Parliament ſhou'd conſent to it; 'eſpecially ſeeing the Pretenders to this *Indulgence*, did ſeem to make 'ſome Titles to it, by vertue of your Majeſty's Declaration from *Breda*. 'Nevertheleſs, we your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, who are 'now

Their particular Addreſs to the King.

'now return'd to ſerve in Parliament, from thoſe ſeveral Parts and Places 166⅔.
'of your Kingdom, for which we were choſen, do humbly offer to your
'Majeſty's great Wiſdom, *That it is in no ſort adviſeable that there be any* Car. 15
'Indulgence *to ſuch Perſons, who preſume to diſſent from the* Act of Uni- Reſ. 3.
'formity, *and the Religion eſtabliſh'd:* For theſe Reaſons, we have con-
'ſider'd the Nature of your Majeſty's Declaration from *Breda*, and are
'humbly of Opinion, *That your Majeſty ought not to be preſs'd with it*
'*any further*; 1. Becauſe it is not a *Promiſe* in it ſelf, but only a graci-
'ous Declaration of your Majeſty's *Intentions*, to do what in you lay,
'and what a Parliament ſhou'd adviſe your Majeſty to do; and no ſuch
'Advice was ever given, or thought fit to be offer'd; nor cou'd it be o-
'therwiſe underſtood, becauſe there were Laws of *Uniformity* then in
'being, which cou'd not be diſpens'd with, but by Act of Parliament.
'2. They who do pretend a Right to that ſuppoſed *Promiſe*, put the
'Right into the Hands of their Repreſentatives, whom they choſe to
'ſerve for them in this Parliament, who have paſs'd, and your Majeſty
'conſented to the *Act of Uniformity*. If any ſhall preſume to ſay, *That*
'*a Right to the Benefit of this Declaration doth ſtill remain after this*
'*Act paſſed*, 3. It tends to diſſolve the very Bonds of Government, and
'to ſuppoſe a Diſability in your Majeſty and the Houſes of Parliament,
'to make a Law contrary to any Part of your Majeſty's Declaration,
'tho' both Houſes ſhou'd adviſe your Majeſty to it.

'We have alſo conſider'd the *Nature* of the *Indulgence* propos'd, with
'Reference to thoſe *Conſequences* which muſt neceſſarily attend it. 1.
'It will eſtabliſh *Schiſm* by a Law, and make the whole Government of
'the Church precarious, and the Cenſures of it of no Moment or Con-
'ſideration at all. 2. It will no way become the Gravity or Wiſdom of
'a Parliament, to paſs a Law at one Seſſion for *Uniformity*, and at the
'next Seſſion (the Reaſons of *Uniformity* continuing ſtill the ſame) to
'paſs another Law to fruſtrate or weaken the Execution of it. 3. It will
'expoſe your Majeſty to the reſtleſs Importunity of every *Sect* or Opi-
'nion, and of every ſingle Perſon alſo, who ſhall preſume to diſſent from
'the Church of *England*. 4. It will be a Cauſe of increaſing *Sects* and
'*Sectaries*, whoſe Numbers will weaken the true *Proteſtant* Profeſſion
'ſo far, that it will at leaſt be difficult for it to defend it ſelf againſt
'them: And, which is yet further conſiderable, thoſe Numbers which,
'by being troubleſome to the Government, find they can arrive to an
'*Indulgence*, will, as their Numbers increaſe, be yet more troubleſome,
'that ſo at length they may arrive to a *General Toleration*, which your
'Majeſty hath declared againſt; and in Time, ſome prevalent *Sect* will
'at laſt contend for an *Eſtabliſhment*; which, for ought can be foreſeen,
'may end in *Popery*. 5. It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and
'it will take away all Means of convicting *Recuſants*, and be inconſiſtent
'with the Method and Proceedings of the Laws of *England*. Laſtly,
'It is humbly conceiv'd, That the *Indulgence* propos'd will be ſo far from
'tending to the Peace of the Kingdom, that it is rather likely to occaſion
'great Diſturbance. And on the contrary, That the aſſerting of the
'Laws, and the Religion eſtabliſh'd, according to the *Act of Uniformi-*
'*ty*, is the moſt probable Means to produce a ſettled Peace and Obedi-
'ence throughout your Kingdom: Becauſe the Variety of Profeſſions
'in Religion, when openly indulg'd, doth directly diſtinguiſh Men into
'*Parties*, and withal gives them Opportunity to count their Numbers;
'which, conſidering the Animoſities that out of a Religious Pride will
'be kept on foot by the ſeveral *Factions*, doth tend directly and inevi-
'tably to open Diſturbance. Nor can your Majeſty have any Security,
'that the Doctrine or Worſhip of the ſeveral *Factions*, which are all

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'govern'd by a ſeveral Rule, ſhall be conſiſtent with the Peace of your 'Kingdom. And if any Perſons ſhall preſume to diſturb the Peace of 'the Kingdom, we do in all Humility declare, *That we will for ever,* 'and on all Occaſions, *be ready with our utmoſt Endeavours and Aſſiſtance* 'to adhere to, *and ſerve your Majeſty according to our bounden Duty and* 'Allegiance.

The King's Anſwer,

To this notable Addreſs, his Majeſty gave this gracious Anſwer: *That He gave them hearty Thanks for their many Thanks; That never any King was ſo happy in a Houſe of Commons, as He in This; That the Paper and Reaſons were long, and therefore he wou'd take Time to conſider of them, and ſend them a Meſſage; That they cou'd never differ but in Judgement, and that muſt be when he did not rightly expreſs Himſelf, or They did not rightly underſtand Him; but their Intereſt was ſo far linkt together, that they cou'd never diſagree.* According to this Promiſe, a little above a Fortnight after, on the 16th of *March*, he ſent this Meſſage to the

And Meſſage.

Houſe of Commons: 'That he was unwilling to enlarge upon the Ad- 'dreſs lately made to him by his Houſe of Commons, or to reply to 'the Reaſons, tho' he found what he ſaid not much underſtood; but he 'renew'd his hearty Thanks to them, for their Expreſſions of ſo great Duty 'and Affection, and for their free Declaration *That if any Perſon ſhall pre-* 'ſume to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, *they will for ever, upon all* 'Occaſions, *be ready with their utmoſt Endeavours and Aſſiſtance, to ad-* 'here to, *and ſerve his Majeſty*; and did very heartily deſire them ſo 'to enable Him, and to put the Kingdom into ſuch a Poſture of Defence, 'as that if any Diſturbance or Seditious Deſigns aroſe, they might be ea- 'ſily ſuppreſs'd.' To all which the Houſe of Commons return'd their particular Thanks and Promiſes.

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3. As the Houſe of Commons were ſo ſtrict and exact with Relation to the Proteſtant Diſſenters, ſo they were no leſs careful and diligent againſt the Papiſts. They perceiv'd that the King's Profeſſion of Indulgence towards the Former, did very much encourage the Confidence of *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits; and therefore joyning with the Houſe of Lords, within a ſhort Time they together agreed and drew up *A humble Repreſentation and Petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, concerning Romiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.* This was preſented to the King by both Houſes, on the firſt of *April*, and was as following: 'The humble Repreſentation and Petition 'of the Lords and Commons, Sheweth, That notwithſtanding your Ma- 'jeſty's unqueſtionable Affection and Zeal for the true *Proteſtant* Religi- 'on, manifeſted in your conſtant Profeſſion and Practice, againſt all 'Temptations whatſoever; yet, by the great Reſort of Jeſuits and *Ro-* 'miſh Prieſts into this Kingdom, your good Subjects are generally much 'affected with Jealouſie and Apprehenſion, That the *Popiſh* Religion may 'much increaſe in this Kingdom, which your Majeſty hath moſt piouſly 'deſired may be prevented; and ſo the Peace both in Church and State 'may be inſenſibly diſturb'd, to the great Danger of Both. Your two 'Houſes of Parliament are therefore humble Suitors to your Majeſty to 'iſſue out your Proclamation to command all Jeſuits, and all *Engliſh*, '*Iriſh* and *Scottiſh* Popiſh Prieſts, and all ſuch other Prieſts as have taken 'Orders from the See of *Rome*, or by Authority thereof (except ſuch 'Foreign Jeſuits or Prieſts as by Contract of Marriage are to attend 'the Perſons of either of the Queens, or by the Law of Nations to at- 'tend Foreign Ambaſſadors) to depart this Kingdom by a Day, under 'Pain of having the Penalties of the Law inflicted upon them.

Lords and Commons petition againſt Papiſts.

This

This Repreſentation having been read to his Majeſty, he immediately made the following Speech to both Houſes: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, ‘ You do not expect that I ſhou'd give you an Anſwer preſently to your ‘ Petition, yet I tell you That I will ſpeedily ſend you an Anſwer, which ‘ I am confident will be to your Satisfaction. It may be the general Jea- ‘ louſie of the Nation hath made this Addreſs neceſſary; and indeed I ‘ believe nothing hath more contributed to that Jealouſie than my own ‘ Confidence, *That it was impoſſible there ſhou'd be any ſuch Jealouſie*, ‘ and the Effects of that Confidence: But I ſhall give you Satisfaction, ‘ and then I am ſure you will eaſily ſatisfie and compoſe the Minds of the ‘ Nation. I confeſs, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, I have heard of one Jea- ‘ louſie, which I will never forgive the Authors of, *That I had a Jealou- ‘ ſie of your Affections, That I was offended with the Parliament to that ‘ Degree that I intended to diſſolve it.* They ſay Men are naturally moſt ‘ Angry with thoſe Reports which reflect upon their Underſtanding, ‘ which makes them thought weak Men: Truely, I ſhou'd appear a very ‘ weak Man, if I ſhou'd have any ſuch Paſſion, any ſuch Purpoſe. No, ‘ *my Lords and Gentlemen*, I will not part with you upon thoſe Terms! ‘ Never King was ſo much beholden to a Parliament as I am to you; and ‘ if my Kindneſs to you, and my Confidence in you be not Proportiona- ‘ ble, I am behind hand with you, which, God willing, I will not be.

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The King's Reply to it.

‘ *Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I am wil- ‘ ling to take this Occaſion to give you my particular Thanks for your ‘ great Kindneſs in taking hold upon an eaſie Intimation, rather than an ‘ Invitation from Me, to enter upon the Conſideration of my Revenue: ‘ It was kindly done, and I ſhall never forget it. I have given Order, ‘ that you may be fully inform'd of the true State of it, and then I know ‘ you will do that which is good for Me, and You: And I pray purſue ‘ your good Reſolution, in putting the Kingdom into ſuch a Poſture, ‘ that we may prevent, at leaſt not fear any deſperate Inſurrection.

The King according to his Promiſe, the very next Day ſent an Anſwer to the Petition in Writing to the Houſe of Lords, which, in a Conference between both Houſes, was likewiſe deliver'd to the Commons, and was as following: ‘ His Majeſty having ſeriouſly conſider'd and weigh'd ‘ *the humble Repreſentation and Petition of his Lords and Commons aſ- ‘ ſembled in Parliament*, and the great Affection and Duty with which ‘ the ſame was preſented to him; and after having made ſome Refle- ‘ ctions on Himſelf and his own Actions, is not a little troubled that his ‘ Lenity and Condeſcenſions towards many of the *Popiſh* Perſwaſion ‘ (which were but natural Effects of his Generoſity and Good-nature, ‘ after having liv'd ſo many Years in the Dominions of *Roman* Catholick ‘ Princes; and out of a juſt Memory of what many of them had done ‘ and ſuffer'd in the Service of his Royal Father of bleſſed Memory, and ‘ of ſome eminent Services perform'd by Others of them, towards his ‘ Majeſty Himſelf in the Time of his greateſt Affliction) have been made ‘ ſo ill uſe of, and ſo ill deſerv'd, that the Reſort of Jeſuits and Prieſts ‘ into this Kingdom hath been thereby increas'd; with which his Maje- ‘ ſty is, and hath long been highly Offended. And therefore his Majeſty ‘ readily concurs with the Advice of his Two Houſes of Parliament, and ‘ hath given Order for the Preparing and iſſuing out ſuch a Proclamation ‘ as is deſired, with the ſame Clauſe referring to the Treaty of Mar- ‘ riage, as was in the Proclamation, which, upon the like Occaſion, iſſu'd ‘ out upon the Advice of both Houſes of Parliament in the Year 1640. ‘ And his Majeſty will take farther Care, that the ſame ſhall be effectual, ‘ at leaſt to a greater Degree than any Proclamation of this Kind hath ‘ ever been. And his Majeſty further declares, and aſſures both his ‘ Houſes

A Second Anſwer.

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'Houſes of Parliament, and all his loving Subjects of all his Dominions, That 'as his Affection and Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion and the Church of '*England* hath not been conceal'd, or untaken Notice of in the World: 'So he is not, nor ever will be, ſo ſolicitous for the ſettling his own Re-'venue, or providing any other Expedients for the Peace and Tranquil-'lity of the Kingdom, as for the Advancement and Improvement of the 'Religion eſtabliſh'd, and for the uſing and applying all proper and ef-'fectual Remedies to hinder the Growth of *Popery*; both which he doth 'in Truth look upon as the beſt Expedient to eſtabliſh the Peace and 'Proſperity of all his Kingdoms.

Immediate Thanks were return'd to the King for this obliging Anſwer; and his Majeſty, according to Promiſe, did within a few Days after publiſh ſuch a Proclamation as was deſired, *commanding all Jeſuits, and Popiſh Prieſts to depart this Kingdom*, &c. But it did not appear to be much more in the real Intentions of the Court, than another Popular Proclamation, not long after iſſu'd out for the *better Obſervation of the Lord's Day*, and likewiſe for renewing a former Proclamation againſt *vitious, debauch'd and profane Perſons:* For notwithſtanding theſe Publick Profeſſions towards pleaſing of the People, it became more viſible that Popery and Profaneneſs were both in the Increaſe at Court; and that the former, if it was not the Occaſion, was the unfortunate Concomitant, or near Attendant of the latter.

Ref. 4. *The Commons Care of the King's Revenue.*

4. The Commons in Parliament were now buſily employ'd, among other Things, in examining the true State of the King's Revenue, as his Majeſty had deſired them in his laſt Speech. They proceeded to inquire into all the particular Branches, as the *Cuſtoms*, the *Exciſe*, the *Crown Lands*, the *Hearth Mony*, the *Poſt-Office*, the *Firſt Fruits* and *Tenths*, the *Coynage*, the *Alienation*, and other Offices, with ſeveral other leſſer Matters; and found that all together did not at this Time amount to buite eleven hundred thouſand Pounds a Year. While they were conſidering and inquiring into theſe Matters, on the 12th of *June* the King ſnet for the Speaker, and the whole Houſe, to the *Banquetting-Houſe* at *White-Hall*, where he made a remarkable and affecting Speech to them, which ought not to be omitted; and, tho' ſomewhat long, ſhou'd not be abridg'd; eſpecially ſince we do not find that it ever was in Print, or any other Book beſides the *Journals of the Houſe of Commons:* And it is ſo contriv'd, that it will hardly bear any Sort of Mutilation; therefore the Reader may be pleas'd to accept of it in full Length.

The King's Speech to them alone.

'*Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I have ſent 'for you this Day to communicate with you, as good Friends ought to 'do, when they diſcover the leaſt Jealouſie growing, which may leſſen 'their Confidence in each other. It is a Freedom very neceſſary to be 'us'd between me and you: And you may all remember, That when 'there was lately a little Jealouſie amongſt you, upon ſomewhat I had 'ſaid or done, I made all the Haſte I cou'd to give you Satisfaction; for 'which you all return'd me your hearty Thanks; and were, I think, ſa-'tisfy'd. *Gentlemen*, it is in no Man's Power, no not in your own Pow-'er, to make me ſuſpect, or in the leaſt Degree imagine it poſſible, That 'your Affections and Kindneſs is leſſen'd or diminiſh'd towards me. I 'know very well, That the People did never in any Age uſe that Vigi-'lance and Circumſpection, in the Election of Perſons of known and 'try'd Affections to the Crown; of your good Principles, and unque-'ſtionable Inclinations to the Peace of the Church and the State, for their 'Repreſentatives in Parliament, as they did when they choſe You. You 'are the very ſame Men, who at your firſt coming together, gave ſuch

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'ſignal Teſtimonies of your Affection and Friendſhip to my Perſon, of 'your Zeal for the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and liberal Sup- 'port of the Government, and of your Horror and Deteſtation of thoſe 'Men, whoſe Principles you diſcern'd keep them awake to take all Oc- 'caſions to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to embroil us in a new 'Civil War; which is as much their Endeavour now as ever, and it may 'be not enough abhorr'd by Others, whoſe Principles and Ends are very 'different from them. You are the ſame Men, who at your firſt 'Meeting by a wonderful and chearful Harmony and Concurrence in 'whatſoever I cou'd wiſh, gave me Reputation Abroad, and Security 'at Home, made our Neighbours ſolicitous for our Friendſhip, and 'ſet a juſt Value upon it. And, truſt me, ſuch a Reputation is of ſuch 'a vaſt Importance, as made my Evil Subjects even deſpair of bring- 'ing their wicked Purpoſes to paſs. And is it poſſible that the ſame 'Perſons can continue the Same together, without the ſame Affection 'for Me? I am ſure it is impoſſible!

'And yet, I muſt tell you, the Reputation I had from your Concur- 'rence and Tenderneſs towards me is not at all improv'd ſince the Be- 'ginning of this Seſſion: Indeed it is much leſſen'd. And I am ſure I 'never ſtood in more need of that Reputation than at preſent, to carry me 'through the many Difficulties, in which the Publick is at leaſt concern'd, 'as much as my ſelf. Let Me and You think never ſo well of our ſelves, 'if all the World knows or believes that we are poor, that we are in Ex- 'tremity of Want, if our Friends think we can do them no Good, and our 'Enemies believe we can do them no Harm, our Condition is far from being 'proſperous. You cannot take it amiſs (you ſhall uſe as much Freedom 'with me) That I tell you there hath not appeared that Warmth in you of 'late in the Conſideration of my Revenue, as I expected, as well from 'ſome of your Meſſages, as my own Confidence in your Care and Kind- 'neſs. It hath been ſaid to my ſelf, *That it is uſual for the Parliament 'to give the Crown extraordinary Supplies upon emergent Occaſions, but 'not to improve the conſtant Revenue of the Crown.* I wiſh, and ſo do 'you, that nothing had lately been done in and by Parliaments but what 'is *Uſual*: But if ill Parliaments contrive the Ruin and Diſinheriſon of 'the Crown, God forbid but good Parliaments ſhou'd repair it, how '*Unuſual* ſoever it is. If you your ſelves had not in an extraordinary 'Manner improv'd my Revenue, the Government cou'd not have been 'ſupported; and if it be not yet improv'd to the Proportion you have 'deſign'd, I cannot doubt but you will proceed in it with your old Ala- 'crity. I am very well contented that you proceed in your Inſpection; 'I know it will be to my Advantage, and that you will neither find my 'Receipts ſo great, nor my Expences ſo exorbitant, as you imagine: 'And for an Evidence of the laſt, I will give you an Account of the Iſ- 'ſues of the twelve hundred thouſand Pounds you ſo liberally gave me; 'one Penny whereof was not diſpos'd but upon full Deliberation with 'my ſelf, and by my own Order, and I think you will all ſay for the 'Publick Service. But, *Gentlemen*, this Inquiſition cannot be finiſh'd in 'the ſhort Time we can now conveniently ſtay together: And yet if you 'do not provide before we part, for the better Paying and Collecting 'what you have already given me, you can hardly preſume what it will 'amount to; and if you do not ſupport what you have already given me 'by ſome Addition, you will quickly ſee Lawful Ways found to leſſen the 'Revenue more than you imagine: And therefore I cannot but expect 'your Wiſdoms will ſeaſonably and ſpeedily provide a Remedy for that 'growing Miſchief. Believe me, *Gentlemen*, the moſt diſaffected Sub-

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‘ jects in *England* are not more unwilling to pay any Tax or Impoſition ‘ you lay upon them, than I am to receive it: God knows I do not long ‘ more for any Bleſſing in this World, than *that I may live to call a ‘ Parliament, and not ask or receive any Mony from them*; I will do all ‘ I can to ſee that happy Day. I know the vaſt Burthens the Kingdom ‘ hath born the laſt twenty Years and more; that it is exceedingly im- ‘ poveriſh'd: But, alas! what will that which is left do them good, if ‘ the Government cannot be ſupported; if I am not able to defray ‘ the Charge that is neceſſary for their Peace and Security? I muſt deal ‘ plainly with you (and I do but diſcharge my Conſcience in that ‘ Plainneſs) if you do not, beſides the improving my Revenue in the ‘ Manner I have recommended to you, give me ſome preſent Supply ‘ of Mony to enable me to ſtruggle with thoſe Difficulties I am preſs'd ‘ with, I ſhall have a very Melancholick Summer, and ſhall much appre- ‘ hend the Publick Quiet.

‘ You have heard, I preſume, of the late Deſign in *Ireland* for the Sur- ‘ prize of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, which was ſpread all over that Kingdom, ‘ and many Parliament-Men were engag'd in it. There is an abſolute ‘ Neceſſity that I forthwith ſend over a Sum of Mony thither, for the ‘ Payment of the Army, and putting the Garriſons there in good Order. ‘ You will not doubt but that thoſe ſeditious Perſons there, had a Cor- ‘ reſpondence with their Friends here: And I pray let us not be too ‘ careleſs of them. I aſſure you, I have ſo great Occaſion for Mony here, ‘ which my Revenue cannot ſupply me with, that I every Day omit the ‘ doing ſomewhat that is very neceſſary for the Publick Benefit. Theſe ‘ ſure are juſt Motives to perſwade you to give me a Supply, as ever ‘ mov'd a Houſe of Commons. And therefore I conjure you to go chear- ‘ fully about it, and let me not be diſappointed in my Confidence of your ‘ Affections: And I pray remember the Seaſon of the Year; and how ne- ‘ ceſſary it is that we make a *Receſs* at, or about *Midſummer*. I have ‘ enlarg'd much more to you upon this Occaſion than I have us'd to do; ‘ and you may perceive it hath not been very eaſie to me: But I was wil- ‘ ling that you ſhou'd underſtand from my ſelf what I deſire, and expect ‘ from you: and the rather, becauſe I hear ſome Men have confidently ‘ undertaken to know my Mind, who have had no Authority from me, ‘ and to drive on Deſigns very contrary to my Deſires. I do pray hear- ‘ tily that the Effect of this Day's Converſation may be the renewing of ‘ our Confidence in each other, and raiſing our joint Reputation, which ‘ will be our ſtrongeſt Security, with God's Bleſſing, the Kingdom can ‘ have for its Peace, Plenty and full Proſperity: And upon my Word, ‘ you ſhall have great Comfort in what you ſhall do for me, upon this ‘ very earneſt and hearty Recommendation.

They, and the Clergy, grant Supplies

This Speech, together with the affecting Way of Delivery, had ſuch an Influence upon the Minds of the Commons, that they immediately reſolv'd upon a preſent Supply, and in a ſhort Time gave his Majeſty four entire Subſidies. The Clergy in Convocation, following their Example, likewiſe gave four Subſidies; which, in Reality, was the laſt Mony that ever was given to the Crown by that Reverend Body or Aſſembly.

Deſigns againſt the Chancellor.

5. During this Seſſion of Parliament, it became viſible that the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* began to decline as to his great Power and Influence at Court; and he ſeem'd to ſtand ready to be given up to his Enemies, and to bear the Odium of every publick Miſcarriage or Misfortune. This great Man was ſenſible that the late Alterations in Court, and particularly in the Secretary's Office, were no ways to his Advantage, and there-

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therefore arm'd himſelf againſt all Enemies from thence; well knowing that the King ſtill retain'd a conſiderable Eſteem and Affection for him. But now aroſe a Storm from an unexpected Quarter: There had been a long Courſe of uninterrupted Friendſhip, both in Adverſity and Proſperity, between the famous Earl of *Briſtol* and the Chancellor, ſo that the Band ſeem'd almoſt indiſſolvable. But gradually falling into different Meaſures, upon the Account of Religion or Politicks, and the Chancellor refuſing a ſmall Boon, as the Earl of *Briſtol* took it to be, which was ſaid to be the paſſing a Patent in Favour of a Court Lady, the latter thought himſelf ſo diſoblig'd, that letting looſe his fiery Temper, he reſolv'd upon nothing but Revenge. And having digeſted all things within himſelf, which might tend to the Overthrow of the Chancellor, he firſt made a bitter and artful Speech againſt him in the Houſe of Lords; and then, on the 10th of *July*, exhibited Articles of High-Treaſon, and other Crimes, againſt him.

Articles exhibited againſt him by the Earl of Briſtol.

The Subſtance of the whole Accuſation was as following: 'That the 'Chancellor, being in Place of higheſt Truſt and Confidence with his 'Majeſty, and having arrogated a ſupream Direction in all things, had, 'with a Traiterous Intent to draw Contempt upon his Majeſty's Perſon, 'and to alienate the Affections of his Subjects, abus'd the ſaid Truſt in 'Manner following. 1. He had endeavour'd to alienate the Hearts of 'his Majeſty's Subjects, by artificially inſinuating to his Creatures and De-'pendents, That his Majeſty was inclined to *Popery*, and deſign'd to al-'ter the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. 2. He had ſaid to ſeveral Perſons of his 'Majeſty's Privy-Council, *That his Majeſty was dangerouſly corrupted in 'his Religion, and inclined to Popery: That Perſons of that Religion 'had ſuch Acceſs, and ſuch Credit with him, that unleſs there were a 'careful Eye had upon it, the* Proteſtant *Religion wou'd be overthrown 'in this Kingdom.* 3. Upon his Majeſty's admitting Sir *Henry Bennet* 'to be Secretary of State, in the Place of Sir *Edward Nicholas*, he ſaid, '*That his Majeſty had given ten thouſand Pounds to remove a zealous* 'Proteſtant, *that he might bring into that high Place a concealed* Papiſt. '4. In Purſuance of the ſame Traiterous Deſign, ſeveral Friends and 'Dependents of his have ſaid aloud, *That were it not for my Lord Chan-'cellor's ſtanding in the Gap,* Popery *wou'd be introduc'd into this King-'dom.* 5. That he had perſwaded the King, contrary to his Reaſons, to 'allow his Name to be us'd to the Pope and ſeveral Cardinals in the Sol-'licitation of a Cardinal's Cap for the Lord *Aubigney*, great Almoner to 'the Queen: In order to effect which, he had employ'd Mr. *Richard 'Bealing*, a known Papiſt; and had likewiſe apply'd himſelf to ſeveral 'Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits for the ſame Purpoſe, promiſing great Favour 'to the Papiſts here, in Caſe it ſhou'd be effected. 6. That he had like-'wiſe promis'd to ſeveral Papiſts he wou'd do his Endeavour, and ſaid, '*He hop'd to compaſs the taking away all penal Laws againſt them*; to 'the End they might preſume and grow vain upon his Patronage, and 'by their publiſhing their Hopes of *Toleration*, encreaſe the Scandal, 'deſign'd by him to be rais'd upon his Majeſty throughout the Kingdom. '7. That being intruſted with the Treaty betwixt his Majeſty, and his 'Royal Conſort the Queen, he concluded it upon Articles Scandalous 'and Dangerous to the *Proteſtant* Religion: Moreover he brought the 'King and Queen together, without any ſettled Agreement about the 'Performance of the Marriage-Rites; whereby the Queen refuſing to 'be marry'd by a *Proteſtant* Prieſt, in Caſe of her being with Child, ei-'ther the Succeſſion ſhou'd be made uncertain for want of the due Rites 'of Matrimony, or elſe his Majeſty be expoſed to a Suſpicion of having 'been marry'd in his own Dominions by a *Romiſh* Prieſt. 8. That having

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'endeavour'd to alienate the Hearts of the King's Subjects upon the 'Score of Religion, he endeavour'd to make use of all his Scandals and 'Jealousies to raise to himself a popular Applause of being *the zealous Up-* 'holder of the Protestant Religion, &c. 9. That he further endeavour'd 'to alienate the Hearts of the King's Subjects, by venting in his own 'Discourse, and those of his Emissaries, opprobrious Scandals against his 'Majesty's Person, and Course of Life, such as are not fit to be menti- 'on'd, unless Necessity shall require it. 10. That he endeavour'd to ali- 'enate the Affections of the Duke of *York* from his Majesty, by suggest- 'ing to him, *That his Majesty intended to Legitimate the Duke of* Mon- 'mouth. 11. That he had perswaded the King, against the Advice of 'the Lord General, to withdraw the *English* Garrisons out of *Scotland*, 'and demolish all the Forts built there, at so vast a Charge to this King- 'dom; and all without expecting the Advice of the Parliament of *Eng-* 'land. 12. That he endeavour'd to alienate his Majesty's Affections and 'Esteem from his present Parliament, by telling him, *That there was* 'never so weak and inconsiderable a House of Lords, nor never so weak 'and heady a House of Commons; and particularly, *That it was better to* 'sell Dunkirk, *than to be at their Mercy for want of Mony.* 13. That 'contrary to a known Law made last Sessions, by which Mony was given 'and apply'd for the maintaining of *Dunkirk*, he advis'd and effected the 'Sale of the same to the *French* King. 14. That he had, contrary to 'Law, enrich'd himself and his Treasurers by the Sale of Offices. 15. 'That he had converted to his own use vast Sums of publick Mony rais- 'ed in *Ireland* by way of *Subsidy*, private and publick *Benevolences*, and 'otherwise given and intended to defray the Charge of the Government 'in that Kingdom. 16. That having arrogated to himself a supream Di- 'rection of all his Majesty's Affairs, he had prevail'd to have his Maje- 'sty's Customs Farmed at a lower Rate than others offer'd, and that by 'Persons, with some of whom he went a Share, and other Parts of Mo- 'ny resulting from his Majesty's Revenue.'

Reflections upon them.

This heavy Charge, fill'd with Insinuations and Aggravations, appear'd rather to have been a personal Quarrel, than any serious Concern for publick Truth and Justice. The Words concerning the King's private Inclinations, here charg'd as spoken by him, were generally thought to have been the real Expressions or Suggestions of that great Man; but surely it was not altogether without a Cause: They may be thought the Effect of an indecent Freedom, but can hardly be imagin'd to have proceeded from any want of Integrity or Loyalty. And indeed there appears a perverse Turn in the Articles, first to represent the Chancellor as jealous of *Popery*, and complaining of the King's Inclination to it, by chusing new Ministers Popishly affected; and yet after all, to make the Chancellor himself the Instrument of those very Designs laid for Popery, and the profess'd Promoter of them. This was somewhat surprizing; and what has since made the design'd Revenge more apparent, is, That the Articles should tax the Chancellor with saying *Bennet* was a conceal'd Papist, when *Bristol* himself, the Accuser, was the same, and had been privy to all that the King had done at *Fontarabia*, at the *Pyrenean* Treaty. And indeed the House of Lords seem'd sensible of the Malice of the Accusation, as soon as the Articles were exhibited and read before them. Upon which, after a short Consideration, they made this following Order: 'That a Copy of the Articles or Charge of High Treason, exhi- 'bited this Day by the Earl of *Bristol* against the Lord Chancellor, be 'deliver'd to the Lord Chief Justice; who, with all the rest of the 'Judges, are to consider, *Whether the said Charge hath been brought in* 'Regularly and Legally; and *Whether it may be proceeded on, and how*;

'and

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'and *Whether there be any Treaſon in it or no*; and make Report 'thereof to this Houſe on *Monday* next, if they can, or elſe as ſoon af-'ter as poſſibly they may.'

Upon this important Occaſion all the Judges met at *Serjeant's Inn*, and the Earl of *Briſtol* repaired to them, deſiring to ſee their Order; which being read, he told them, *He came out of Reſpect to know of them Whether they were inform'd how it came into the Houſe of Peers, whether as a Charge or not:* But one of the Judges, who had been preſent when it was deliver'd in, ſaying, *They were tied up by their Order*, the Earl took ſome Exception at the Manner of his Expreſſion, *as if his Addreſs were unneceſſary at that Time*, and taking it as a Rebuke upon him, departed. But according to their Order, which ſuppos'd it to be a Charge of *High Treaſon*, and not mentioning *Miſdemeanour*, they did upon Conſideration unanimouſly agree upon this enſuing Anſwer, which the Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſter* deliver'd into the Houſe of Lords: 'We conceive that a 'Charge of *High Treaſon* cannot, by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, 'be *Originally* exhibited by one Peer againſt another unto the *Houſe of* 'Peers; and that therefore a Charge of *High Treaſon* by the Earl of 'Briſtol againſt the Lord *Chancellor*, mention'd in the *Order* of Refe-'rence to us of the Tenth of this Inſtant *July*, hath not been *Regularly* 'and *Legally* brought in; and if the Matters alledg'd in the ſaid Charge 'were admitted to be true, altho' alledg'd to be *Traiterouſly* done, yet 'there is no Treaſon in it.' Upon the reading of this Anſwer, the Earl of *Briſtol* took Exceptions at it; and ſome of the Lords, who were Friends to the Chancellor, inferr'd, 'That if it was not *Regularly* and 'Legally brought in, it was a *Libel*, and it ought to be condemn'd, 'and the Author of it cenſured.' To ſatisfy the Houſe, one of the Judges upon Conference with his Brethren, did the next Day deliver the Reaſons of the Opinion of the Judges in their ſaid Anſwer; when the Earl of *Briſtol*, a little to extenuate the Matter, ſaid *the Articles were not intended by him as a Charge, but as an Information.* Hereupon their Lordſhips, upon a fair Debate upon the Queſtion, did unanimouſly re- *The Lords reject them.* ſolve to declare their Concurrence with the Opinion of the Judges; and ſo the Contrivance of Overthrowing this great Man ſunk for the preſent. Yet this early Step to his Fall had gain'd very much of the deſign'd Effect, which was to make him leſs gracious with his Royal Maſter, leſs reſpected in the Houſes of Parliament, and leſs beloved by the People; and ſo gradually to become a more eaſy Prey, whenever his Enemies ſhou'd attempt to hunt him down.

6. Theſe Proceedings were not long finiſh'd, when the King, reſolving upon a Receſs, upon the 27th of *July* came to the Houſe of Peers, and being ſeated on his Throne, ſent for the Houſe of Commons, who had ſeveral Bills ready for the Royal Aſſent. The Speaker, in preſenting of them, thus handſomly addreſs'd himſelf to his Majeſty: 'The *The Speaker's Speech to the King at the Prorogation.* 'Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of Parlia-'ment, have, ſince their laſt Meeting, in many weighty and arduous Af-'fairs, preſented your Majeſty with their *humble Advice*; which with 'all Thankfulneſs they acknowledge, never wanted a moſt Gracious Re-'ception. Never any Prince did ſo freely commune with his People, 'and never any People did with more Joy and Duty commemorate their 'Happineſs. The laſt Seſſion of Parliament our Care was chiefly to ſe-'cure the *Being* of this Nation under our ancient happy Monarchical Go-'vernment: This Seſſion we have endeavour'd to advance the Peace and '*Well-being* both of Church and State. Material Structures are beſt ſe-'cured by deep Foundations in the Earth; but the Foundations of true

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'Happineſs are from above: We have therefore in the firſt Place per-
'us'd the Laws, which enjoyn the *Obſervation of the Lord's Day*, and
'where we found any Defect, either in Rules or Penalties, we have with
'great Care ſupply'd them; well knowing, That he who doth not re-
'member on the firſt Day of the Week to obſerve a *Chriſtian Sabbath*,
'will hazard, before the Week comes round, to forget he is a Chriſti-
'an.— At the Opening of this Seſſion, your Majeſty was moſt graci-
'ouſly pleas'd to call upon us to prepare ſome Laws for the *Prevention*
'*of the Growth of Popery*; and we have heartily labour'd therein, both
'to prevent the Growth of *Popery*, and all ſorts of *Sectaries* and *Non-*
'*conformiſts:* But as the rankeſt Corn, and the fulleſt Ears are apteſt to
'be laid; ſo fares it in this Matter, theſe Fruits are not yet ready for
'the Harveſt. But we are confident, by the Wiſdom of your Majeſty's
'Government, and the Readineſs of your faithful Subjects to ſupport it,
'by the juſt and true Execution of the Laws, theſe Perſons will either
'be perſwaded to Conformity, or forc'd into a peaceable and orderly
'Converſation.' Then, in the Name of the Commons of *England*, pray-
ing for one Proclamation againſt Papiſts, Sectaries, and Nonconformiſts,
and another againſt Profaneneſs, Debauchery, and Licentiouſneſs, he pro-
ceeded thus: 'And for the better ſecuring the Peace of the Nation a-
'gainſt the united Counſels of all the *Diſſenters* to our Religion, and e-
'ſtabliſh'd Diſcipline, we have prepared an Additional Bill *for the order-*
'*ing the Forces of the Kingdom*; whereby your Majeſty's Lieutenants,
'and the Deputy-Lieutenants, will be enabled to train, diſcipline, and
'keep together ſuch a Party as will be able to prevent Diſorders, and
'ſufficient to check any Inſurrections, till the great Body of the *Militia*
'can come into their Aſſiſtance. During the late unhappy Wars in this
'Nation, our Neighbours Eyes were open to ſpy out all Advantages of
'ſpoiling our Trade, and to advance their own; but *by the ſeveral good*
'*Bills* here made ready for your Majeſty's Royal Aſſent, we hope we
'ſhall reſtore and encreaſe the flouriſhing Trade of this Nation. *Great*
'*SIR*, I have but one Word more, and that is by Command from your
'Majeſty's loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Commons of *England:* They
'have duly conſider'd the preſent unſettled Condition of this Nation, and
'the great Expence which muſt attend ſuch Diſtractions: And do hum-
'bly beſeech your Majeſty to accept an Aid from them, *conſiſting of*
'*Four entire Subſidies*; Two of which are to be paid by the firſt of *No-*
'*vember* next, and the other Two by the firſt of *May* next following.'

Upon the Finiſhing of this, and paſſing ſome Bills, of which ſeveral were not expreſly mention'd by the Speaker, the King made this follow-

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

ing Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I thank you for
'the Preſent you have made me this Day; I hope your Countries will
'thank you when you come home for having done it. I am not conſci-
'ous of having brought the Streights and Neceſſities I am in upon my
'ſelf, by any Improvidence or Ill-husbandry of my own: I know the
'contrary, and I aſſure you, I wou'd not have deſir'd, or receiv'd the
'Supply you have given me, if it were not abſolutely neceſſary for the
'Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, as well as mine: And I muſt tell
'you, it will do me very little Good, if I do not improve it by very
'good Husbandry of my own; and by retrenching thoſe very Expences,
'which in many Reſpects may be thought neceſſary enough. But you
'ſhall ſee I will much rather impoſe upon my Self, than you my Subjects;
'and if all Men will follow my Example in retrenching their Expences,
'(which it may be they may do with much more Conveniency than I
'can do mine) the Kingdom will in a very ſhort Time gain what you
'have given me this Day. I am very glad you are now going into your
'ſeveral

'ſeveral Countries, where your Preſence will do much Good: And I 1663.
'hope your Vigilance and Authority will prevent thoſe Diſturbances, Car. 15
'which the reſtleſs Spirits of ill and unquiet Men will be always contriv- Ref. 4.
'ing, and of which I aſſure you they promiſe themſelves ſome Effects
'this Summer. There have been more Pains and unuſual Ways taken
'to kindle the Old Fatal Fears and Jealouſies, than I thought I ſhou'd
'ever have liv'd to have ſeen, at leaſt to have ſeen ſo countenanc'd. I
'do deſire you, and conjure you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, to watch
'this Evil Spirit and Temper with your utmoſt Care and Prudence, and
'ſecure the Perſons of thoſe whom you find poſſeſs'd with it, That the
'Peace of the Kingdom may not be ſacrific'd to their Pride, Humour
'and Madneſs.

'I did expect to have had ſome Bills preſented unto me againſt the
'ſeveral *Diſtempers in Religion*, againſt *Seditious Conventicles*, and
'againſt *the Growth of Popery*: But it may be you have been in ſome
'Fear of thoſe Contradictions in Religion in ſome Conſpiracy againſt the
'Publick Peace, to which I doubt Men of the moſt contrary Motives in
'Conſcience, are inclineable enough. I do promiſe you to lay this Buſi-
'neſs, and the Miſchiefs which muſt flow from theſe Licences, to heart;
'and if I live to meet with you again, as I hope I ſhall, I will my Self
'take care to preſent two Bills to you to that End. And as I have alrea-
'dy given it in Charge to the Judges, in their ſeveral Circuits, to uſe
'their utmoſt Endeavours to prevent and puniſh the ſcandalous and Sedi-
'tious Meetings of *Sectaries*, and to convict the *Papiſts*, ſo I will be as
'watchful, and take all the Pains I can, That neither the One nor the
'Other ſhall diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. I ſhall not need to de-
'ſire you to uſe all Diligence in Levying and Collecting the Subſidies you
'have given me, and heartily wiſh the Diſtribution may be made with all
'Equality and Juſtice, and without any Animoſity or Faction, or Remem-
'bring any Thing that hath been done in the late ill Times, which you
'know we are all oblig'd to forget, as well as forgive. And indeed till
'we have done ſo, we can never be in perfect Peace; and therefore I can
'never put you too much in Mind of it. I think it neceſſary to make
'this a *Seſſion*, That ſo the Current of Juſtice may run the next two
'Terms, without any Obſtruction by Priviledge of Parliament: And
'therefore I ſhall prorogue you till *March*, when I doubt not but by
'God's Bleſſing we ſhall meet again to our joynt Satsfaction; and that
'you ſhall have Cauſe to thank me for what I ſhall have done in the In-
'terval.

Thus ended the Tird Meeting or Seſſion of the Second Parliament, which laſted five Months and above a week; in which Time, beſides the Subſidies, there paſs'd fourteen or fifteen Acts, of conſiderable Uſe to the Publick, as to Conveniency and Trade, but not of very great Moment in Hiſtory, and therefore not ſo proper to be inlag'd on in a Work of this Nature: Only we may remember that in this Parliament the Revenues of the *Poſt-Office* and *Wine Licenſes*, both improving, were ſettled upon his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*; by which he was enabled to keep a diſtinct Court, and gradually to obtain ſome Degree of Independence.

The End of the Third Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

7. Not long after the Breaking up of the Parliament, in the long Vacation, the King to divert Himſelf, and to oblige his People, reſolv'd upon a publick Progreſs into the *Weſt*, together with his Royal Conſort the Queen. He went from *London* to the *Bath*, and from thence through *Gloceſterſhire* to the Univerſity of *Oxford*; being preſented at *Reading* and *Newbury* with handſom Purſes of Gold. Where-ever he came he

The King makes a Progreſs.

was

1663. Car. 15 Ref. 4. was receiv'd with very great and ſplendid Entertainments; particularly at *Littleton*, from Mr. *Alexander Popham*; at *Newbury*, from Sir *Thomas Dolman*; at *Marlborough*, from the Lord *Seymour*; at *Long-Leet*, from Sir *James Thyn*; at *Badmanton*, from the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*; and at *Cornbury*, from the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*. Coming towards *Oxford*, he was ſolemnly met half a Mile from the City by the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors and Scholars in all their Formalities; and entering the Suburbs, by the Militia of the City, through which he paſs'd from his firſt Entry to his Lodgings. During his Abode there, he viſited the Schools, where he was entertain'd with a magnificent Banquet; and his Son the Duke of *Monmouth*, now fourteen Years of Age, was formally incorporated into the Univerſity. He alſo touch'd above three Hundred Perſons for the *Evil*; and ſo, with great Impreſſions of Duty and Reverence left behind him, he returned to *London* in *October*, after a Progreſs of a little above five Weeks.

A new Plot diſcover'd in the North.

During this Progreſs, and both before and after it, there was a ſecret and dangerous Correſpondence carry'd on between the Zealots for Separation, and the Republican Party, to conſpire for the Advancement of the *Good old Cauſe*, and to take up Arms for the reſtoring it. The Place of Plotting was chiefly in the *North*, as being more remote from the Court, and nearer the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, where they had their Agitators employ'd among the moſt violent of the Kirk-Men, as they had alſo in *London*, and moſt of the Counties in *England*. They had ſeveral Meetings in *Yorkſhire*, and particularly at a Place call'd *Stan-houſe*. They had an Oath of Secrecy among themſelves, which was ſtrictly obſerv'd for a Time; and they had agreed to riſe on the 12th of *October*, and gave Aſſurance to their Friends, 'That the Inſurrection wou'd be general; That *White-Hall* ſhou'd be ſecured; That '*Nottingham*, *Gloceſter* and *Newcaſtle* ſhou'd be ſeiz'd for the moſt convenient Paſſes over the *Severne*, *Trent* and *Tine*; and *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire* for a Sea-Port to receive Succours out of *Holland*, and other 'Foreign Parts. Their Pretences were *to redeem themſelves from the Exciſe and all Subſidies*; *to re-eſtabliſh a Goſpel Magiſtracy and Miniſtry*; *to reſtore the Long-Parliament*; *and to reform all Orders and Degrees of Men, eſpecially the Lawyers and Clergy*. In Order to this they printed a Sort of Declaration, or Call to Rebellion, beginning in theſe Words, *If there be any City, Town or County in the three Nations that will begin this righteous and glorious Work, they may be aſſured*, &c. according to which, a conſiderable Number of them appear'd in Arms at *Farnley*-Wood in *Yorkſhire*.

1663/4. But ſome of the principal Conſpirators having been diſcover'd and ſecur'd, and the Time and Places of Rendezvous known, the Militia were drawn out, and ſome regular Troops ſent into *Yorkſhire*, which took ſeveral of them up, and prevented the Execution of their Deſign. A ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was ſent to *York*, in the midſt of Winter, for the Trying the Principal Leaders of them; moſt of whom were Conventicle-Preachers, or old Parliament Soldiers. It appear'd upon full Evidence, 'That the Plot had been on Foot two Years, carry'd 'on by a private Committee that ſat in *London*; that in *July* laſt they 'had Twelve Hundred Horſe in Readineſs in *England*; That they had 'a particular Deſign to unite all the *Sectaries* againſt the Government, and 'had propos'd *Lambert* and *Ludlow* for their Head; That the Riſing 'was to begin in *Ireland*, afterwards to follow in *England*, and then in '*Scotland*. *Walters*, one of the Evidences, declar'd Who were to com-'mand in the *Weſt-Riding*, who in the *Eaſt-Riding*, and who in the 'North-Riding in *Yorkſhire*; who in *Nottinghamſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and the

The Deſign of it.

'Bi-

'*Biſhoprick* of *Durham*, and what Numbers; who were their Agents, where 1663.
'their Meetings were, and what Places and Paſſes they were to ſurprize: Car. 15
'That they were under an Ingagement to ſeize the Horſe and Arms of the Reſ. 4.
'Lord *Falconbridge*, and the Lord *Fairfax* of *Gilling*, and that they deſign'd
'to ſecure all the Priſoners they took in *Skipton*-Caſtle:' Of all which
Crimes being found Guilty by a proper Jury, theſe One and Twenty *Many Condemn'd.*
Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Thomas Oats, Samuel Ellis, John Nettleton* Senior, *John Nettleton* Junior, *Robert Scot, William Tolſon, John Foſter, Robert Oldroyd, Joſhua Aſhnith, Peregrine Corney, John Snowden, John Smith, William Aſh, John Errington, Robert Atkins, William Cotton, George Denham, Henry Watſon, Richard Wilſon, Ralph Rymer* and *Charles Carre.* Some of the Priſoners behav'd themſelves with inſufferable Inſolence, eſpecially *Cotton, Denham* and *Atkins*, of whom *Cotton* proteſted in the Face of the Court, *That in ſuch a Cauſe he valu'd his Life no more than the Judge did his Hankerchief.* After *And executed.*
their Conviction, the greateſt Part were executed at *York*, three at *Leeds*, and the reſt at their own Doors, and at other Places. Theſe ſeveral Tryals and Executions were all in the Month of *January* 166$\frac{3}{4}$.

The Infection of the Conſpiracy likewiſe ſpread Southwards; for in *London* they had retain'd a Printer to print their ſtrange Declaration; who, being taken up and found guilty, was drawn hang'd and quarter'd. Treaſonable Books, and Libels againſt the King and Government, were this Winter more than ordinary diſpers'd; and in *February* one *John Twyn* a Printer was condemn'd at the *Old-Bayly* Seſſions, for being concern'd in Printing a Treaſonable Libel, and was executed in *Smithfield.* Shortly after, *Simon Dover* Printer, *Thomas Brewſter* Bookſeller, and *Nathan Brooks* Book-Binder, were Indicted for Publiſhing and uttering Books written by *Buchanan, Milton* and others, in *Juſtification of the Murder of the late King, and maintaining the Lawfulneſs of Subjects taking up Arms againſt their Soveraign*, in Oppoſition to ſome late Acts of Parliament: Of which being found guilty, they were ſentenc'd to ſtand in the Pillory, pay each a Fine, and to remain in Priſon during the King's Pleaſure. Soon after there was an Account of ſeizing ſeveral of the reſt of the Northern Conſpirators; but we do not find that any more of them except Three ſuffer'd Death. Concerning the ſeveral Plots and Conſpiracies in the Beginning of the new Government and Eſtabliſhment, *Ludlow* and his Friends were ready to charge them upon the Government, as Sham-Plots and State Contrivances; but he ſeems to confirm this laſt, and plainly ſhew'd the Diſpoſition of Himſelf, and the Reſt of his Opinion: For he tells us, 'That about this Time, *Summer* 1663, their Friends 'in all Parts began to entertain Hopes they might be again employ'd to 'reſcue their Country from Servitude; and that in this Poſture of Affairs 'Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, who had for ſome Time reſided in *Italy*, 'thought convenient to draw nearer home, that if any Opportuity ſhou'd 'offer, he might not be wanting in his Duty and the Publick Service, 'and ſo reſolv'd to Winter in *Flanders*. And paſſing through *Switzer-*'*land*, he made a Viſit to *Ludlow* and his Friends, then harbour'd there; 'and Staying with them three Weeks, he aſſured them of his Affection 'and Friendſhip, and no ways declin'd to own Them, and the *Cauſe* for 'which they Suffer'd. *Others puniſh'd.*

It is now Time to conclude the Year, after the uſual Manner, with the Death of ſeveral Perſons of the greateſt Note and Conſideration; and firſt we ſhall mention that of Dr. *William Juxon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a moſt admirable and venerable Man, of whoſe Character and Fame, we have more than once taken Notice in the laſt Volume; Who, after he had happily weather'd the greateſt of all Storms, in Re- *The Death of Archbiſhop Juxon,*
ward

1663. Car. 15 Ref. 4.

ward of his Wisdom, Honesty, and all other Excellencies, was advanc'd to this highest Station in the Church, in which he dy'd in Peace, Honour, and a good old Age; leaving his Body to be bury'd by that of Archbishop *Laud*, at St. *John*'s Colledge in *Oxford*, which was perform'd by that University with a Pomp and Solemnity scarce inferior to that of Princes. His Death made way for the Translation of two great Men, Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* from *London* to *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Humphrey Hinchman* from *Salisbury* to *London*. After this Prelate we may properly mention the Loss of two worthy Divines and eminent Preachers; the

Dr. Haywood,

First, Dr. *William Haywood*, educated in the University of *Oxford*, and successively made Chaplain to Archbishop *Laud*, and to the late good King, as well as Minister of St. *Giles London*, and Canon of *Westminster:* But being a true Loyalist, notwithstanding his great Learning, and mild and meek Disposition, he suffer'd a total Deprivation, Imprisonment, and other usual Calamities; till he recover'd all by the general Restoration,

Dr. Creed,

and dy'd in Peace and Happiness. The other was Dr. *William Creed*, educated in the same University; and, tho' he was a strenuous Defender of the Church of *England* in the most dangerous Times, he had the Happiness to escape much better than the former; and after the Restoration, upon the Account of his sublime Skill in Theology, he was not only made Arch-Deacon of *Wilts*, but also the King's Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*, in the Possession of which Honour he departed this Life. Besides these, this Year there dy'd two Judges that ought to be mention'd

Judge Jenkyns,

in History; as first, Mr. *David Jenkyns*, a *Welsh*-Man by Birth, and a *Welsh* Judge for many Years, who being a Person of great Abilities in his Profession, his Counsel was often us'd by the two great Attornies *Banks* and *Noy*; and being likewise of an invincible Courage, he became so strenuous an Assertor of the Rights of the King, the Laws of *England*, and the Liberties of the People, in the worst of Times, that, besides Imprisonments and other Hardships, his Life was often threatned, which he was always prepared to lose, with his Bible under one Arm, and *Magna Charta* under the other. Being now arriv'd at a good old Age, he peaceably resign'd his Breath at his own Estate in *Glamorganshire*.

Judge Forster,

The other Judge, who was of a higher Station, was Sir *Robert Forster*, an eminent Lawyer, who from one of the Justices of the King's Bench, became likewise a Sufferer in the late Times of Confusion, till at the Restoration he was made Lord Chief Justice of *England:* After which he became in a distinguishing Manner serviceable to the Publick in punishing the Felonies and other Outrages that proceeded from an old disbanded Army, and in restraining the over great Mercy of the King in his frequent Pardons granted to such sort of Criminals. After all these we shall mention two brave Men of the Nobility, who ought not to be forgot; the

The Earl of Portland,

first, *Jerome Weston* Earl of *Portland*, one of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council, who acted and suffer'd so much for the King and his Royal Father; a Person of so many eminent Virtues, that for Largeness of Heart, Strength of Understanding, Candour, and Fidelity, with all other Characters of Honour and Greatness, he is believ'd to have left very few Equals behind him: Only we may except the other Person to be

And Sir William Compton.

mention'd, which was Sir *William Compton*, the third Son of the late glorious Earl of *Northampton*, one of his Majesty's Privy-Council, and Master of the Ordnance; one of the most eminent Examples of Piety, Loyalty, Modesty, and Magnanimity, and briefly of all Virtues both Civil and Military, that this Age has produced. He left five heroick Brothers behind him, all Inheritors of their Father's Courage and Bravery, of whom the youngest afterwards took to the Gown, and was made Bishop of *London*.

XI. The

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Rot. Parl. *Philips. Fanſhaw. Arlington. D'Eſtrades. Tromp's Life.*

XI. 1. The Noiſe of the late Plots and Conſpiracies had very much alarm'd the People, and not a little heated and exaſperated the Parliament, when both Houſes met, according to the Prorogation, on the 16th Day of *March*, after a Receſs of near eight Months. This was the fourth Meeting, or Seſſion, of the Second Parliament, which was open'd by a pretty long Speech, made by the King, which will be more informing to the Reader without any Abridgement; and therefore it is fully inſerted as following: 'My *Lords and Gentlemen*, You ſee, God be 'thanked, we have met together again at the Time appointed; and I do 'aſſure you, I have been ſo far from ever intending it ſhou'd be other-'wiſe, that I do not know one Perſon who ever wiſh'd it ſhou'd be other-'wiſe. Think therefore, I pray, what good Meaning thoſe Men cou'd 'have, who from the Time of the Prorogation to the Day of your Meet-'ing, have continually whiſper'd and induſtriouſly infus'd into the Minds 'of the People, *That the Parliament ſhou'd meet no more*; *That it ſhou'd 'either be preſently diſſolv'd, or ſo continu'd by Prorogation, that they 'ſhou'd be kept without a Parliament*. I pray watch theſe Whiſperers 'all you can, as Men who uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to ſow Jealou-'ſies between You and Me; and I do promiſe you they ſhall not prevail 'with me; and I do promiſe my ſelf they ſhall not prevail with you: And 'the Truth is, we are both concern'd they ſhou'd not; and we ſhall 'then, with God's Bleſſing, prevent all the Miſchief they intend.

'You may judge by the late Treaſon in the *North*, for which ſo many 'Men have been executed, how active the Spirits of many of our old 'Enemies ſtill are, notwithſtanding all our Mercy. I do aſſure you, we 'are not yet at the Bottom of that Buſineſs. Thus much appears mani-'feſtly, That this Conſpiracy was but a Branch of that which I diſco-'ver'd, as well as I cou'd, to you about two Years ſince; and had been 'then executed nearer hand, if I had not, by God's Goodneſs, come to 'the Knowledge of ſome of the principal Contrivers, and ſo ſecured 'them from doing the Miſchief they intended. And if I had not, by the 'like Providence, had timely Notice of the very Hour, and ſeveral 'Places of their Rendezvous in the *North*, and provided for them ac-'cordingly, by ſending ſome of my own Troops, as well as by drawing 'the Train'd-Bands together, their Conjunction wou'd have been in 'greater Numbers than had been convenient. You will wonder, but I 'tell true, they are even now in thoſe Parts, and at this Time, when they 'ſee their Friends under Tryal and Execution, ſtill purſuing the ſame 'Conſultations: And it is evident they have Correſpondence with de-'ſperate Perſons in moſt Counties, and a ſtanding Council in this Town, 'from which they receive their Directions, and by whom they were ad-'vis'd to defer their laſt intended Inſurrection. But thoſe Orders ſerv'd 'only to diſtract them, and came too late to prevent their Deſtruction. 'I know more of their Intrigues than they think I do; and I hope I ſhall 'ſhortly diſcover the Bottom: In the mean Time, I pray let us all be as 'watchful to prevent, as they are to contrive their Miſchief. I cannot 'omit upon this Occaſion to tell you, that theſe deſperate Men, as ap-'pears by ſeveral Examinations, have not been all of one Mind in the 'Ways of carrying on their wicked Reſolutions. Some wou'd ſtill inſiſt 'upon the *Authority of the Long Parliament*, of which they ſay they 'have Members enough willing to meet: Others have fancied to them-'ſelves, by ſome Computation of their own, upon ſome Clauſe in the '*Triennial Bill*, *That this preſent Parliament was at End ſome Months 'ſince*; *and that for want of new Writs, they may aſſemble themſelves, 'and chuſe Members for Parliament*: And this is the beſt Expedient to 'bring themſelves together for their own Purpoſes. For the *Long Par-*

The FOURTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

1663. Car. 16 Ref. 4.

'*liament*, You and I can do no more to inform and compose the Minds
'of all Men; let them proceed upon their Peril. But methinks there is
'nothing done to disabuse them in Respect of the *Triennial Bill*. I
'confess, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have often my self read over that Bill;
'and tho' there is no Colour for the Fancy of the Determination of this
'Parliament, yet I will not deny to you, That I have always expected
'you wou'd, and even admired you have not consider'd the wonderful
'Clauses in that Bill, which pass'd in a Time very uncareful for the Dig-
'nity of the Crown, or Security of the People. I pray, *Mr. Speaker*,
'*and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons*, give that *Triennial Bill* once
'a Reading in your House; and then, in God's Name, do what you
'think fit for me, and your selves, and the whole Kingdom. I need not
'tell you how much I love Parliaments: Never King was so much be-
'holden to Parliaments as I have been; nor do I think the Crown can
'ever be happy without frequent Parliaments. But, assure your selves,
'if I did think otherwise, *I wou'd never suffer a Parliament to come*
'*together by the Means prescribed by that Bill.*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I must renew my Thanks to you, for the
'free Supply you gave me the last Session of four Subsidies; yet I cannot
'but tell you, That the Supply is fallen much short of what I expected,
'or you intended. It will hardly be believ'd, yet you know it to be true,
'that very many Persons who have Estates of three and four thousand
'Pounds a Year, do not pay for these four Subsidies sixteen Pounds: So
'that whereas you intended and declared, *That they shou'd be collected*
'*according to former Precedents*, they do not now arise to half the Pro-
'portion they did in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and yet sure the Crown
'wants more now than it did then, and the Subject is at least as able to
'give. The Truth is, by the Licence of the late ill Times, and ill Hu-
'mour of this, too many of the People, and even of those who make
'fair Promises, believe it to be no Sin to defraud the Crown of any thing
'that is due to it. You no sooner gave me *Tonnage and Poundage*, than
'Men were devising all the Ways they cou'd to steal Custom; nor can
'the Farmers be so vigilant for the Collection, as others are to steal the
'Duties. You gave me the *Excise*, which all People abroad believe to
'be the most insensible Imposition that can be laid upon a People: What
'Conspiracies and Combinations are enter'd into against it by the Brew-
'ers, who I am sure bear not that Burthen themselves, to bring that Re-
'venue to nothing, you may hear in *Westminster-Hall*. You have given
'me *Chimney-Mony*, which you have reason to believe is a growing Re-
'venue, for Men build at least fast enough; and you will therefore won-
'der that it is already declined, and this half Year brought in less than
'the former did. I pray therefore review that Bill; and since I am sure
'you wou'd have me receive whatsoever you give me, let me have the
'collecting and husbanding of it by my own Officers, and then I doubt
'not but to improve that Receipt, and will be cozen'd of as little as I can.

'I will conclude with conjuring you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, to
'keep a very good Correspondence together, That it may not be in the
'Power of any seditious or factious Spirits to make you jealous of each
'other, or either of you jealous of me; till you see me pretend one
'Thing, and do another, which I am sure you have never yet done.
'Trust me, it shall be in no Body's Power to make me jealous of you.
'I pray contrive any good short Bills, that may improve the Industry of
'the Nation; and since the Season of the Year will invite us shortly
'to take the Country Air, I desire you wou'd be ready for a *Session*,
'within two Months or thereabouts, and we will meet next earlier in
'the Year. And so God bless your Counsels!

The

The Parliament proceeded with all Diligence and Unanimity, especially the Commons, who took three Things into their particular Consideration: First, the *Triennial Act*, made in the Year 1641, which had much debas'd, as well as diminish'd the Prerogative of the Crown: Next, the Dangers threatned from the late Plots and Conspiracies; which gave them both Occasion and Provocation to fall hard upon the *Dissenters* in general, who were look'd upon, and commonly believ'd to be too great Friends to those Insurrections: Lastly, the Injuries and Incroachments lately made by the *Dutch*, in which they had been incourag'd by the *French* Court, and had a Promise of Support and Assistance from it. As to the first Business, they soon agreed wholly to repeal the Act made in the Year 1641, and to make another in its Room, intituled, *An Act for the assembling and holding of Parliaments once in three Years at least.* In the Debate upon this Subject, they first took Care, and came to a Resolution, 'That there shou'd be no Clause of Coercion on his Majesty for 'the Calling of Parliaments, other than there is for the Execution of all 'other Laws.' Within a few Days they finish'd the Bill, of which the Preamble is to be remember'd, as following: *Whereas the Act made,* &c. *is in Derogation of his Majesty's just Rights and Prerogative inherent to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, for calling and assembling of Parliaments, and may be an Occasion of manifold Mischiefs and Inconveniencies, and much endanger the Peace and Safety of his Majesty, and all his Liege People of this Realm:* They therefore totally repeal'd the Act, and made another short Act, the Substance of which was, 'That 'the Sitting of Parliaments shou'd not be intermitted or discontinu'd a-'bove three Years at the most; and that within three Years after the 'Determination of the present Parliament, or of any other Parliament, his 'Majesty shou'd issue out his Writs for the calling and assembling ano-'ther Parliament.

1663. Car. 16 Ref. 4.

The Proceedings of the Commons.

2. This Bill having pass'd both Houses, on the 5th Day of *April* his Majesty came purposely to the House of Peers to give his Royal Assent to this alone; which he did with the following Speech, which we do not find in Print: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, You will easily believe that 'I have come very willingly to give my Assent to this Bill. I do thank 'you very heartily for your so unanimous Concurrence in it, and for 'your desiring me speedily to finish it. And if I understand any thing 'that concerns the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, and the Wel-'fare of my Subjects (all which I study more than my Prerogative, and 'indeed I consider my Prerogative in order only to preserving the other) 'every good *Englishman* will thank you for it: For the Act you have 'repeal'd cou'd only serve to discredit Parliaments, and to make the 'Crown jealous of Parliaments, and Parliaments of the Crown, and per-'swade Neighbour Princes that *England* was not govern'd under a Mo-'narch. It cou'd never have been the Occasion of frequent Parliaments. 'I do promise you, I will not be an Hour the less without one for this 'Act of Repeal; nor I am sure will you be the less kind to me in Parli-'ament. I do again thank you for your excellent Temper and 'Respect to me, and desire you so to proceed that the Session may be 'within the Time I proposed to you last. And I do assure you upon 'my Word, and I pray believe me, That I will have no other Thoughts 'or Designs in my Heart, but to make you all happy in the Support of 'the Religion and Laws establish'd: And if my own Wants and Necessi-'ties are at any Time grievous to me, it is only as I apprehend I may 'not be able sufficiently to provide for Those, and for the Peace and

1664. Car. 16 Ref. 4.

The King's Speech upon the Repealing the Triennial *Act.*

1664. Car. 16 Ref. 4.

'Security of the Kingdom. And therefore I am confident, That You 'and I, who agree in the End, ſhall never differ in the Way.'

Reſolution of the Lords and Commons againſt the Dutch.

After this the Houſe of Commons proceeded to make Enquiry into the Obſtructions and Incroachments upon Trade, and more particularly thoſe of late made by the *Hollanders*, who, being incourag'd by the *French*, had made unexpected Advances. After much Time ſpent, both They and the Lords came to this grand Reſolution, *viz.* 'That the Wrongs, 'Diſhonours, and Indignities done to his Majeſty by the Subjects of the 'United Provinces, by invading his Rights in *India*, *Africa*, and elſe-'where; and the Damages, Affronts, and Injuries done by them to our 'Merchants, are the greateſt Obſtructions of our foreign Trade: And 'that the ſame be humbly and ſpeedily preſented to his Majeſty; and 'that he be moſt humbly mov'd to take ſome ſpeedy and effectual Courſe 'for Redreſs thereof, and all other of the like Nature, and for Preventi-'on of the like in Future: And in Proſecution thereof, *they will, with 'their Lives and Fortunes, aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt all Oppoſitions what-'ſoever.*' Upon this Occaſion both Houſes waited upon his Majeſty at the *Banquetting-Houſe* on the 27th of *April*, and the next Day received

The King's Anſwer.

this following Anſwer in Writing: 'His Majeſty having conſider'd the 'Addreſs made to him by his Two Houſes of Parliament, is very well 'pleas'd with the great Zeal they have expreſs'd for the Advancement 'of the Trade of this Kingdom, and removing all Obſtructions which 'may hinder the ſame, being wholly convinc'd, That it is that which 'contributes moſt to the Honour and Glory of the Nation, and the Pro-'ſperity of his People: And therefore his Majeſty will examine and pe-'ruſe the particular Complaints, which have been repreſented to his Par-'liament; and thereupon, according to their Advice, appoint his Mini-'ſter at the *Hague* to demand ſpeedy Juſtice and Reparation from the 'States General, and alſo uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to ſecure his Sub-'jects from the like Violences for the Future: In the Proſecution of 'which, or upon the Denials of Juſtice, *he depends upon the Promiſes of 'both Houſes to ſtand by him, and returns them his hearty Thanks for 'their frank Declaration therein.*' For which Royal Aſſurance, both Houſes return'd their humble and hearty Thanks; and here was the Foundation, and the firſt Step towards the firſt *Dutch* War.

After this not much was done before the Prorogation, beſides the preparing ſome Bills hereafter to be mention'd, and more particularly that againſt all Diſſenters: Only we may juſt mention two things that gave

Deſigns of the Commons.

ſome Conſideration to the Houſe of Commons; the Firſt was a Report from the Committee for *Advancement and Improvement of Trade*, which had lately laid open the Injuries and Incroachments of the *Dutch*; and having conſider'd ſeveral Expedients proper for that Occaſion, came to this Reſolution, 'That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That for 'the Encreaſe of Trade, the Houſe wou'd admit of a *Bill for the Na-'turalization of all Foreigners*, that ſhall take the Oaths of *Allegiance* 'and *Supremacy*, except *Jews*:' In which they wanted Time to come to a full Determination in the Houſe. The other Matter was more private, and concern'd the old Incendiary Mr. *Prynne*, who, by his great Officiouſneſs, fell a ſecond Time under the Diſpleaſure of this Houſe.

Mr. Prynne culpable.

The Complaint againſt him was, That after the committing of a *Bill concerning Vintners, and the Retailers of Ale and Beer*, he had alter'd the ſaid Bill in ſeveral Particulars. Being thus charg'd, he acknowledg'd his Error and Miſtake in altering the Bill, profeſſing *That he did not do it out of any ill Intent, but to rectify ſome Matters miſtaken in it, and to make the Bill agree with the Senſe of the Houſe*; for which he crav'd the

the Pardon of the Houſe. Being order'd to withdraw, after a conſiderable Debate Mr. *Prynne* was call'd in, and the Speaker acquainted him, *That the Houſe was very ſenſible of this great Error and Miſtake in ſo ancient and knowing a Member as he was, to break ſo material and eſſential an Order of the Houſe, as to alter, amend, or interline a Bill after Commitment, without Order, Knowledge, or Direction of the Committee: But the Houſe had conſidered of his Anſwer and Submiſſion, and were content at this Time, in Reſpect thereof, to remit the Offence.* 1664. Car 16 Ref 4.

3. Several Bills being ready, and a Prorogation deſign'd, on the 17th Day of *May* the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and being ſeated on the Throne, the Speaker of the Commons, Sir *Edward Turner*, made this following good Speech to his Majeſty: 'At the Opening this Seſſi- 'on, your Majeſty was pleas'd to recommend ſeveral things to the Care 'of your two Houſes of Parliament; which we deliberately conſider'd, 'and unanimouſly preſented our humble Advice thereupon. The firſt 'thing we took into Conſideration, was the Act made in the 16th of the 'late King of glorious Memory *for Triennial Parliaments:* When we 'had given it a Reading, we found it derogatory to the Eſſential Prero- 'gative of the Crown, of *Calling*, *Holding*, and *Diſſolving* Parliaments: 'We found it unpracticable, and only uſeful to learn the People how to 'Rebel; therefore we melted it down, extracted the pure Mettal from 'counterfeit and droſſy Allays, and then preſented it to your Majeſty to 'be new ſtamp'd, and made currant Coin for the Uſe of the Nation. 'We do return our moſt humble Thanks to your Majeſty, that you were 'pleas'd to accept our Advice, and to paſs our Bill; but more eſpecial- 'ly for thoſe gracious Expreſſions your Majeſty was pleas'd to uſe at that 'Solemnity, whereby we are aſſured not only of your Perſonal Affecti- 'on to Parliaments, but of your Judgment alſo, *That the Happineſs of 'the Crown conſiſts in the Frequency of Parliaments.* In the next Place 'we review'd the Act for *Chimney-Mony*, which we intended a great 'Branch of your Majeſty's Revenue, although by ſome Miſtakes it is fal- 'len ſhort: And in Hopes your Majeſty may improve that Receipt, we 'have prepared a Bill for *Collecting that Duty*, by ſuch Officers as your 'Majeſty and your Succeſſors ſhall from Time to Time think fit to ap- 'point.' *The Speaker's Speech to the King at the Prorogation.*

'Whilſt we were intent upon theſe weighty Affairs, we were often 'interrupted by Petitions, and Letters, and Motions, repreſenting the 'unſettled Condition of ſome Counties, by Reaſon of *Phanaticks*, *Se- 'ctaries*, and *Nonconformiſts:* They differ in their Shapes and Species, 'and accordingly are more or leſs dangerous; but in this they all agree, 'they are no Friends to the Eſtabliſh'd Government either in Church 'or State. And if the old Rule be true, *Qui Eccleſiæ contradicit, non 'eſt pacificus*, we have great Reaſon to prevent their Growth, and to 'puniſh their Practice. To this Purpoſe we have prepared a Bill *againſt 'their Frequenting of Conventicles*, the Seed-Plots and Nurſeries of 'their Opinions, under Pretence of Religious Worſhip. "The firſt Of- "fence is made puniſhable with five Pounds, or three Months Impriſon- "ment, and ten Pounds for a Peer: The ſecond Offence with ten Pounds, "or ſix Months Impriſonment, and twenty Pounds for a Peer; but the "third Offence, after a Tryal by a Jury, and the Tryal of a Peer by his "Peers, the Party convicted ſhall be tranſported to ſome foreign Planta- "tion, unleſs he lays down a hundred Pounds." *Immedicabile Vulnus 'Enſe reſcindendum, ne Pars ſincera trahatur.* We have had much 'Thought how to improve the Induſtry of the Nation, and prevent that 'Idleneſs and Licentiouſneſs which too faſt grow upon us, eſpecially by

'exceſſive

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'excessive and disorderly *Gaming:* Men are not content to sport away 'their precious Time, and play away their ready Mony, but to lose or 'pawn their Houses and Lands, their Manors, and their Honours also. 'For the Prevention of the Growth of this Disease, we have prepared 'a Bill *to make Securities for Mony won at Play, whether Real or Personal, to be void.*

'We have examin'd also the Reasons of the Decay of Trade: In the 'first Place we found our Merchants undermin'd by Fraud and Practice, 'and sometimes beaten out in the *East* and *West Indies*, in *Turkey*, and 'in *Africa*, by our Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, besides the unsufferable Indignities offer'd to your Royal Majesty, and the Crown of *England, have in a few Years spoil'd your Subjects, to the Value of Seven or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds.* For Remedy whereof we have 'made our humble Address to your Majesty, and receiv'd a gracious 'Answer; and have no Cause to fear but a short Time will produce a 'just and honourable Satisfaction. The next Obstruction to our Trade, 'hath been a base degenerous Practice of some Seamen, who are willing to be robb'd by Pirates, that they may Share in the Prize: We 'have therefore prepared a Bill for *the Punishment of such traiterous Actions, and for the just Reward of those honest Seamen that shall preserve their Owners Goods, and manfully maintain the Honour of the* English *Nation.* Some other Discoveries we have made, which may be 'the Subject Matter of future Bills; but in Respect to your Majesty's 'Intimation of a short Session, we were not willing to attempt more 'than we cou'd reasonably dispatch. And now, *Great Sir*, give me 'Leave with Joy, to remember the *Unparallel'd Unanimity* that hath 'this Session attended our Counsels: Our Constancy and Resolution 'hath been try'd beyond the Precedent of former Parliaments, or any 'other Session of this Parliament. The *Heathens* were wont to observe 'and envy the *Christians* for their Unity and Love of one another, *Ecce ut invicem se diligunt CHRISTIANI!* And may the happy Correspondence between your Majesty, and your two Houses of Parliament, 'increase and grow to be the Envy of the World, till all your Majesty's 'Enemies are forc'd to cry, *Ecce ut invicem se diligunt ANGLICANI!*'

The King's Speech to both Houses.

In passing these Bills mention'd by the Speaker, the King made the following Speech to both Houses: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I did de'sire and conjure you at the Opening this Session, that you wou'd keep 'a very good Correspondence together, that it might not be in the Pow'er of any seditious and factious Spirits to make you jealous of each O'ther, or either of you jealous of Me: And I desired you to be ready 'for a *Session* within two Months, or thereabouts. I must confess to 'you, you have comply'd very fully with me, for which I can never 'thank you enough: You have perform'd those good Respects towards 'me, and kept so very good Correspondence towards each other, that 'you have exceedingly disappointed those ill Men, who both at home 'and abroad had raised great Hopes and Expectations of new Troubles 'and Confusions. You have gratify'd me in all I desired, and are now 'ready for a *Session* within the Time proposed. This Harmony will, 'with God's Blessing, make us all esteem'd abroad, and secure at home; 'and these Obligations cannot but make me think the Time long till we 'meet again.

'This Season of the Year, and your own Affairs, will invite you into 'the Country; and your Presence there is of great Importance to my 'Service, and to the publick Peace. You will watch those unquiet Spi'rits which are still lurking, and ready to embrace all Opportunities to

'involve

'involve the Nation in new Diſtractions, under what ſpecious Pretences 1664.
'whatſoever: And you will carefully inform the People *how much it is*
'*in their own Power to be as happy as they can wiſh to be.* Indeed, if Car. 16
'they are truly ſenſible of their preſent Happineſs, it will quickly be im- Reſ. 4.
'proved. I will add no more, but that I thank you all, and every one
'of you. And if God bleſs us till *November*, we will meet here again:
'I name *November* to you, becauſe, if nothing extraordinary fall out, I
'reſolve not to meet till then: But becauſe ſomewhat extraordinary may
'fall out, you ſhall be at preſent prorogu'd but till *Auguſt*; and before
'that Day you ſhall have ſeaſonable Notice by Proclamation not to give
'your Attendance, except there be Occaſion, and then *November* will
'be the Time.' And thus ended the Fourth Meeting or Seſſion of the *The End of the Fourth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.*
Second Parliament, which continu'd no longer than two Months and one Day; in which ſhort Seſſion, never was more Buſineſs done for the Time, nor with more Alacrity and Unanimity, ſince the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth.* This was the leſs expected upon two Accounts: Firſt the aſſiduous Endeavours of the Earl of *Briſtol* to raiſe a ſecond Storm againſt the Lord Chancellor; in which he was defeated by the Steadineſs of the Houſe of Peers. The other was the ſtinging *Act againſt Conventicles*, which did not only occaſion many Debates and Conferences between the Lords and Commons, but caus'd various Reſolutions in the King himſelf, who appear'd always more ready to oblige or eaſe the Diſſenters than the Houſe of Commons; who, upon the late Rebellion, thought nothing more beneficial to the Publick Peace than theſe new Severities.

4. As all Things now tended towards a Rupture between *England*, Reſ. 5.
and the *United Provinces*, which was particularly promoted by the Par- *The King applies himſelf to Spain by his Ambaſſador* Fanſhaw.
liament it ſelf: ſo the King took timely Care to provide againſt the Storm by endeavouring for Alliances, and uſing all other proper Methods. And firſt he found it convenient to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy into *Spain*, which he effected by Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, a Perſon of great Worth and Experience, and equal to ſo high a Poſt. This Ambaſſador, upon his Arrival at *Cadiz*, and afterwards, was receiv'd with unuſual Pomp and Splendor, and treated beyond all Expectation, which gave great Hopes to the *Engliſh* Court; but theſe were gradually damp'd by the tedious Formality, and ſometimes by an unaccountable Coldneſs and Averſion that appear'd in the other of *Spain*; ſo that the Embaſſy had not all the deſired Effect, which was the Reaping ſome more immediate Advantage from that Court. The *Spaniards* appear'd diſpleas'd, and backwards in Treating, upon ſeveral Accounts: They were uneaſy not only for the new and ſtrict Alliance between *England* and *Portugal*, which had ſo much eſtabliſh'd the late Revolt, but alſo for the preſent Poſſeſſion of *Tangier* and *Jamaica*, and the irrecoverable Loſs of *Dunkirk*; all which made them the more ſtiff and dilatory in their Proceedings and Advances. The Court of *England* well knew *France* had reſolv'd to begin a War upon *Spain*, upon the immediate Death of his Catholick Majeſty; which being, by Reaſon of his Infirmities, much ſooner expected, the *French* had in two Winters provided extraordinary Magazines upon the Frontiers, to be ready upon ſo great an Occaſion. His *Britannick* Majeſty us'd all poſſible Means to prepare and diſpoſe the *Spaniards* with that Apprehenſion, and offer'd his Friendſhip to that Degree, as might be for the Benefit and Security of both Crowns: But *Spain* flattering her ſelf that *France* wou'd not break with them, at leaſt that they wou'd not give them any Cauſe, by raiſing any new Jealouſie in them, never made any ſuch Approaches as were agreeable with common Policy. Mr. Secretary

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tary *Bennet* in one of his Letters to the Lord Ambaſſador *Fanſhaw* thus expoſtulates, and ſtates their Caſe: 'Do they not ſee and feel their own 'Weakneſs? Have they not had Peace with all *Chriſtendom* beſides, on- 'ly to intend with more Vigour the Conqueſt of *Portugal*? What Pro- 'greſs have they made in it? Do they not ſee and feel the dying Condi- 'tion of their King, and the young, tender and uncertain Health of their 'Prince? Do they not ſee *France* with their Swords drawn, ready to in- 'vade them on all Sides? What Friends have they to ſtand by them? If 'the Emperor hath made Peace with the *Turk*, is there not a Fire alrea- 'dy kindled in *Germany* in their Diſputes.—— If, I ſay, to ſum up all, 'theſe Reflections do not awaken them, and oblige them to cultivate 'the King our Maſter's Friendſhip, it muſt be concluded ſome irreſiſtible 'Fate or Judgment attends that Monarchy, which their own Skill can- 'not divert.' Notwithſtanding this their Caſe, they wou'd not be induc'd this Year to finiſh any material Treaty, without the giving up of *Tangier* and *Jamaica*; and they were ſo Romantickly intent upon their firſt Deſigns, that the Ambaſſador *Fanſhaw* in his Reply tells the Secretary, that he found the Conſtant Poſition throughout his laſt Conference was, *That his Catholick Majeſty, in Point of Honour, wou'd hazard all the Reſt of his Monarchy, rather than not atchieve the Conqueſt or Rendition of* Portugal.

The Intrigues of France.

As to *France*, the King of *England* had at this Time but little to expect from that Court; tho' he ſent over the Lord *Hollis* as his Ambaſſador to endeavour to gain ſome Advantages there. The *French* King had of late profeſs'd great Friendſhip to the *States-General*, and had enter'd into a ſecret Alliance, and private Projects with Them, or rather the great Penſionary *De-Wit*, who then bore a mighty Sway in thoſe Provinces. That famous Miniſter of State, by reaſon of the Prevalency of a Party, or ſome other Inducement, had really joyn'd with the Intereſt of *France* againſt that of his own Country; in which he had proceeded ſo far as to enter into a moſt ſecret Correſpondence with the *French* King, and his reſiding Ambaſſador Count *D'Eſtrades*, an able Miniſter, and fit to carry on the Intriegues of his Maſter: From whoſe Memoirs we learn that, among other Deſigns and Inventions, they had form'd a remarkable Project, even in the Life of the preſent King of *Spain*, to divide Part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* between the *French* King and the States-General, and with the Reſt to frame a Republick, to enter into Alliance with the *United Provinces*, as the *Griſons* are united to the *Swiſs*. By this, *Cambray*, St. *Omer*, *Aire*, all *Artois*, *Bergue St. Vinox*, *Furnes* and *Newport*, were to be added to *France*; and *Oſtend*, *Bruges*, with what is on the Continent, as far as *l'Ecluſe*, to the *United Provinces*: All which was to be concluded and effected by the moſt clandeſtine Ways imaginable. This Project indeed by degrees fell in Pieces, by reaſon of the Infirmities of the *Spaniſh* King, and once the Report of his Death, after which the King of *France* might expect greater Advantages in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; yet ſtill ſo many Intriegues were carrying on betwen Him and *De-Wit*, that at this Time he had no Inclination to joyn in any Alliance againſt the *United Provinces*, where, by means of *De-Wit*'s or the *Louveſtine* Faction, his Friends were ſo numerous and certain. So that he was ſo far from aſſiſting the *Engliſh* in the approaching War, that he ſeem'd more inclinable to joyn with the *Dutch*; tho' he generally declar'd for Peace, and more than once offer'd his Mediation in order to prevent a War. And it is obſervable that in one of his Letters to his Ambaſſador *D'Eſtrades* he has theſe Words: *Whatever I ſhall reſolve on, it very much imports me, That the States be not born down, tho' I had no Treaty with them, becauſe the Power of* England *wou'd, by that Means, become too formidable at Sea.*

5. Not-

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5. Notwithſtanding the Diſcouragements the King of *England* ſuſtain'd for want of ſufficient Alliances and Support from Abroad, the Diſpoſition of the Parliament and People, together with the Inſtigation of ſome particular Perſons, made him willing to undertake and fall in with a War, which in a few Months became viſible, tho' ſtill not inevitable. His Majeſty had given his particular Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, Sir *George Downing*, who about the middle of *May* gave in a Memorial to the *States-General*, of the great Damages which the *Engliſh* complain'd to have Suffer'd in their Trade and Commerce by the Subjects of thoſe Provinces; which, in ſeveral Places, amounted to ſeven or eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds. This Ambaſſador is much complain'd of by the Count *D'Eſtrades* for his proud and inſolent Behaviour; and he was thought to be a great Promoter and Incendiary in the Quarrel between the two Nations. However it was, the *States* wiſely declin'd a preſent Anſwer, and paſs'd it over with a Promiſe of ſending their own Ambaſſadors to his *Britannick* Majeſty; which had the Appearance of a more ſolemn Reſpect, and, what was more intended, gave them the Opportunity of Deliberation and Delay. But the King, in the mean Time, to loſe no Opportunity, gave Orders for ſetting out a conſiderable Fleet, to ſecure his Subjects in their Freedom of Trade, and to vindicate the Intereſt and Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation. Sill he had one continual Misfortune attending him, the Want of ready Money: To ſupply this Defect, he ſent ſome of the Lords of his Privy-Council to move the City of *London* for the Loan of a Hundred Thouſand Pounds upon this extraordinary Occaſion. The Common-Council of the City, who were ſenſible of their Sufferings in Trade, readily comply'd with his Majeſty's Requeſt, and voted an immediate Supply of that Sum, which was to be repaid upon moderate Terms concerted with the Lord Treaſurer.

The King demands Reparation of the States of Holland.

In the mean Time, Sir *George Downing*, upon the dilatory Meaſures taken by the *States*, came over into *England* for more private and poſitive Inſtructions; and returning back, held ſeveral Conſultations with the Deputies of the *States*, and deliver'd in ſeveral Particulars of the Damages and Injuries ſuſtain'd by the *Engliſh*: For which he a ſecond Time demanded Reparation. The *States* had no preſent Inclination to a War, and leſs to anſwer the Greatneſs of theſe Demands; therefore they again declin'd giving any expreſs Anſwer, and artfully deferr'd all Propoſals of making Satisfaction. The King underſtood their crafty Deſign to be, the keeping him in Suſpence till they had got home their ſeveral rich Fleets of Merchant-Men; and therefore reſolv'd to intercept them in the *Channel*, by Way of Repriſal, without waiting the Ceremony of a declared War. The Heer *Van Goch* was ſent as an Ambaſſador from the *States* to endeavour an Accommodation, and had a ſolemn Audience of the King on *June* the 25th. His firſt Diſcourſe was upon the Affairs that concern'd the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies of *Holland*: Upon which the King, among other Reaſons told him, 'That it was not 'to be ſuffer'd, That the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company, only by the Means of a 'few Forts and three or four Ships, ſhou'd pretend to render the 'Coaſts of *Africa* inacceſſible to all others, by blocking up the Havens, 'againſt their Commerce, and keeping them off, and driving them from 'every Place.' The Ambaſſador reply'd, 'That all Difficulties about that 'Affair were terminated by the laſt Treaty; and that it ought to be ex-'amin'd whether the *Dutch* had acted contrary to it;' and after that made his Complaints of ſome Hoſtile Attempts of Captain *Holms* on the Coaſt of *Guiny*. To which the King made him the ſame Anſwer he had

They ſend their Ambaſſador into England.

1664. Car. 16 Ref. 5. formerly done upon the like Subject, 'That he had not the leaſt Know-'ledge of that at preſent;' and ſo proceeded to complain of the great Naval Preparations that were making in *Holland*. The Ambaſſador anſwer'd, 'That theſe were chiefly for the great Convoys they were forc'd 'to allow their Merchant Ships, for the Security of their Commerce;' praying his Majeſty withal, 'That he wou'd give Order, as the *States* 'wou'd do on their Side, That Nothing might paſs between the two 'Fleets, that might interrupt the good Correſpondence ſetled between 'the two Nations.' Soon after the Ambaſſador preſented a Memorial concerning the extraordinary Naval Preparations in *England*, with a Renewal of ſome former Complaints againſt Captain *Holms*, and the Forbidding the Importation of *Dutch* Commodities into the Kingdom. The King gave the ſame Anſwer concerning Captain *Holms*; and that his forbidding the *Dutch* Commodities was upon the Account of a contagious Diſeaſe then reigning in *Holland*. Shortly after he wrote a Letter to the *States*, declaring his great Deſire to maintain the Peace; but then added, *That he ſaw with great Regret, that they went not about to give any Satisfaction to the* Engliſh *for their Loſſes*; and concluded with a Proteſtation before God and Man, *That they wou'd be guilty of all the Inconveniencies, and fatal Conſequences, if a ſpeedy Reparation was not made.*

The King's Answer to the States.

During theſe mutual Repreſentations, the *French* King by his Ambaſſadors at *London* and the *Hague*, preſented his Mediation in order to accommodate the growing Differences between theſe two Powers; which the *United Provinces* agreeably receiv'd, but *England* refus'd, till ſome Reparation was made: Which ſhortly after occaſion'd the Ambaſſadors of that Crown to return home ill ſatisfy'd. In the mean Time the *Engliſh* King made it his Buſineſs, and his great Pleaſure, to viſit his Docks and Ports in Perſon; and gave Orders for fitting and furniſhing a Fleet with all Expedition imaginable, to be under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, and to ſail for *Guiny*, if the *Dutch* Fleet under Admiral *Obdam* ſhou'd happen to paſs the *Channel*, and purſue their intended Voyage to thoſe Coaſts. Accordingly, on the 15th of *October*, Prince *Rupert*, with his Squadron of Sixteen Men of War, came to the *Spit-head*; and in the Beginning of *November* the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, went down to *Portſmouth*; and joyning with the Prince and the Earl of *Sandwich*, took charge of the Fleet, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror upon the Coaſts of *Holland*, that *Obdam* was willing to lye ſtill with his Navy at the *Goree*, while the *Dutch Bourdeaux* Fleet, homewards bound with Wine and Brandy, fell moſt of them into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; and, together with other laden Ships, to the Number of above a hundred and thirty, were brought into the *Engliſh* Ports, and condemn'd for lawful Prizes by the Admiralty, tho' no War had been actually declared. This Proceeding was thought to be more arbitrary than was allow'd by the Law of Nations; and yet it muſt not be forgot that *De Ruyter*, the *Dutch* Admiral, did the ſame Year diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* of their Factories in *Cape Verd*, and the Iſle of *Gogee*, and committed other Hoſtilities, while there was all the Appearance of Friendſhip and Alliance. However, it is further Juſtice to obſerve, that this Way of Dealing was no Foreign Project, and Intrigue of the preſent Miniſtry, as ſome repreſent it, but it was the Voice of the Parliament and People of *England*, and eſpecially the Cry of all the great Merchants and Traders. The City of *London* was ſo fill'd with Reſentments againſt the *Dutch* for Engroſſing and Uſurping upon their Navigation and Commerce, that they not only lent a Hundred Thouſand Pounds upon this Occaſion, as

The King's Preparations and Proceedings.

The Forwardneſs of London.

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is before remember'd; but, when the King wanted another like Sum ſhortly after, they advanc'd it with the ſame Freedom and Alacrity. 1664.

It is hard to determine the Juſtice, or exactly to ſtate the Caſe of a War beginning between two contending Nations who were Rivals, perhaps, more in Trade than Power; and whoſe increaſing Pretenſions and Complaints are not eaſily to be number'd. Yet it may not be improper to let the Reader know how the Caſe in ſhort was ſtated by Mr. Secretary *Bennet* to Ambaſſador *Fanſhaw*, in a Letter to him this Year, dated *Sep.* 29, in which, after other Matters, he proceeds thus: 'The Par- 'liament complains to the King, upon the Diſquiſition made by them into 'the Impediments to the common Trade of the Kingdom, *That the Vi- 'olences and Depredations of the* Hollanders *had much prejudic'd it.* His 'Majeſty anſwers them, *That he wou'd enquire into it, and ſee Juſtice 'done.* The Parliament thanks his Majeſty for it, and ſaith, *That in the 'Proſecution thereof, they will ſtand by him with their Lives and For- 'tunes.* This Compliment was accepted by his Majeſty with that Kindneſs 'it deſerved; but nothing further proceeded upon it, ſave the calling hither 'Sir *George Downing*, to be inform'd rightly of our Grievances. This, 'I ſay, was the only Thing done on our Side. Now ſee what they did 'on theirs: They preſently vote the ſetting out thirty Sail of Ships, and 'work *Sundays* and *Holy-Days* to make them ready with all poſſible Ex- 'pedition. Upon all this, may it not fairly be ſaid, If I diſpoſe my ſelf 'to ask a Man Satisfaction, in the Form agreed of, for Wrong done to 'me, and the Man betake himſelf to his Arms, draw his Sword, and 'cock his Piſtol; may it not, I ſay, fairly be ſaid, *That the Man beha- 'ving himſelf ſo, is the Peace-Breaker, and War follow upon it, and not 'I? Is not the Peace broken till I have the Sword or the Piſtol ſhot in 'my Body?* The Truth is, they are not only to blame in the Continuance 'of many Wrongs and Injuries done us heretofore, but in endeavouring 'thus violently to ſupport them; in which they are encourag'd by the 'great Power and Vogue the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies have over 'that Government, being the principal Members of it, and who care 'not how dear it coſt the Publick, to maintain the Wealth of their Trade; 'which the Common People begin to ſee, and when they feel it a little 'more, will certainly mutiny againſt it. Car. 16 Reſ. 5.

The Juſtice of the War ſtated.

Rot. Parl. Intelligencer. *Philips. Kennet. Wood. Langbain* &c.

XII. 1. Thus ſtood the Affairs of *England* with Reſpect to Foreign Countries when the Parliament met again, according to Prorogation, on the 24th Day of *November*, after a Receſs of a little above ſix Months. This was the Fifth Meeting or Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament; which was open'd by a very handſome Speech made by the King, which at this Time was harkned to with great Eagerneſs and Expectation; and, without any Abridgement, is as follows: '*My Lords and 'Gentlemen*, When we parted laſt in this Place, I did not think we 'ſhou'd meet here again till *November*, though I prorogu'd you but to a Day 'in *Auguſt*: But muſt now tell you, that if I cou'd have ſuſpected, or 'reaſonably have imagin'd, that our Neighbours wou'd have dealt ſo un- 'neighbourly with me, and have forc'd me to make ſuch Preparations, 'as they have done, for my Defence, at ſo vaſt an Expence: I ſay, if I 'cou'd have foreſeen in *Auguſt*, that they wou'd have treated me thus, 'I ſhou'd not have prevented your coming together then. Yet truely 'I have Reaſon to be glad that it hath been deferr'd thus long: You have 'had Leiſure to attend your own Conveniencies in the Country, and 'the Publick Service there; and I have been able to let our Neighbours 'ſee that I can defend my ſelf and my Subjects againſt their Inſolence, 'upon the Stock of my own Credit and Reputation: And that when I

The FIFTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

1664. Car. 16 Ref. 5.

'find it neceſſary for the Good of my People, I can ſet out a Fleet to 'Sea, which will not decline meeting with all their Naval Power, even 'before the Parliament come together; which I am perſwaded if they 'had believ'd poſſible, they wou'd not ſo importunately have preſs'd me to it. 'I will not deny to you, I have done more than I thought I cou'd have 'done, which I impute to the Credit your Vote gave me, and to the 'Opinion all Men had, *That I did what you wiſh'd I ſhou'd do*, by bor-'rowing very liberally for my ſelf out of my own Stores, and by the 'kind and chearful Aſſiſtance the City of *London* hath given me, I have 'a Fleet now at Sea, *Worthy of the* Engliſh *Nation*; and, to ſay no more, 'not inferior to any that hath been ſet out in any Age; and which (if I 'may uſe all Freedom with you) to diſcharge to Morrow, and to reple-'niſh all my Stores, wou'd coſt me little leſs than eight hundred thouſand 'Pounds. What hath paſs'd between me and the *Dutch*, and by what 'Degrees, Accidents and Provocations, I have been neceſſitated to the 'Preparation and Expence I have made, you ſhall be told when I have 'done. I ſhall only tell you, that if I had proceeded more ſlowly, I 'ſhou'd have expos'd my own Honour, and the Honour of the Nation, 'and ſhou'd have ſeem'd not confident of your Affections, and the Aſ-'ſurance you gave me *to ſtand by me on this Occaſion.* That which 'I am now very earneſtly to deſire, and indeed expect from you, is, 'that you will uſe all poſſible Expedition in your Reſolutions, leaſt 'that by unneceſſary Formalities the World ſhou'd think that I have 'not your chearful Concurrence in what is done; and that you are not 'forward enough in the Support of it, which I am ſure you will be: 'and that in raiſing the Supplies you take ſure Order, that when the Ex-'pence is Obvious and Certain, the Supply be as Real and Subſtantial, not 'Imaginary, as the laſt *Subſidies* were, which you all well enough underſtand.

'*Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I know 'not whether it be worth my Pains to endeavour to remove a vile Jea-'louſy which ſome ill Men ſcatter abroad, and which, I am ſure, will 'never ſink into the Breaſt of any Man who is worthy to ſit upon your 'Benches, *That when you have given me a noble and proportionable Sup-'ply for the Support of a War, I may be induced by ſome evil Counſel-'lors* (for they will be thought to think very reſpectfully of my own Per-'ſon) *to make a ſudden Peace, and get all that Mony for my own private 'Occaſions.* I am ſure you all think it an unworthy Jealouſie, and not to 'deſerve an Anſwer. I wou'd not be thought to have ſo brutiſh an Inclina-'tion *to love War for War's Sake:* God knows, I deſire no Bleſſing in the 'World ſo much as that I may live to ſee a firm Peace between all Chri-'ſtian Princes and States. But let me tell you, and you may be confi-'dent of it, That when I am compell'd to enter into a War for the Pro-'tection, Honour and Benefit of my Subjects; I will, God willing, not 'make a Peace, but upon the obtaining and ſecuring thoſe Ends for 'which the War is enter'd into: And when that can be done, no good 'Man will be ſorry for the Determination of it. To conclude, *My 'Lords and Gentlemen*, I conjure you all, in your ſeveral Stations, to uſe 'all poſſible Expedition, That our Friends and our Enemies may ſee, 'That I am poſſeſs'd of your Hearts, and that we move with one Soul, 'and I am ſure you will not deceive my Expectation.

After his Majeſty had finiſh'd his Speech, he further declared to them, 'That he did intend the Lord Chancellor ſhou'd have made *a Narrative 'concerning the Treaty and Manner of Proceedings with the* Dutch; but the Chancellor being laid up with the Gout, he had caus'd the Narrative to be put into Writing, which being ſign'd by his Majeſty, was deliver'd to both Houſes. It is not improbable but that the Chancellor's Di-

Diſtemper at this Time was more Political than Real; and that he was willing to be abſent from Parliament at a Time when there appear'd ſo much Zeal for a War, to which he was always moſt averſe. He and the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton* ſeem'd much of an Opinion, and were ſenſible of the Miſchiefs that might happen to the Nation by entering into a War without proper Alliance with the Neighbour Princes. The King himſelf was not ſo heartily warm as ſome others; but his Brother the Duke of *York*, being prompted by his private Intereſt, as well as publick Courage, appear'd ſo vigorous, as ſeem'd much to have caſt the Scale in this Affair. How divided ſoever the Court was, the Parliament prov'd unanimous, and the very next Day after the King's Speech, both Houſes agreed in theſe two Reſolutions; Firſt, 'That the humble Thanks 'of both Houſes be preſented to his Majeſty for his moſt gracious *Speech*, 'and *Narrative*, to his two Houſes of Parliament, and his great Care 'of the Preſervation of the Honour, and Safety, and Trade of the Na-'tion, by his Preparations for the Defence thereof againſt the *Dutch*; and 'that his Majeſty wou'd give leave that his Speech may be printed. The next was, 'That the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament be given 'to the City of *London* for their Forwardneſs in aſſiſting his Majeſty; and 'in particular, by furniſhing him with ſeveral great Sums of Mony to-'wards his Preparations for the Honour, Safety, and Trade of this Na-'tion.' This laſt was ſolemnly done by ſix Lords and twelve Commoners, who met with a Reception more ſplendid and pompous than cou'd well have been expected. At the ſame Time the Houſe of Commons let the King know, 'That they cou'd not ſufficiently expreſs their 'Loyalty and Affection to his Majeſty, nor the deep Senſe which they 'all had of the Injuries and Violations committed by the *Dutch*: That 'they had conſider'd the Burden of his Majeſty's Expences, and the 'Neceſſity of his Naval Preparations; and begg'd leave to aſſure him of 'their Readineſs and Conſtancy to yield him all the Duties of Aſſi-'ſtance and Obedience with their Lives and Fortunes: Accordingly they 'Reſolv'd, *That five and twenty hundred thouſand Pounds Supply ſhall 'be raiſed for his Majeſty, in three Years, and apply'd towards the Main-'tenance of the* Dutch *War*.' This was a Sum ſo great and unuſual at this Time, that it rais'd a Terror in *Holland*, and a Wonder in the Neighbouring Nations. Within three Weeks Time they went through the *Ways* and *Means* of raiſing this Sum, which at this Time was not eaſy to do; and ſo both Houſes adjourn'd till the 12th Day of *January*, and ſo had a ſhort Receſs of near a Month.

1664. Car. 16 Reſ. 5.

The Chancellor not for the War.

The Parliament unanimous for it.

The great Reſolve of the Commons.

Immediately upon the Receſs, the King publiſh'd the following Declaration concerning *Letters of General Repriſals*: 'His Majeſty having 'taken into Conſideration the Injuries, Affronts and Spoils done by the '*Eaſt* and *Weſt India* Companies, and others, the Subjects of the *States* 'of the *United-Provinces*, to the Ships, Goods and Perſons of his Sub-'jects, extending to their grievous Damages, and amounting to vaſt Sums; 'and notwithſtanding many and frequent *Demands* made by his Majeſty 'to the ſaid *States* for Redreſs and Reparation, yet none cou'd ever be 'obtain'd from them; hath, with the Advice of his Privy-Council, 'thought fit and order'd, That *General Repriſals* be granted againſt the 'Ships, Goods and Subjects of the ſaid *States*; ſo that his Majeſty's 'Fleets and Ships, and all other Ships and Veſſels commiſſioned by *Let-'ters of Marque*, or *General Repriſal*, by his Royal Highneſs the Duke 'of *York*, ſhall and may lawfully ſeize all Ships, *&c.* belonging to the '*States*, or any of their Subjects, and bring the ſame to Judgment in the '*Admiralty-Court*: And that the ſaid *Court of Admiralty* is hereby autho-'riz'd to proceed thereupon according to the *Courſe of Admiralty*, and *Law*

The King's Declaration concerning Letters of Mart.

of

1664. Car. 16 Ref. 5. ‘ *of Nations*; and to adjudge and condemn the ſame accordingly. And ‘ further, that foraſmuch as by Order and Direction of his Majeſty many ‘ of the Ships and Goods belonging to the ſaid *States*, and their Subjects, ‘ have been already ſeiz'd, and remain now under Cuſtody; his Majeſty ‘ doth order and declare, That all the ſaid Ships and Goods ſo taken and ‘ ſeiz'd, *&c.* ſhall ſtand ſubject to the ſaid *General Repriſals*, and be pro- ‘ceeded againſt by the *Court of Admiralty* thereupon, according to the ‘ *Courſe of Admiralty*, and *Laws of Nations*, in final Judgment and ‘ Condemnation.

166⅘. 2. After a ſhort Receſs, and the ſumptuous Diverſions of *Chriſtmaſs*, the Parliament met again, and proceeded to the grand Buſineſs of the Nation: and the King having Notice of the Compleating the great Mony-Bill, upon the 9th Day of *February* he came to the Houſe of Peers, where Sir *Edward Turner* the Commons Speaker preſented him with the Bill, with the following Speech, which he pronounc'd with his uſual graceful Manner: ‘ *May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty*, The laſt ‘ Seſſion of this Parliament, the Lords and Commons did humbly pre- ‘ ſent unto your Majeſty the many Wrongs and Indignities done to your ‘ Majeſty, and the many Injuries done to your Merchants by the Subjects ‘ of the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*; and did moſt humbly ‘ beſeech your Majeſty That ſome effectual Courſe might be taken for ‘ Redreſs thereof. Your Majeſty at the Opening of this Seſſion was ‘ graciouſly pleas'd to acquaint your two Houſes, That in Purſuance of ‘ their Deſires, you had by your Agent required Satisfaction: But that ‘ Way prov'd ineffectual, and many freſh Provocations given, whereby ‘ your Majeſty was neceſſitated to a Warlike Preparation; by the ſpeedy ‘ Diſpatch whereof you had let your Neighbours ſee, *That you cou'd defend ‘ your Self and your Subjects againſt their Inſolence, upon the Stock of ‘ your own Credit, before your Parliament came together.* And now, Sir, ‘ give me leave to ſay; Your Neighbours may ſee, how a Great King may ‘ be made Greater by his Parliament. Your Loyal Commons after they ‘ had convened, did not ſuffer Four and Twenty Hours to paſs, be- ‘ fore they moſt chearfully gave your Majeſty more than Four and Twen- ‘ ty Hundred Thouſand Pounds.—*Great Sir*, Your Lords and Com- ‘ mons will not only yield Obedience with their Bodies, but with their ‘ Purſes alſo: In Token whereof I do, in the Name of all the Commons ‘ of *England*, preſent unto your Majeſty this Bill, whereby we have gi- ‘ ven unto your Majeſty a *Royal Aid of Four and Twenty hundred ſeven- ‘ ty ſeven Thouſand and Five Hundred Pounds, to be paid in three Years ‘ by Twelve Quarterly Payments, to begin from the 25th of* December ‘ *laſt*. And we do humbly beſeech your Majeſty to accept it as a preg- ‘ nant Demonſtration of our moſt unfeigned Duty and Thankfulneſs to ‘ your Majeſty.’ To which his Majeſty, in a ſhort Reply, ‘ Return'd ‘ his hearty Thanks, with a generous Aſſurance That the Mony ſhou'd ‘ be expended to the Advantage and Satisfaction of his People.

The Speaker's Speech at the Paſſing the Mony-Bill.

The Parliament having thus ſhewn the Senſe of the People by this Royal Aid, and the Hearts of the trading Part of the Nation being now entirely turn'd againſt the *Dutch*, the King order'd the drawing up a formal Declaration of War, ſign'd and approv'd the 22d of *February*, and is as follows: ‘ Whereas upon Complaint of the ſeveral Injuries, Af- ‘ fronts, and Spoils done by the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies, and o- ‘ ther the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, unto and upon the Ships, ‘ Goods, and Perſons of our Subjects, to their grievous Damages, and ‘ amounting to vaſt Sums; inſtead of Reparation and Satisfaction, which ‘ hath been by us frequently demanded, we found that Orders had been ‘ given

The King's Declaration of War againſt the States *of* Holland.

'given to *De Ruyter*, not only to abandon the Conſortſhip againſt the Pyrates of the *Mediterranean* Seas, to which the *States-General* had invited us, but alſo to uſe all Acts of Depredation and Hoſtility againſt our Subjects in *Africa*. We therefore gave Order for the detaining the Ships belonging to the States of the *United Provinces*, their Subjects, and Inhabitants: Yet notwithſtanding we did not give any Commiſſion for *Letters of Mart*, nor were there any *Proceedings* againſt the Ships detain'd, until we had a clear and undeniable Evidence that *De Ruyter* had put the ſaid Orders in Execution, by ſeizing ſeveral of our Subjects Ships and Goods. But now finding by theſe freſh Injuries and Actings of theirs, and the Intelligence we have had of their great Preparations for War, and their granting of *Letters of Mart* againſt our People, that both our Forbearance, and the other Remedies we have us'd to bring them to a Compliance with us, have prov'd ineffectual, and that they are reſolv'd what they have done by Wrong, to maintain by Arms and War againſt us:

'We have therefore thought fit, by and with the Advice of our Privy Council, to declare, and do hereby declare to all the World, *That the ſaid* States *are the Aggreſſors, and that they ought in Juſtice to be ſo look'd upon by all Men*; ſo that as well our Fleets and Ships, as all other Ships and Veſſels that ſhall be commiſſionated by *Letters of Mart* from our dear Brother the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, ſhall and may lawfully fight with, ſubdue, ſeize, and take all Ships, Veſſels, and Goods belonging to the *States* of the *United Provinces*, or any of their Subjects or Inhabitants within any of their Territories. And we do hereby command as well all our own Subjects, as advertiſe all other Perſons of what Nation ſoever, not to tranſport or carry any Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or any other Contraband Goods, to any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or Countries of the ſaid *States* of the *United Provinces*; *Declaring*, That whatſoever Ship or Veſſel ſhall be met withal, tranſporting or carrying any Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or other Contraband Goods to any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or Countries of the ſaid *States* of the *United Provinces*, the ſame being taken, ſhall be condemn'd as good and lawful Prize. And we do farther *Declare*, That whatſoever Ship or Veſſel, of what Nation ſoever, ſhall be met withal, having any Goods, Merchandizes, or any Number of Perſons in her belonging to the ſaid *States* of the *United Provinces*, or any of their Subjects or Inhabitants, the Whole being taken, ſhall be adjudg'd as good and lawful Prize. As likewiſe all Goods and Merchandizes, of what Nation ſoever, whether of our Own or of Foreigners, that ſhall be laden aboard any Ship or Veſſel that ſhall belong to the *States* of the *United Provinces*, or any of their Subjects, or any inhabiting with them, and ſhall be taken, the Whole ſhall be condemn'd as good and lawful Prize; except the ſaid Ship or Veſſel hath Ours, or our dear Brother's *Letters of ſafe Conduct* granted to them. And to the End that due Intimation and Publication of this our *Declaration* may be made, and publick Notice thereof be taken, it is our Will and Pleaſure that this our preſent *Declaration* be publiſh'd in due and uſual Form.' It is obſervable that tho' this *Declaration* was approv'd of by no leſs than Two and Twenty of the Privy Council, whoſe Names are plac'd in the Front, yet we find that neither the Chancellor *Clarendon*, nor the Treaſurer *Southampton*, were, or wou'd be concern'd in this great and difficult Affair.

1665. Car. 17 Reſ. 5.

2. Several

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The Speaker's Speech at the Prorogation of the Parliament.

3. Several Bills being got ready for the Royal Aſſent, and a Prorogation being reſolv'd on, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, where Sir *Edward Turner*, the Commons Speaker, preſented the Bills with the following Speech, which beſt ſhews the Nature of them. 'May it pleaſe 'your moſt Excellent Majeſty, The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of 'the Commons Houſe of Parliament, having in the Beginning of this 'Seſſion apply'd themſelves to the Aiding of your Majeſty in your Na- 'val Preparations, have of late conſider'd of ſome Bills that may be moſt 'grateful to the People, either in redreſſing things that are grievous to 'them, or in advancing their Trade and Commerce; which are the Life 'and Soul of the Nation. *Evil Manners produce good Laws*; but the 'beſt Laws in Time may grow obſolete: And ſuch is the wicked Nature 'of Man, that when he cannot by Force break through a Law, he will 'by Fraud and Tricks endeavour to evade it. I may with great Truth 'affirm, the Common Law of *England* is the beſt Municipal Law in the 'World; and yet if the Legiſlative Power were not ready to counter- 'mine the Works, and make up the Breaches that are daily made upon 'it, the Sons of *Zeruiah* wou'd be too ſtrong for us. We have now 'preſented to your Majeſty ſeveral Bills *for the Regulation of the Law*, 'which will ſerve to prune ſome exuberant Branches, and ſo pull away 'the Ivy that robb'd this Tree of her juſt Nouriſhment: And if your 'Majeſty be now pleas'd graciouſly to ſhine upon her, ſhe will flouriſh 'in great Abundance, to the Content of your Majeſty, and all your 'People.

'*Coſmographers* do agree, That this Iſland is incomparably furniſh'd 'with pleaſant Rivers, like Veins in the natural Body, which convey the 'Blood into all the Parts, whereby the Whole is nouriſh'd and made 'uſeful. Therefore we have prepared ſome Bills *for making ſmall Ri- 'vers navigable*; a thing that in other Countries hath been more experi- 'enc'd, and hath been found very advantagious: It eaſeth the People of 'their great Charge of Land Carriages, preſerves the High-ways, which 'are daily worn out with Waggons carrying exceſſive Burthens: It breeds 'up a Nurſery of Watermen, which upon Occaſion will prove good Sea- 'men, and with much more Facility maintains Intercourſe and Commu- 'nication between Cities and Countries. We have been very much af- 'fected with the Cries and Wants of the Poor this hard Seaſon, eſpeci- 'ally thoſe who are about this Town, who are ready to ſtarve for want 'of Fuel, the Price of Coals being ſo unreaſonably enhanc'd by the ex- 'torting Engroſſers. We have therefore, for their preſent and future 'Eaſe, prepared a Bill authorizing the *Lord Mayor and Court of Alder- 'men of the City of* London, *and three Juſtices of Peace within the 'County, from Time to Time to ſet the Prices of Coals, having Regard 'to the Price paid by the Importer, and other emergent Charges.* And 'now, *Great Sir*, having finiſh'd our preſent Counſels, we hope your 'Majeſty will give us Leave to return for a Time into our Countries, 'where in our ſeveral Spheres we ſhall be ready to ſerve you with our 'Perſons and our Purſes, and alſo with our Prayers to the great God of 'Hoſts, *That he will be pleas'd to ſtrengthen your Hands in the Day of 'Battel, and make you Victorious over all your Enemies both at home and 'abroad.*

The King's Speech.

In paſſing theſe Bills, the King, in a ſhort Speech, gave in ſpecial Charge to the Members of the Houſe of Commons, 'That upon their Return 'into their reſpective Countries, they wou'd as well make it their Buſi- 'neſs to ſee the Supply, they had now granted this Seſſion, Equally laid 'upon Particulars, that there might be no Cauſe of Complaint; as he

'Himſelf

'Himſelf had made it his Royal Care that there might be no Diſpro- 166⅘.
'portion upon the Countries themſelves, by making an Abatement, Car. 17
'where any of them appear'd over-burden'd.' After which he prorogu'd Reſ. 5.
both Houſes till the 21ſt of *June*, then to the Firſt of *Auguſt*, and laſtly to the 9th of *October*. Thus ended the Fifth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd Three Months and Six Days, to the ſingular Satisfaction of the King and People at home, and to the Terror of ſome, and the Wonder of other neighbouring Nations abroad.

The End of the Fifth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

4. During this Parliament there began a very extraordinary Change in the Liberties and Properties of the Clergy of *England*, by altering the Way of Taxing themſelves as formerly, and being tax'd in Common with the People in Parliament. It is to be obſerv'd, that by the Original Conſtitution of the Nation, the Lords Spiritual and Prelates and Clergy were eſteem'd one of the *Three Eſtates* of the Realm, and therefore met in *Convocation* on the Civil Account of Giving their own Money, and Securing their own Secular Rights and Liberties. This Right of Taxing themſelves, and of not being Tax'd by Parliaments, had been inviolably obſerv'd before, as well as after the Reformation; only with this ſmall Difference, that after the Reformation, their Grants of *Subſidy*, for the more Certainty of collecting of them, were uſually confirm'd by Acts of Pa liament; and yet they gave *Benevolences* as formerly, to be levy'd and paid according to Rules and Conſtitutions of their own Making. The Rebellion in the late Reign, and the following Uſurpations, were the firſt that broke in upon this peculiar Priviledge: For the Miniſters of thoſe Times, either out of voluntary Compliance, Affectation of Popularity, or for Want of Proxies to repreſent their Body, had their Benefices tax'd with the Laity, in the pretended Parliaments. But at the King's Reſtoration, this ancient Right of the Church was recover'd with him; and thus the Matter continu'd for the firſt four Years. But now, as it appear'd, ſome of the Biſhops and Clergy fell into Sentiments very different from thoſe of their Predeceſſors. They began to think this cuſtomary Method of Taxing Themſelves, ſomewhat burthenſom: They probably thought the Expectations of the Court might be ſet too high upon them this Way; and that the Commons were often diſcontented, unleſs they over-charg'd themſelves, and ſwell'd their *Subſidies* beyond a reaſonable Proportion. We ſhall not examine how well theſe Jealouſies were founded; but it is ſaid, That the Apprehenſion of theſe and other Inconveniences, brought Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, and ſome other leading Prelates, into a Concert with Chancellor *Clarendon*, Treaſurer *Southampton*, and ſome others of the Miniſtry. And now at a Conſultation it was concluded, That the Clergy ſhou'd ſilently wave the ancient Cuſtom of Taxing their own Body, and ſuffer themſelves to be included in the Money Bills prepared by the Houſe of Commons: And to encourage their Aſſent to this Ceſſion, Two of their four *Subſidies*, they had granted laſt Year, were to be remitted; and over and above, they had the Promiſe of a Clauſe *For Saving their Ancient Rights*.

A great Change in the Rights of the Clergy.

This being comply'd withal, the Security was accordingly given, and a very clear comprehenſive *Proviſo* inſerted in the *Act for Ganting a Royal Aid unto the King's Majeſty*, which ought not to be forgot. It ſtands thus; 'Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority afore-'ſaid, That all Spiritual Promotions, and all Lands, Poſſeſſions or Re-'venues annex'd to, and all Goods and Chattels growing, or renew'd 'upon the ſame or elſewhere, appertaining to the Owners of the ſaid Spi-'ritual Promotions, or any of them, which are or ſhall be charg'd, or

They ſubmit be tax'd by t Parliament,

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'made contributing to this Act towards the Payment aforesaid, during 'the Time therein appointed (*which was to be rais'd, levy'd and paid 'in the Space of Three Years*) shall be absolutely freed and discharg'd 'from the two last of the four *Subsidies* granted by the Clergy to his 'Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, by an Act made in the former Ses- 'sion of this present Parliament, Entituled, *An Act for confirming of 'four Subsidies granted by the Clergy*, any Clause or Thing in the said 'Act to the contrary notwithstanding.—Provided always, That Nothing 'herein contain'd, shall be drawn into Example to the Prejudice of the 'Ancient Rights belonging unto the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, or 'Clergy of this Realm, or unto either of the said Universities, or unto any 'Colledges, Schools, Alms-Houses, Hospitals, or Cinque-ports. Not- withstanding this Saving *Proviso*, which has expresly secured all Rights, the Clergy seem'd to have acquiesc'd for the future, and never after re- assum'd their great Claim; and from this Time, during the whole Reign, the Convocation met principally for Form Sake. The Parochial Clergy however gain'd one Priviledge, which they had not before, which was their Voting for Members of the House of Commons: But whether they were Gainers or Losers in the Whole, has been a Matter of some Dispute; yet we think a little Consideration may determine whether the Gaining of the latter Priviledge be a full Compensation for the Waving, if not the Losing the Former.

The War proclaim'd against the Dutch.

Within two Days after the Breaking up of the Parliament, *March* 4, the King's *Declaration* against the *Dutch* was publickly read and proclaim'd by the several Heralds and Serjeants in *Westminster* and *London*, after a very pompous and solemn Manner. And thus *England*, after it had a breathing Time of less than five Years, was involv'd in a very hazardous and expensive War.

And here we shall conclude both the Year, and the Period, with the Deaths of a few eminent Persons, who ought not to be altogether forgotten in History; and first we shall mention a great Prelate, Dr. *Accepted Frewen*, Archbishop of the Province of *York*, a Person educated in *Oxford*, and made President of *Magdalen* Colledge in that University, where he shew'd himself a particular Friend to Archbishop *Laud*. By Reason of his Parts and Abilities he was appointed to attend the late King, when Prince of *Wales*, in his Courtship in *Spain*, always shewing himself a general Scholar and a good Orator; by which Endowments he rais'd himself through several Preferments, and particularly the Bishoprick of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, to the high Station in which he dy'd, and where he left a worthy Character behind him. He was succeeded by an eminent Man, Dr. *Richard Sterne*, Bishop of *Carlisle*. Next to him we shall take Notice of two great Divines of the Church of *England*, Dr. *John Barwick*, and Mr. *Jeremy Stephens*: The former was a *Westmoreland* Man, educated in, and made Fellow of St. *John*'s Colledge in the University of *Cambridge*, and after that Prebendary of the Church of *Durham*; out of both which he was ejected, and, notwithstanding his pious Behaviour, us'd with inhuman Barbarities: All these he bore with a noble Constancy, and still kept an uninterrupted Correspondence with Chancellor *Hyde* beyond the Seas, and was not only very assisting to the Necessities of the King in his Exile, but was particularly instrumental in the Restoration it self; for which, after the King's Return, he was rewarded first with the Deanery of *Durham*, and then with that of St. *Paul's*, in which Preferment he left the World, when he had a just Expectation of something still greater. He was succeeded by Dr. *William Sancroft*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The next, Mr. *Stephens*, was a learned *Oxonian* by Education, who, after no very long

The Deaths of Archbishop Frewen,

Dr. Barwick,

Mr. Stephens,

Continu-

Continuance in that Univerſity, remov'd into the Country, where he took up with the Livings of *Quinton* and *Wotton* in the County of *Northampton*; from whence he was ejected by the prevailing Party, plunder'd, impriſon'd, and ſilenc'd. He was remarkably diſtinguiſh'd for his learned Skill in Antiquities, and was intimately acquainted and highly aſſiſting to the famous Sir *Henry Spelman*, in his Volume of the *Councils*, his *Hiſtory of Sacriledge*, and other Works of great Value: Upon the King's Return, he was reſtored to his Livings, but met with no further Reward than a Prebendary of *Salisbury*. In the next Place we ought not to forget one of the other Sex, Mrs. *Catharine Philips*, a marry'd Lady or Widow, whoſe Maiden Name was *Fowler*, but moſt commonly and very juſtly call'd *The matchleſs* ORINDA; a Perſon of that admirable Merit and Reputation for Poetry, that ſhe is believ'd to have equall'd at leaſt the Poeteſſes of Antiquity, the *Lesbian Sappho* and the *Roman Sulpitia*; and her Memory has been celebrated by the moſt eminent Poets of the Age, the great Earls of *Orrery* and *Roſcommon*, the incomparable *Cowley*, the ingenious *Flatman*, and others, who ſeem to have exhauſted their own Wit in the diſplaying of hers. This moſt excellent Lady, after ſome Removals and Travels, returning to her native City of *London*, was ſuddenly ſnatch'd away by the Small-Pox in the 31ſt Year of her Age, to the mighty Regret of great Numbers of her Admirers.

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And Mrs. Philips.

CHAP. II.

From the Publick Declaration of the Firſt War againſt the Dutch, *to the Concluſion of the Treaty of* Breda, *and the Proclaiming of the Peace.*

Containing the Space of 2 Years, 5 Months, and 3 Weeks.

Skinner. Caſtlemain. Philips. Tromp's Life. Orleans. D'Eſtrades. MSS. &c.

I. 1. FROM the Concluſion of the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and the King's glorious Reſtoration, for about five Years, there was a general and profound Peace throughout all *Chriſtendom*, except only the Remainder of a feeble War between *Spain* and *Portugal*; but now, in the Year 1665, a Fire broke out between *England* and *Holland*, which, before it cou'd be extinguiſh'd, threatned the Repoſe of many Nations. Something has already been ſaid concerning the Juſtice of this War, and of the Complaints and Provocations on both Sides. As to the latter, nothing ſeem'd to have made a more ſenſible Impreſſion upon the *Engliſh* than the Proceedings of *De Ruyter*, who deſerting the common Cauſe againſt the Pirates in the *Mediterranean*, had made great Depredations upon the *Engliſh* in *Guiney*, *Barbadoes* and *Long-Iſland*, tho' not with equal Succeſs; ingloriouſly beginning a Piratick War under the ſacred Bands of Friendſhip and Alliance. Upon which Proceedings the *Hollanders* took Occaſion to inſult the *Engliſh* for the Loſſes brought upon them by ſuch Treachery: For a *Dutch*-Man in *London*, pretending himſelf to be a *Swede*, lately come from *Guiney*, made it his profeſs'd Buſineſs and Pleaſure to report the utter Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Coaſts by *De Ruyter*; for which Inſolence he was, in the

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The Firſt DUTCH WAR.

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Beginning of the Year, whipp'd through the Streets of *London*, both as an Impoſtor and an open Enemy.

It begins with a Paper War.

All the while the *States General* affected to be ſilent, and ſeem to hope to decline the Imputation of being the real Aggreſſors; tho' both their Orders, and the Execution of them, ſufficiently diſcover'd, That they did not wait to be on the Defenſive Side. When they were charg'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador with many Inſtances of their Violation of their Faith and Honour with that Nation, they ſo far deſcended as to publiſh a diſingenuous Libel, entituled, *An Extract of the Memorials of the* States General *of the* United Provinces, *upon the Memorial of Sir* George Downing, *Envoy Extraordinary of the King of* Great Britain. In which there appear'd ſo many Invectives againſt the King, and ſo many Aſperſions upon the *Engliſh* Nation, that it put Sir *George* upon the Neceſſity of a Printed Vindication. And the *States*, as if intending no more than a Paper War, contented themſelves with Publiſhing a Second Libel call'd, *A ſummary Obſervation and Deduction deliver'd by the Deputies of the* States General, *upon the Memorial of Sir* George Downing, *Envoy*, &c. But when they ſaw the *Engliſh*, upon Denial of Satisfaction, to be in earneſt and reſolute as to a War, they ſent away Monſieur *Beuninghen* to lay their Condition, and the Proſpect of a Rupture, before the King of *France*, who gave them ſeveral Promiſes of his Favour and Protection, which were particularly grounded upon a ſecret Treaty between them in the Year 1662. And yet, to take Advantage of their Neceſſities, he order'd his Ambaſſador in *Holland* to demand the full Reſtitution of two very conſiderable *Eaſt-India* Ships, formerly taken from his Subjects; to which they were forc'd to yield with great Difficulty and Struggle, as at large appears in the Count *D'Eſtrades* Memoirs.

Encouragements given to the Dutch.

They had certainly great Expectations from the encreaſing Power of the *French* King, who had for ſeveral Years held a ſecret and diſreputable Correſpondence with their grand Penſionary *De Wit*. This great Man, being the Head of the *Louveſtine* Faction, and a mortal Enemy to the Pretenſions of the *Naſſaw* Family in *Holland*, carry'd on ſome unjuſtifiable Meaſures to ſupport his Deſigns; and having, by his great Parts and indefatigable Induſtry, gain'd a mighty Authority in *Holland*, he became the greateſt Obſtacle to all Terms of Reconciliation, and the chief Promoter of the Hatred between his Country-Men and the *Engliſh*; in all which he ſeem'd tranſported by an unwarrantable Zeal and Jealouſy for the Liberty of the Common-Wealth. The *Dutch* being by his Party gradually rous'd, they proceeded to that Arrogance, as to give it out among the People, 'That the Affairs of *England* were in ſuch an ill Poſture, that the Civil War being lately ended, they had not Mony ſufficient to make War abroad; and that the King was as yet ſo inſecurely eſtabliſh'd in his Government, that he cou'd not revenge the Injuries of Foreigners: That it was not ſafe for him to truſt Arms in the Hands of his Subjects, which afterwards they might be unwilling to lay down. That the *Engliſh* were not now the ſame formidable Enemies as the *Dutch* had found them under the *Rump-Parliament*; and that the warlike Fierceneſs of the Nation was gone off with the *Sectarians*, and that none remain'd amongſt them but a Company of ignorant Cowards: That there were a great many *Diſſenters* in *England*, who probably wou'd fight for the *Dutch* againſt the King, or at leaſt wou'd not fight for him againſt thoſe who were for *Liberty of Conſcience*.' Nor were there wanting a great many *Engliſh* Fugitives among the *Hollanders*, who made it their Buſineſs to cauſe theſe falſe Reports to be more credited among the People. However their Spirits were rais'd and inſtigated, the

the Earl of *Caſtlemain* obſerves, *That never were a wiſe and ſober People more deceiv'd, nor at any Time took wronger Meaſures than they.* 1665.

Things being in this Forwardneſs, on the latter End of *March*, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, animated with the Love of Fame, ſet out, with a glorious Attendance, to go on Board the *Engliſh* Fleet; which being now ready to Sail, a proper and pious Care was taken to compleat the Preparation by an Order for a *General Faſt* to be obſerv'd on *April* the 5th, *To implore the Bleſſing of God upon his Majeſty's Forces employ'd againſt the* Dutch. And it is obſervable, that the Queen-Mother and the Queen Conſort did both eminently manifeſt their Zeal on this Occaſion; and, by expreſs and particular Appointment, commanded all their Domeſticks to ſet themſelves apart with entire Abſtinence and extraordinary Devotions for the Service of the Day. When the Duke went on board, the *Dutch* were not ready to come forth; and at preſent did not ſeem in earneſt for a War: They were then ſolliciting for the Mediation of the *French* King; who, apprehending the Naval Power of *England*, accordingly ſent Meſſieurs *Venevel* and *Courtine* his Ambaſſadors Extraordinary, to the *Engliſh* Court, who arriv'd at *London April* the 6th in great State and Magnificence. Their Buſineſs was to interpoſe, and make an Accommodation between *England* and *Holland*, and particularly repreſented to the King 'The great Inconveniencies that wou'd 'happen if he carry'd on the War, or by immoderate Demands drove a 'State to Deſpair, which had great Reſources as to Mony, and had pow-'erful Friends engag'd to defend her, who wou'd not let her periſh if 'ſhe cou'd not ſupport her ſelf by her own Forces.' Several Propoſitions were made, but none prov'd acceptable to either Party at this Time; and indeed the *Dutch* themſelves were at preſent ſo ſtiff, that the *French* Ambaſſador *D' Eſtrades* wrote thus to his Maſter, 'It were to be wiſh'd 'that ſome ill Succeſs wou'd happen to the *States*, to make them more 'ſupple, and readier to give up ſome Things in order to procure an Ac-'commodation.' In the mean time all that they cou'd do for a while, was to enlarge their Embargo upon the *Engliſh*, and to provide, That none of the Subjects of that *State* ſhou'd inſure any Goods belonging to the Subjects of the King of *England*, and to prevent all Neuters to carry *contra-band* Goods to any of the Dominions of his *Britannick* Majeſty.

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Preparations of the Engliſh.

The French *interpoſe in vain.*

2. The opening of the War happen'd in *May*, when ſome of the *Engliſh* Cruſers began with good Succeſs, and took three *Dutch* Frigates; the firſt a Caper of ſeven Guns, and forty ſeven Men; the other two were *Direction* Ships; one of thirty two Guns and eighty Men, taken by the *Diamond*, in which Captain *Golding*, a brave Officer, loſt his Life; the other of twenty two Guns and ſixty Men, taken by the *Yarmouth*, after a ſtout Reſiſtance. One of theſe *Direction* Ships was commanded by young *Everts*, whom the Duke treated with ſingular Courteſy, and the King generouſly gave him his Liberty, and a hundred Pounds to carry him home, as an Acknowledgment for the good Offices he had formerly receiv'd from his Father in *Holland*. In the mean Time the Duke of *York*, with ſeveral of the Nobility, ſet ſail with the Royal Fleet of *England*, conſiſting of a hundred and ſeven Men of War, and fourteen Fireſhips, *&c.* divided into three Squadrons: The Firſt, under the *Red Flag*, was commanded by the Duke himſelf, *Pen* and *Lawſon:* The ſecond, being the *White* Squadron, was under the Conduct of Prince *Rupert*, *Minns* and *Sanſon*: And the third, which was the *Blue* Squadron, was commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich*, *Cuttins* and Sir *George Ayſcough*. With this formidable Navy the Duke of *York* ſtood off the Coaſts of *Holland*, before the *Dutch* ſo much as appear'd; and coming before

Reſ. 6.

The War opens.

1665. Car. 17 Ref. 6. before the *Texel*, he ſent in a Squadron ſo near the Shore and Harbour, that the Inhabitants were in a great Alarm and Conſternation, and erected Beacons all along the Sands from the *Texel* to the *Maeſe*, to give Notice upon any Attempt of Landing. All this Daring of the *Engliſh* cou'd not draw out the Enemies Fleet; and therefore, after the taking many rich Merchant-Men in the Mouth of their Rivers and Ports, and meeting with ſome tempeſtuous Weather, the Duke ſet Sail for the *Engliſh* Coaſts. The *Dutch* took that Advantage and Opportunity of coming out, and by the 29th of *May* appear'd about the *Dogger-Sands* with their whole Fleet, divided into ſeven Squadrons: The firſt was under Admiral *Opdam*, the ſecond under *John Everts*, the third under *Cortenaar*, the fourth under *Stillingwerf*, the fifth under *Cornelius Tromp*, the ſixth under *Cornelius Everts*, and the ſeventh was under *Schram*; the whole amounting to a hundred and three Men of War, eleven Fireſhips, ſeven Yatches, with Tenders. By the Duke's retiring from the Coaſts of *Holland*, the Enemy took the Advantage of intercepting the *Engliſh Hamburgh* Fleet, who had ſent to the Duke, lying before the *Texel*, for a Convoy, which was diſpatcht to them: And bringing them along the *Holland* Coaſts, when the Duke was ſail'd away, and unhappily miſſing of the *Roe-Ketch*, which he had ſent to meet them, and give them Notice of his Removal, they fell in with a Squadron of the *Dutch* ſent out purpoſely to attend their coming, and were moſt of them taken.

The News of this rous'd the Duke of *York*, who reſolv'd to loſe no Time in meeting the Enemy; and on the 2d of *June*, not far from the Coaſt of *Harwich*, the two greateſt Naval Powers in the World began to face each other; which was both a glorious and a terrible Sight. The *Dutch*, tho' they had the Advantage of the Wind, declin'd the preſent Engagement, as ſomething ominous, becauſe juſt that Day twelve Years, Admiral *Monk* had given them ſo remarkable an Overthrow. The next Day, very ſoon in the Morning, the Battel began with dreadful Thundrings on both Sides, loudly reſounding through all the neighbouring Shores. After they had fired at ſome Diſtance, they came to a cloſe Fight, which for ſome Time was carry'd on with great Fury on both Sides. The Duke of *York* and Admiral *Opdam* fell Side to Side into a fierce and cloſe Ingagement, with all imaginable Bravery; in which the Duke ply'd him ſo ſharply, that he not only overpower'd him, but ſo beat his own Fire upon him, that his great Ship, himſelf and his Men were all with a prodigious Concuſſion blown up into the Air. This threw the *Dutch* into a great Conſternation, and a ſignal Victory follow'd on the *Engliſh* Side, who took eighteen Capital Men of War, and ſunk and fired about fourteen more, with the Loſs of only one of theirs, the *Charity*, which had been before taken from the Enemy. We have good Reaſon to believe, that the Fleet had been totally deſtroy'd, had not one Mr. *Brunkard*, of the Duke's Bed-Chamber, prevented the Execution of his Orders the very Night after the Victory: It ſeems the Duke, having given Orders to make all Sail, and purſue the Remainder of the broken Navy, and having laid down to take a little Reſt, that Gentleman took the Liberty to tell Sir *John Harman* the Captain *he was too laviſh in expoſing the Heir of the Crown*, and counterfeited a new Order from him for ſlackning Sail, to which the other unadviſedly conſented; for which *Brunkard* was afterwards tax'd in the Houſe of Commons. The Loſs of the *Dutch* was computed at eight thouſand Men kill'd, or taken Priſoners; that of the *Engliſh* was much leſs than a thouſand, of whom about ſixty were in the Duke's Ship: Indeed they loſt ſeveral brave Men of Quality and Courage; the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Murkerry*, and the honourable Mr. *Boyl*, fell all three by one Cannon Shot, ſo near the Perſon

A general BATTEL.

The Engliſh *victorious.*

1665. Car. 17 Reſ. 6.

ſon of the Duke, that he was almoſt cover'd with their Blood and Brains, while he himſelf gave an Example of the greateſt Courage and Conduct. The Earl of *Portland*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and Reer Admiral *Sanſon*, were kill'd in the Fight, and Sir *John Lawſon* ſoon after dy'd of his Wounds. Of theſe, the renowned Earl of *Marlborough* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf both in his Valour and his pious Diſpoſition, which he particularly manifeſted in a Letter to Sir *Hugh Pollard* ſome time before the Battel; in which he nobly vindicated Religion againſt all Infidels and Atheiſts, and proteſted that what he wrote *proceeded from no fantaſtick Terror of Mind*; and in Concluſion has theſe Words, *Dear Sir* Hugh, *let us be more generous than to believe we die as the Beaſts that periſh; but, with a Chriſtian, Manly, Brave Reſolution, look to what is Eternal.*

Two thouſand and ſixty three *Dutch* Priſoners, of whom thirteen were Commanders, were brought to *Colcheſter*, not long after the Battel. About the ſame Time his Royal Highneſs the Duke left the Fleet, and rode Poſt to *White-Hall*, accompany'd with Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and other Perſons of Quality, and receiv'd the Congratulations of the Court and City with all the Marks of Publick Joy and Triumph. And a ſolemn Day of Thankſgiving for the late Victory was obſerv'd, firſt in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and then in the other Parts of *England* and *Wales*. Beſides this, in Honour of the Duke himſelf, and in Memory of the great Action, there was the following Medal ſtruck: Of the Duke's Effigy in Buſt, clad in a *Roman* Mantle, with theſe Words round it; *Jacobus Dux Ebor. & Alban. Domin. Magn. Admiralius Angliæ*, &c. The Reverſe repreſenting the Admiral and whole Fleet in Conflict, with theſe Words, *Nec Minor in Terris, June* III. MDCLXV. Upon the ſame Action there was likewiſe ſtruck another no leſs glorious Medalion, with the Duke in Buſt, ſhort Hair, *&c.* having this Inſcription: *Jacobus Dux Ebor. & Alban. Frater Auguſtiſſimi Caroli* II. *Regis.* The Reverſe was a rich Trophy, and Ships in Fight, with theſe Words, *Genus Antiquum.* And now all Perſons began more and more to look upon the Duke, who had ſo often maintain'd the Grandeur of his Birth by his own perſonal Valour and Merit. He was now in the Heighth of his Glory; he enjoy'd moſt of the great Places of Profit and Honour in the Nation; and was not only Lord High Admiral of *England*, but was Governor of the *Cinque-Ports*, and of *Portſmouth*, and had the Benefit of the *Poſt-Office*, the *Wine-Licences*, &c. Then having Children, and the King none, many Perſons made their Court to him as the Heir to the Crown, which was likewiſe to paſs away to his Head, and remain in his Family; and what added to the Happineſs was, that the King was never the leaſt jealous of him or his Actions, a thing very rare between two Brothers of that Rank. In this State of Felicity the Duke continu'd for ſome Years, wanting neither the Favour of the Prince, nor the Reſpect of the People; till firſt the Suſpicion, and then the Diſcovery of his Religion, which happen'd about ſix Years after, did very much withdraw the Love and Affections of Men from him, and gave the firſt Shock to all his great Proſperity.

Honours conferred on the Duke of York,

Soon after this memorable Battel, the King took into Conſideration the valiant Behaviour of ſeveral inferior Officers, and gave the Honour of Knighthood to Captain *Chriſtopher Minns*, and to Captain *Jeremy Smith*. Soon after his Majeſty, attended by his Royal Brother, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and others of the Nobility, waited upon the Queen-Mother in the *Catharine* Yatch to the *Buoy in the Nore*, in order to her Return into *France*, where ſhe took her laſt Leave of her two Sons, and never ſaw *England* more. Here his Majeſty took the Oppor-

And on inferior Officers.

The Queen Mother leaves England.

1665. Car. 17 Ref. 6.

Opportunity of viſiting the Royal Navy; eſpecially the Flag-Ships; and going aboard the *Royal Charles*, in which his Brother had ſo bravely fought, he there beſtow'd the Honour of Knighthood on divers Officers who had nobly diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the late Conflict; as Rear-Admiral *Thomas Tyddiman*, Captain *Joſeph Jordan*, Captain *Edward Spragg*, and Captain *Cuttings*. While Rewards were thus beſtow'd in *England*, the contrary chiefly appear'd in *Holland*; where the Misfortunes of their Fleet threw the common People into ſo many Complaints and Murmurs, that the *States* were forc'd to give way to the popular Paſſions, and to queſtion many Officers for Cowardiſe, or for ill Conduct, or even for Treachery it ſelf; and, for a publick Expiation, to execute three of their Sea-Captains at *Helder*; and to order two more to have their Swords broken over their Heads, and to make another ſtand ſome Hours upon a Scaffold with a Halter about his Neck. All which Show and Ceremony of Juſtice was thought rather to appeaſe the Madneſs of the People, than to vindicate the Honour of their Country. And Penſionary *De Wit*'s Party met with a moſt ſenſible Shock; inſomuch that at *Leyden* the People threw a Drummer into the River, for beating up for Men for the *Service of the Lords the States*, crying out, *He ſhou'd beat for the Prince of* Orange, *and not for Traytors*. And ſeveral Sea-Captains, and others, publickly ſaid, *They wou'd never go to Sea again, if the Prince of* Orange's *Flag was not born*.

Diſcontents in Holland.

3. In *England*, it was thought reaſonable and proper by the King and Council, that the Lord High Admiral the Duke of *York* ſhou'd not venture his Perſon in another Sea Fight, therefore the chief Command of the Navy was committed to the Earl of *Sandwich*; who, having repaired the Loſſes ſuſtain'd in the late Action, and having fitted out ſeveral of the *Dutch* Prizes, on the 5th of *July* weigh'd about ſixty Sail from *Soul-Bay*, and made for the Coaſt of *Holland*. The Royal Standard was born by the Earl himſelf, under whom Sir *George Ayſcough* was Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Thomas Tyddeman* Rear-Admiral: Sir *William Pen* was Admiral of the White, and under him Sir *William Berkley* Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Joſeph Jordan* Rear-Admiral: And the Blue Flag was carry'd by Sir *Thomas Allen*, whoſe Flag Officers were Sir *Chriſtopher Minns* and Captain *Harman*. The *Dutch* all this Time waited for the Return of *De Ruyter* from *Newfound-land*, to which Place, after he had been beat off from *Barbadoes*, he had ſteer'd his Courſe with a Squadron of ſeventeen Men of War; and arriving at St. *John*'s, he took the *Diamond* of *Plymouth*, and the *Unity* of *Dartmouth*, and plunder'd the Colony of their Proviſion, and their very Cloaths. At *Bay-Bull's* Harbour he took two Ships more, and in *Pit*'s Harbour three other Ships, and ranſack'd all the Fiſhing-Coaſts, and brought away above a hundred able Seamen, becauſe they refus'd to enter into the Service of the *States*. With theſe few Prizes, and his own Ships extreamly damag'd, he crept home by the Coaſt of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and was immediately made Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet, yet rather to carry the Flag than to command the Maritime Affairs, which in a new Model were put under the Superintendency of three of their great Men, *De Wit*, *Huggens*, and *Boreel*. Their great Fear and Concern at this Time was for the Safety and Return of their rich Fleets, particularly their *Smyrna* and *Streights* Fleet, which, together with ſeveral *Eaſt India* Ships, to the Value of ſome Millions, were got into the Port of *Berghen* in *Norway*, under the Protection of the *Daniſh* Governor of that Place. A famous Attempt was made upon theſe vaſt Prizes by the *Engliſh*: The Cauſes of which, together with the Miſcarriage, is a Piece of Hiſtory ſo very curious, and altogether new

The Engliſh *Fleet ſets out a ſecond Time.*

new to the Reader, that we ſhall be very particular in the Narrative, from a Manuſcript written by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, a Perſon principally concern'd in the whole Affair, whoſe Authority we cannot queſtion. 1665. Car. 17 Reſ. 6.

A new and curious Account of their Attempt upon the Dutch *in* Berghen.

Sir *Gilbert Talbot* being the *Engliſh* reſiding Envoy at the *Daniſh* Court at *Copenhagen*, that King was pleas'd often to diſcourſe very freely with him; and particularly, on the 14th of *June*, among other Matters, took an Occaſion to complain of 'the hard Condition in which the 'Hollanders by their Treachery had involv'd him, by drawing the *Swediſh* War upon him, that he might be neceſſitated to have Recourſe to 'them for Supplies of Mony and Shipping, that thereby they might get 'into their Hands the Cuſtoms of *Norway* and the *Sound* for their Security.' Sir *Gilbert* readily told the King, That if he wou'd give him Leave, he wou'd point him out a Way whereby he ſhou'd not only free himſelf from that Bondage, but plentifully repair his Condition; but withal he ſaid, *That he ſpake it as a private Perſon devoted to his Intereſt, not as a publick Miniſter.* The King conjuring him to tell him what he meant, he ſaid, *That his Majeſty had it in his own Hands, if he wou'd make uſe of it*; but ſtill he ſeem'd not to underſtand, and deſired Sir *Gilbert* to explain; who then told him, *That the* Dutch Smyrna *Fleet, worth many Millions, was within his Net at* Berghen, *together with many rich* Eaſt-India *Ships; and that they ſtaid in Expectation of more, and of the Return of* De Ruyter *with his Squadron.* Sir *Gilbert* then ask'd his Majeſty *Why he wou'd not make Seizure of thoſe Ships within his Harbour, before the expected Convoy came?* The King anſwer'd, *That he wanted Strength to do it:* Sir *Gilbert* well knew that, but expected the Acknowledgment from his own Mouth, that he might have Occaſion to lead him to the Point: For having now in Effect diſcover'd, that it was only want of Power that hinder'd him, he the more confidently reply'd, *That he doubted not but that the King his Maſter wou'd lend him Forces to effect it; But it wou'd be reaſonable, if his Maſter reduc'd them by his Power, that he ſhou'd equally partake of the Profit.* The King reply'd, *That he wou'd be content with all his Heart to ſhare equally with the King of* England. Sir *Gilbert* thereupon ask'd him, *If he wou'd give him Commiſſion to propoſe the Matter to the King his Maſter?* He anſwer'd, *Moſt willingly*; and deſired him to do it with all Expedition and Secrecy.

Sir G. Talbot *the Projector of it.*

Upon this Incouragement, on the 17th following, Sir *Gilbert* propos'd it in Cypher to Mr. Secretary *Bennet*, lately made Lord *Arlington*; who in his Anſwer dated *June* the 30th told him, 'That he had imparted the 'Deſign to his Majeſty, who very well approv'd what he had done, and 'commanded him to purſue it, promiſing him that the Fleet ſhou'd be 'ready to put it in Execution.' As ſoon as Sir *Gilbert* had receiv'd this Letter, which was on the 10th of *July*, he immediately went to the Court, and told the King, *That the King his Maſter embrac'd the Propoſal, and had given him Order to proceed to an Agreement with his Majeſty about the Particulars.* Hereupon the chief Treaſurer *Seſted*, General *Shack*, and the prime Miniſter *Gabel*, were appointed Commiſſioners to concert with him the Agreement and Method of putting it in Execution. But no Articles were to appear in Writing, in Regard of the tender Nature of the Affair, which was juſtifiable in the King of *England*, but not to be publickly avow'd by his Majeſty of *Denmark*. All this while there was no News of *De Ruyter*, or the expected *Eaſt India* Fleet, which was order'd to come home round *Scotland*. But on the 20th of *July*, the King of *Denmark* receiv'd ſeveral Letters out of *Norway*, which brought Intelligence That *De Ruyter* was upon the Coaſt, and ſome Ships were come into *Copenhagen*, which had ſpoken

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with him at Sea. His Majesty immediately sent to Sir *Gilbert Talbot* to acquaint him with the News, and desir'd him to transmit it with all Speed to the *English* Fleet; thereupon he presently writ to the Earl of *Sandwich*, and within two Hours dispatch'd his Secretary to him. And because he had no Cypher with the Earl, he was forc'd to acquaint his Secretary with the whole Matter, and refer his Lordship to his Relation: But instead of finding the Earl upon the *Dogger-Bank*, he fell into the *Dutch* Fleet, and was carry'd away Prisoner into *Holland*. Yet, dissembling his Condition, and pretending that he was going to study at *Leyden*, he was releas'd, and came back over by Land to his Master.

The Design it self.

On the 20th, the forenam'd Day that the King receiv'd the first News of *De Ruyter*, his Majesty writ to his Vice-Roy of *Norway*, *Guildenleu*, and to General *Alefelt*, Governor of *Berghen*, advising them 'To use 'all fair Means to keep the *Hollanders* still in their Harbours, and that they 'shou'd by an Express understand the Reason of it in Cypher; and with-'al receive Instructions how they were to proceed in order to this Ser-'vice.' On the 24th that King dispatch'd the Express with the said Instructions; and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* by the same Express sent two Letters, one to be left with the Vice-Roy at *Christiana*, the other with Governor *Alefelt* at *Berghen*; to be by them convey'd to the Commanders in Chief of the *English* Men of War, assoon as they shou'd arrive in either of their respective Ports, and under Pretence of the Governor's Enquiry What their Designs were; and desiring them not to act any Hostility in their Harbours. These Letters were to be slipt into their Hands, and by them they wou'd know what was capitulated between the *Danish* King and him, which was, 'That the *English* shou'd boldly assault their 'Enemies in the Port, forasmuch as the *Danes* wou'd make no Resistance 'against them, under Pretence of Fear that the *English* if provoked 'might destroy their Towns, and carry all away as their Prize. But 'that a just Account was to be kept of the Whole, in regard that the 'King of *Denmark* was to have an equal Share; for which he wou'd re-'ly on the King of *England*'s Justice. And since, for his Honour's sake, 'he cou'd not openly assent to the Seizure of them in his Ports, his 'Commanders, to blind the World, shou'd storm high, and pretend to 'be greatly offended; but shou'd equally seem to dread the Provocation 'of a victorious Power, such as the *English* then was.'

False Steps towards it.

On the 26th of *July* Sir *Gilbert Talbot* receiv'd a Letter from the Earl of *Sandwich* by Mr. *Worden*, a young Gentleman, dated the 17th; wherein his Lordship desired Sir *Gilbert* to send him Word by the same Messenger how they had agreed the Matter, that he might act accordingly. He now found by his Lordship's Letter that he had acquainted Mr. *Worden* with the whole Design, altho' it was earnestly desired, 'That, 'for the Honour of the King of *Denmark*, it might be imparted to as 'few as the Nature of the Employment wou'd bear;' which Sir *Gilbert* look'd upon as the first false Step made by the Earl. And the same Minute that Mr. *Worden* left him, his Lordship weigh'd Anchor, and stood over for the Coast of *England*, to meet a Squadron that came out to joyn him; which was no sooner done, but he precipitately steer'd his Course for *Berghen*. The Vessel that landed Mr. *Worden* in the *Elve* was unluckily commanded back, and to follow the Fleet assoon as he was put on Shore. Hereupon Sir *Gilbert* went with Mr. *Worden* to *Elsenore*, in hopes to waft him from thence in quest of the Earl; but cou'd meet with no Opportunity, till at length, on the 2d of *August*, Captain *Motham*'s Frigate, having lost the *English* Fleet, and coming by chance into the *Sound*, he prevail'd with that Captain to take the Gentleman on Board, and to convey him with all Speed to the Earl of *Sandwich*. But the

the ſame Day he ſet Sail out of the *Sound*, did the *Engliſh* Fleet attack the Enemy's Ships at *Berghen*; as Mr. *Worden* had before told Sir *Gilbert Talbot* that the Earl intended to do, *and that he wou'd not ſtay for an Anſwer from him, but fall on, if he found the* Dutch *Fleet there.* All which Proceeding, as Sir *Gilbert* obſerves, was ſo contrary to the Earl's Letters, ſo contrary to Orders, and ſo contrary to common Reaſon, that it is no Wonder that ſo great a Miſcarriage and Diſappointment attended it. This Sir *Gilbert* foretold to Mr. *Worden*, as ſoon as he perceiv'd the Proceedings of the Admiral; becauſe the Orders in Cypher, which went from *Copenhagen* on the 24th of *July*, cou'd not poſſibly ſo ſoon arrive at *Berghen*, ſince that Journey was ten, and uſually twelve Days by Land. Indeed the Vice-Roy, who reſided at *Chriſtiana*, receiv'd his Orders ſooner; and in Obedience to them ſent out two Galliots to find the *Engliſh* Fleet, and inform them of what Agreement was made by the Envoy, *&c.* but he unfortunately miſs'd them, they having made all Haſte to *Berghen*. 1665. Car. 17 Reſ. 6.

When the Governor of *Berghen* underſtood that the *Engliſh* Fleet was near, and riding without the Rocks, he began to dread their falling haſtily upon the *Dutch*, before his expected Orders and Inſtructions came how to govern himſelf in that weighty Affair. He therefore ſent one Mr. *Tolner*, a Gentleman of ſufficient Fidelity and Ability, to deſire them 'Not to offer any Violence to the Port at preſent, for Reaſons 'they might eaſily imagine; but to ſtay the Arrival of the Poſt, which 'was expected within two or three Days at the fartheſt, till when he 'cou'd not receive his particular Directions: And in the mean Time, 'to diſguiſe their Stay, they might pretend to want freſh Water and 'Proviſions, with which he wou'd give Order they ſhou'd be furniſh'd.' In Anſwer to this, Sir *Thomas Clifford* was ſent privately into the Town to diſcourſe the Governor, who clearly laid the whole Matter before him. At his Return to the Fleet the Earl of *Sandwich* call'd a Council of War to adviſe what was to be done. Here Sir *Gilbert*'s firſt Letter to the Commander in Chief was produc'd and read, in which the whole Concertation between the *Daniſh* Commiſſioners and him was in plain Terms expreſs'd, and a Signification of the very Orders which were upon the Way to the Governor, directing him how exactly he was to carry himſelf when the *Engliſh* fell on. But the Captains, animated with ſome forward Counſels, and the Expectation of a vaſt Booty, were unanimouſly for engaging the *Dutch* without any Delay; and having form'd in their Minds the Facility of the Enterprize, they diſdain'd to wait the Arrival of the Governor's expreſs Orders. *The* Engliſh *appear before* Berghen.

According to this warm Reſolution, Sir *Thomas Tiddiman* boldly went in with his Squadron, under the Favour of a full Gale: But when he had gain'd the Entrance of the Port, the Wind chop'd about, and he was forc'd to drop Anchor under the Cittadel, within half Muſket-ſhot of their vaſt large Cannon. In this very Place he began to thunder out his great Shot againſt the *Dutch* Ships in the Harbour; and did much Damage to the Houſes in the Town, and kill'd ſeveral of the Inhabitants. The Caſtles ſeeing this open Hoſtility offer'd in the King's Chamber, and having not yet receiv'd the particular Directions from his Majeſty how to behave themſelves, furiouſly diſcharg'd upon the *Engliſh*, diſabled divers Men of War, and kill'd many Officers and Seamen. The *Engliſh* had indeed diſmounted all the Guns upon the ſmall Fort, that ſtood above; but the Cittadel ſtood ſo low, and cloſe upon the Water, that, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Holland* Gunners, it made no Shot in vain. So *Tiddiman*, finding his Squadron ruin'd, and himſelf ready to ſink, was compell'd at length to ſlip his Cables, and fall off to the grand Fleet, which *Sir* T. Tiddiman *attempts the Port;* *But in vain.*

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which lay ſtill without the Rocks. The Governor, under a handſome Pretence of Expoſtulation with the Admiral, *Why he ſhou'd violate his Maſter's Peace*, ſent Mr. *Tolner* a ſecond time to the Fleet, to let them know 'They had ruin'd their Buſineſs by Precipitation, and had forc'd 'him to do what was as much againſt his Inclinations, as, he believ'd, 'was againſt the Mind of the King his Maſter: But if they wou'd yet 'be content to ſtay without the Rocks, he wou'd fiſh up all their An-'chors for them, and furniſh them with new Cables, for what were cut 'and loſt, and with whatſoever Proviſions the Fleet ſhou'd want.'

When the whole Work was thus deſtroy'd by the eager Impatience of the *Engliſh* Commanders, tho' not without great Damage to the *Dutch*; upon the next Day, *Auguſt* the 4th, the Poſt came and brought the capitulated Inſtructions. The Governor thereupon ſent once more to deſire Sir *Thomas Clifford* to come privately on Shore, which he did: And the Governor, to demonſtrate the real Intentions of the King his Maſter, ſhew'd him the Orders decypher'd, which were, 'That when the *Eng-'liſh* attack'd the *Dutch* Ships in the Harbour, the Governor ſhou'd ſeem 'highly affronted, and ſtorm; yet make no Reſiſtance from the Caſtles, 'but ſuffer the quiet Seizure of them by the *Engliſh*, under Pretence of 'Fear, That if the Forts ſhot, the *Engliſh* might be provok'd to fire the 'Town, which was not able to defend it ſelf againſt them.' But withal he told him, *That as it wou'd have coſt him his Head, if he had conſented to the giving up the* Dutch *before his particular Orders came; he cou'd not, without the like Danger of his Head, execute the firſt Order, till he had certify'd the Alteration of the Caſe, and receiv'd a Confirmation of Orders, which he did in no wiſe doubt but wou'd in a ſhort Time come, if the* Engliſh *wou'd have the Patience to expect them.* Then if the whole Fleet did not think fit to ſtay, he deſir'd the *Engliſh* to leave but ſix Men of War at the Mouth of the Harbour, and he wou'd engage that the *Dutch* ſhou'd not ſtir out, till the Fleet return'd back to take them. But they were diſguſted and ſullen, and departed without giving the Envoy a Word of their Miſcarriage, or Complaint againſt the *Daniſh* Governor. Nor did the King of *Denmark* or Sir *Gilbert Talbot* know any thing of the Arrival of the *Engliſh* or the laſt *India* Fleet at *Berghen*, but by the ſame Expreſs which brought News of the Diſaſter; which ſo afflicted his Majeſty of *Denmark*, that he was perfectly dejected for a Month after, as believing he ſhou'd never have the like Opportunity to repair his Condition. As to the other, the Envoy, it was ſuch a Heart-breaking to him to find his beloved Deſign ſo fatally defeated, that he thought he cou'd not have out-liv'd the Miſcarriage; now deſpairing ever to meet with an Occaſion to perform ſuch eminent Service to his King and Country: 'For, adds he, the Loſs of thoſe ſeveral Fleets, and vaſt Maſs of 'Wealth, ſuch as no Age ever ſaw together upon the Sea, had brought 'the proud *States* upon their Knees, and *France* wou'd have had but 'ſmall Encouragement to undertake their Support.'

The Engliſh *totally diſappointed.*

Reflections upon it.

Thus far according to the Narrative of the Envoy Sir *Gilbert Talbot* Himſelf, who after that makes ſeveral Obſervations and Reflections, and throws the whole Miſcarriage upon the Avarice and Ambition of the *Engliſh* Commanders. But Theſe, to cover their own Errors, ſoon found Means ſo to prepoſſeſs the King of *England*, as to charge all upon the *Daniſh* Court; which was done firſt by a ſevere Expoſtulation with the King of *Denmark* and his Miniſters: And tho' ſufficient Anſwers were made and return'd, yet it was afterwards ſucceeded by a very unkind Remonſtrance, not a little reflecting upon his *Daniſh* Majeſty's Conduct in this Affair. This Sir *Gilbert* looks upon as hard and unreaſonable, and he tells us that afterwards, He with the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador had an Oppor-

Opportunity ſo far to ſatisfy the King of *England*, that he ſaid to them, I *find that* Tiddiman *has been very much to blame in this Matter, and that I have wrong'd my Brother of* Denmark; *but by the Grace of God I will make him Satisfaction.* In the Concluſion he obſerves, That as to the Legality of the Deſign, which ſome have undertaken to cenſure, his Majeſty of *England* was excuſable before the whole World if he made uſe of any politick Means to humble an inſolent and ungrateful Enemy. Perhaps, ſays he, it may not be altogether ſo eaſy to juſtify the King of *Denmark*; altho' it may be argued to be a juſt Retaliation of a fraudulent Deſign upon the encroaching *Hollanders*, who had by a Wile engag'd that King in a War with *Sweden*, and got the Seizure of all his Revenues in *Norway* and the *Sound* into their Hands, purely upon that Account. 1665. Car. 17 Reſ. 6.

4. But to conclude the Sea Affairs and Actions of this Year, after this Attempt at *Berghen*, in which the *Dutch* were likewiſe great Sufferers, the *Engliſh* Fleet ſtood off for the Coaſt of *Holland*; and having been incommoded by a Storm that carry'd them back Northwards, on the Beginning of *September* they met with the Dutch *Eaſt-India* Men, and ſeveral other Merchant Ships under a ſtrong Convoy; and tho' the Stormy Weather much favour'd the eſcape of the *Dutch*, yet the *Engliſh* took eight good Men of War, two of their beſt *Eaſt-India* Ships valu'd at a Million of Pounds Sterling, and twenty Sail of their Merchant-Men. And a few Days after Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet fell in with eighteen Sail of *Hollanders*, and took the greateſt Part of them; bringing away, with the other Prizes, four *Dutch* Men of War, and above a Thouſand Priſoners. *The Concluſion of the firſt Year's War.*

In the mean Time the *Mediterranean* Seas were well ſecured by a good Squadron of Ships, under the Command of Sir *Jeremy Smith*; and the *Channel* by another ſtrong Squadron commanded by Sir *Chriſtopher Minns*, who hearing of a *Dutch Squadron* near *Oſtend*, made after them, and chac'd them into the *Weilings*: And ſo clearing the Seas, and the very Coaſts of all *Dutch* Veſſels, he ſtood off for the Coaſt of *Sweden*, and dropt Anchor at the Mouth of the *Elve*, where the *Swediſh* General *Wrangle*, in Compliment to the *Engliſh* Admiral, travell'd above thirty Miles to give him a Viſit, and he was entertain'd by him on Shipboard with great Civility and Splendor according to his Dignity. So that in this Year, notwithſtanding the Miſcarriage at *Berghen*, the *Engliſh* rod triumphant in the Sea, and manifeſtly ſhew'd themſelves ſuperior to their Enemies.

Gumble. Philips. Skinner. Baynard. Ludlow. Rot. Parl. Calamy. Boyl. Lloyd. Wood.

II. 1. During the Height of theſe Triumphs, God was pleas'd to puniſh the Sins of the Nation with ſuch a publick Calamity, as, in that Kind, had not been in *England* for ſome Centuries of Years: This was a dreadful Peſtilence which firſt appear'd, about the Middle of *May*, in the Vitals of the three Kingdoms, the City of *London*; where it gradually ſwell'd and rag'd to that Degree, and with ſuch reſiſtleſs Infection, that in the City and Suburbs it ſwept away an Hundred Thouſand Perſons, and all in leſs than the Compaſs of one Year. This hapning juſt forty Years after the Plague that fearfully, tho' not equally prevail'd in 1625, it caus'd ſeveral People to impute a Fatality to that particular Number; as if in this Senſe *The Land was to have Reſt but forty Years.* Death now rod triumphant after a very different Manner than it had done in the Seas and Ocean, and with a much more melancholy and formidable Aſpect; terrifying and confounding Men of all Religions and all Profeſſions. It was certainly a diſmal Thing to ſee the great *Emporium* of the World deſolate, and ſcarce any Thing vendible but Coffins; and to be continu- *The Great* PLAGUE.

ally

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ally entertain'd with the daily Cries from the Windows, *Pray for us*! and the Nightly Calls, *Bring out your Dead*! which like Dung, were thrown into Carts, and tumbled into Pits without Numbering. But it was ſtill more amazing to ſee the prodigious Mixture both of Piety and Profaneneſs at the ſame Time; which, according to the Deſcription of a good Eye-Witneſs and Obſerver, was thus: In one Houſe you might hear them Roaring under the Pangs of Death; in the next Tipling, Whoring, and belching out Blaſphemies againſt God; one Houſe ſhut up with a *Red Croſs*, and *Lord have Mercy upon us!* the next open to all Uncleanneſs and Impiety, as altogether inſenſible of the Vengeance of Heaven.

The Cauſes of it.

As to the natural Cauſes of this terrible Contagion, ſome Phyſicians were of Opinion that the Original was a heightned and venomous Pox, which advanc'd to the Poiſon of this Peſtilence, and ſo brought its natural Puniſhment with it, at a Time when Lewdneſs was moſt exorbitant and triumphant in this City. Moſt agreed that it did not ariſe from any real Infection in the Air, but by Propagation from one Perſon to another; and Dr. *Skinner* ſpeaks as if it was occaſion'd by the infected Goods that were brought from *Holland* into *England*. Yet ſtill Dr. *Baynard* obſerves, That during the Rage of it, there was ſuch a general Calm and Serenity of Weather, as if the Wind and Rain alſo had been baniſh'd the Realm; and, for many Weeks together, he cou'd not diſcover the leaſt Breath of Wind, ſo much as to ſtir a Fane: The Fires with great Difficulty were made to burn, through the great Scarcity of Nitre in the Air; there fell abundance of Mildews; and the very Birds wou'd pant for Breath, eſpecially the larger Sort, and were obſerv'd to fly more heavily than at other Times. Whatever were the Cauſes, the Effects were very direful: The whole City was abandon'd by almoſt all the Rich, who left the Poor to die by Thouſands in a Week; and ſeveral Miniſters, in this ſad Time of Tryal, deſerted their Flocks, whoſe empty Pulpits were ſometimes charitably fill'd by Thoſe of other Perſwaſions, whoſe ſeaſonable Fervour is ſaid to have had good Effects upon a wicked People. Yet there were many noble Inſtances of the Courage, Piety and Charity of the Church of *England* Divines at this Time, who ventur'd all in the Service of God and the poor miſerable People. The King Himſelf manifeſted a Paternal Regard to his Subjects, and tho' he retired firſt to *Hampton-Court*, and then to *Salisbury*, he left the City to the Affectionate Care of the brave Duke of *Albemarle*, who in the Height of the Contagion continu'd at *White-Hall*, and gave Orders and Relief to the Diſtreſſed with ſuch an unſhaken Courage, as if he had been born to triumph over Diſeaſes and Death. The preſent Archbiſhop *Sheldon* firmly continu'd all the Time of the greateſt Danger, and with his diffuſive Charity preſerv'd great Numbers alive, that wou'd have periſh'd in their Neceſſities, and by his affecting Letters to all the Biſhops, procured great Sums to be return'd out of all Parts of his Province. Nor muſt we forget the glorious Behaviour of *William* Earl of *Craven*, who freely choſe to venture his Life upon a Thouſand Occaſions, in the Midſt of the Infected, provided Nurſes and Phyſicians for the Sick, and out of his own Purſe expended vaſt Sums to ſupply the Neceſſities of many that were ready to periſh: An Honour beyond all his gallant and noble Exploits perform'd in *Germany* and elſewhere.

The Charitable Care of many.

The Remedies apply'd.

Several general Remedies were undertaken by the Publick for the Cure of this uncommon Diſtemper: The firſt Healing Method, was a Proclamation to command a *General Faſt*, to be religiouſly obſerv'd throughout the Kingdom of *England*, *That Prayers and Supplications might be every where made for the Removal of ſo heavy a Judgment*; in

in a *Form* drawn up by the Biſhops, and appointed by the King to be likewiſe *us'd in all Churches and Chappels within the Bills of Mortality, on every* Wedneſday *in the Week during the Contagion.* This, with the real Reformation of many wicked Perſons, was believ'd to have extraordinary Effects. A ſecond Office of Piety and Charity, was to order the making of Continual Collections, Publick and Private, for Relief of the Sick and Needy in this miſerable Diſtreſs, as was partly before hinted. A Third Means of ſtoping the Plague, or hindering the Tumults and Diſtractions that might ariſe upon it, was to Publiſh a Proclamation, *Requiring all disbanded Officers and Soldiers, who had ſerv'd in the Armies of any of the late* Uſurped Powers, *to depart the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and not to return within Twenty Miles of the ſame, till* November *following.* And laſtly, a new and likely Expedient for Reſtoring wholeſom Breath was put in Practice, by ordering continual Fires to be kindled and kept in all the Streets and open Places of the City, three whole Days and Nights together, to purge and purify the Air. All which ſeem'd to have taken place before the End of the Year in the City; tho' the Infection at length expanded it ſelf into many Cities and Towns in the Country, where, after an equal Mortality, it expired in the following Year. 1665. Car. 17 Reſ. 6.

2. Both the *Dutch* and the *French* took Advantage from this Calamity; and it ſeems the Republican Party took Advantage both from That and the preſent War, and did not only hold Correſpondence with the publick Enemy, but ſome of them went into the actual Service of the *Dutch* againſt their own natural Prince and Country. Theſe ſecret Contrivances have often been deny'd, yet of late they ſufficiently appear from the Writings of their own Party. *Ludlow* freely informs us, That by Means of this *Dutch* War, ſome of their Friends conceiving great Hopes of the Reſtitution of the *Common-Wealth*, enter'd into a Treaty with divers principal Miniſters of the *States*, for Procuring ſome Forces to joyn with their Party in *England* againſt the Common Enemy, the King and Parliament. His Concurrence being deſired by a Perſon of Honour, he ſtood off upon the Account of the Behaviour of the *Dutch* to *Barkſtead*, *Okey* and *Corbet*, the three Regicides formerly mention'd, which made him apprehend the ſame Uſage in caſe of an Accommodation with *England*. In the mean Time he receiv'd a Letter from Mr. *Say*, then at *Amſterdam*, inviting him by many cogent Arguments to quit *Switzerland*, that he might be Inſtrumental in the Service of his Country: In which Letter he has theſe Words, 'The Ruin of the preſent Government in *England* is certainly intended, and I have Cauſe to believe 'will certainly be effected; the *States* being unanimouſly for this War, 'and at laſt brought to ſee *That their Common-Wealth cannot long Subſiſt, if Monarchy continue in* England. The King of *England* is never 'mention'd without the utmoſt Contempt, and Writings are every Day 'publiſh'd to expoſe his Perſon and Government.— I am certainly in-'form'd, That conſiderable Numbers in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, 'ſenſible of their preſent Servitude, will appear for Us.' A little above a Week after, as the ſame Author tells us, he receiv'd another Letter from the ſame Perſon, deſiring Credit to the Contents of his laſt, and adding, That the *Heer Newport* had at a Conference aſſur'd him, 'That the In-'tentions of the *States* were to relieve the good People of *England*; 'That the *Dutch* had thirty Thouſand Men ready to put on Board their 'Fleet, of which Number ten Thouſand were Land Soldiers, to be 'diſpos'd as They, the Rupublicans, ſhou'd direct: That a great Sum of 'Mony was prepared for this Service, and the whole Fleet ſhou'd be 'com-

Deſigns of the Republican Party.

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'commanded to favour the Enterprize: That if it ſhou'd be thought ne-
'ceſſary to tranſport Horſe into *England*, they wou'd comply with that
'alſo. He therefore earneſtly begg'd him to lay aſide Prejudices, and, as he
'lov'd the Cauſe, to come ſpeedily, and ſet his Hand and Heart to the
'Work: That a conſiderable Miniſter there had inquired after him, and
'given Reaſon to hope, That if he wou'd come in that Conjuncture, they
'wou'd place him at the Head of ſuch a Number of Men, as ſhou'd by
'the Bleſſing of God, and the Concurrence of their Friends in *England*,
'be ſufficient to reſtore the Common-Wealth.' He concludes in theſe Words, '*I dare aſſure you from the beſt Information I can get, That on*
'*ſuch an Occaſion there wou'd be a greater Appearance for us, than at*
'*the Beginning of the late War, in* 1642. *Let me therefore not hear*
'*from you, but ſee you.*

The SIXTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament: At* OXFORD.

These and the like ſecret Projects were not altogether unknown to the Government, when the Parliament, after ſeveral Prorogations, and a Receſs of a little above ſeven Months, met on the 9th Day of *October*, not at *Weſtminſter* as uſual, by Reaſon of the grand Infection, but at the City of *Oxford*, where the Univerſity Schools were prepared for the Conveniency of both Houſes. Being there aſſembled and ſettled, a Meſſage was ſent from the Lords to the Houſe of Commons, that both Houſes ſhou'd attend his Majeſty at *Chriſt-Church*, the next Morning at nine a Clock. At which Time, the King being ſeated on a Throne at the upper End of the great Hall in that Colledge, he made this following acceptable Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am con-
'fident you will believe, That if it had not been abſolutely neceſſary to
'conſult with you, I wou'd not have called you together at this Time,
'when the Contagion hath ſo ſpread it ſelf over ſo many Parts of the
'Kingdom. I take it for a good *Omen* to ſee ſo good an Appearance this
'Day; and I doubt not but every Day will add to your Number; and I
'give you all my Thanks for your Compliance ſo far with my Deſires.

The King's ſpeech to both Houſes.

'The Truth is, as I enter'd upon this War by your Advice and In-
'couragement, ſo I deſire that you may as frequently as is poſſible re-
'ceive Information of the Conduct and Effects of it; and that I may
'have the Continuance of your chearful Supply for the carrying it on. I
'will not deny to you, that it hath prov'd more chargeable than I cou'd
'imagine it wou'd have been: The Addition they ſtill made to their
'Fleets beyond their firſt Purpoſe, made it unavoidably neceſſary for
'me to make proportionable Preparations, which God hath hitherto
'bleſſed with Succeſs in all Encounters. And as the Enemies have us'd
'their utmoſt Endeavours, by Calumnies and falſe Suggeſtions, to make
'themſelves Friends, and to perſwade Others to aſſiſt them againſt Us;
'ſo I have not been wanting to encourage thoſe Princes who have been
'wrong'd by the *Dutch*, to recover their own by Force: And in order
'thereunto, I have aſſiſted the Biſhop of *Munſter* with a very great Sum
'of ready Mony, and am to continue a Supply to him, who is now in the
'Bowels of their Country, with a powerful Army. Theſe Iſſues, I may
'tell you, have been made with very good Conduct and Husbandry; nor
'indeed do I know, that any thing hath been ſpent, that cou'd have
'been well and ſafely ſaved. I ſay this Expence will not ſuffer you to
'wonder that the great Supply which you gave me for this War, in ſo
'bountiful a Proportion, is upon the Matter already ſpent. So that I
'muſt not only deſire Aſſiſtance from you to carry on this War, but
'ſuch an Aſſiſtance as may enable me to defend my ſelf and you againſt
'a more powerful Neighbour, if he ſhall prefer the Friendſhip of the
'*Dutch* before mine. I told you when I enter'd upon this War, *That I had*
'*not ſuch a Brutal Appetite, as to make War for War ſake.* I am ſtill

'of

'of the ſame Mind: I am ready to receive any Propoſitions that *France* 1665.
'hath thought fit to offer to that End; but hitherto nothing hath been
'offer'd worthy my Acceptance; nor are the *Dutch* leſs inſolent; tho' I Car. 17
'know no Advantage they have had but the Continuance of the Conta- Reſ. 6.
'gion. God Almighty, I hope, will ſhortly deprive them of ſuch Incou-
'ragement: The Chancellor will inform you of all the Particulars.

Accordingly the Lord *Clarendon*, being now in his own Univerſity, exerted his uſual Talent of Eloquence in a remarkable Speech, which, tho' too long to be verbally inſerted, is too informing to be wholly omitted: Running over the whole Proceſs of State-Affairs from the King's Reſtoration to the preſent Juncture, he obſerved, 'That notwithſtanding the 'Indignities his Majeſty had receiv'd from *Holland*, during the late U- 'ſurpation, where he had been little leſs *Proſcrib'd* than in *England*, he 'was ſtill pleas'd to embark himſelf from thence, when he was preſs'd by 'two Neighbour Kings, from whom he had receiv'd more Civilities, to 'have made uſe of their Ports. That being return'd, he found one thing 'that exceedingly ſurpriz'd him, a thing incredible to Poſterity, that a 'triumphant Nation, which, by its numerous Sea-Fights had reign'd o- 'ver the Ocean, and made it ſelf formidable to all Chriſtendom, ſhould 'at that Time not have in all their Magazines, in all their Stores, Arms 'enough to put into the Hands of five thouſand Men, nor Proviſions enough 'to ſet out ten new Ships to Sea: All which his Majeſty, tho' he then 'liv'd upon Credit, did not deſire ſhou'd be known to his beſt Neigh- 'bours, howſoever aſſur'd of their Affections; therefore he did not ſo 'much as make it known to his Parliament: But he made it his firſt Care, 'without the leaſt Noiſe, and with all imaginable Shifts, to provide for 'the full Supply of theſe important Magazines and Stores, which had 'been ever ſince repleniſh'd as they ought. His Majeſty had not only 'done this, but alſo had provided ſeveral Fleets againſt the Pyrates in 'the *Mediterranean* Sea, which had happily and honourably brought 'them to Submiſſion.' Then he related the *Dutch*'s deſerting of him in thoſe worthy Deſigns, and repeated the ſeveral Injuries and Inſolencies committed by them; the Neceſſity of vindicating the Rights and Honour of the Nation; the King's referring of this Cauſe to the Parliament, the Parliament's humble Deſires of Redreſs; the States Preparations for War, and the whole Series and Succeſs of the War, in which he repreſented the great Agony the King ſuſtain'd upon the Account of his Brother's Safety. Then ſpeaking of the Mediation of the *French*, he ſays, 'The *Dutch* reproach them for interpoſing for Peace, inſtead of aſſiſt- 'ing them in the War, boldly inſiſting upon the Advantage the Conta- 'gion gives them, alledging, *That the King will be no longer able to* 'maintain a Fleet againſt them; as if God had ſent this heavy Viſitation 'upon the Kingdom on their Behalf, and to expoſe it to their Malice 'and Inſolency. They load us with ſuch Reproaches, as the Civility of 'no other Language will admit the Relation: The Truth is, they have 'a Dialect of Rudeneſs ſo peculiar to their Language, and their People, 'that it is high Time for all Princes to oblige them to ſome Reformati- 'on, if they intend to hold Correſpondence and Commerce with them.

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

Having rous'd them with Reſpect to Foreign Enemies, he proceeded to take Notice of their Domeſtick Foes, 'Thoſe unquiet reſtleſs Spirits 'in their own Bowels, in whoſe Fidelity their Enemies abroad had more 'Dependance than upon their own Fleets. I muſt appeal, added he, to 'every one of your Obſervations, Whether the Countenance of theſe 'Men have not appeared to you more erected, and more inſolent in all 'Places, ſince the Beginning of this War, than they were before. In 'what Readineſs they were, if any Misfortune had befallen the King's

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‘ Fleet, which they promis'd themſelves, to have brought the Calamity ‘ into your Fields, and into your Houſes, is notoriouſly known. The ‘ horrid Murtherers of our late Royal Maſter have been receiv'd into ‘ the moſt ſecret Counſels in *Holland*; and other infamous proſtituted ‘ Perſons of our Nation are admitted to ſhare in the Conduct of their Af- ‘ fairs, and maintain their Correſpondence here upon liberal Allowances ‘ and Penſions. Too many of his Majeſty's Subjects, who were ſent by ‘ this Crown to aſſiſt and defend this ungrateful State againſt their Ene- ‘ mies, have been miſerably wrought upon, for the keeping a vile mean ‘ Subſiſtence, rather than their Livelyhood, to renounce their Allegiance ‘ and become Enemies to their native Country; ſome of whom have ‘ wantonly put themſelves on Board the Enemy's Fleet, without Com- ‘ mand or Office, purely out of Appetite and Delight to rebel againſt ‘ their King, and to worry their Country. Their Friends at home, impa- ‘ tient of further Delays for the Succeſs they had promis'd themſelves, ‘ and for the Succours which others had promis'd to them, made no ‘ Doubt of doing the Buſineſs themſelves, if they cou'd but appoint a ‘ *Lucky Day* to begin the Work. And you had heard of them in all ‘ Places upon the third of the laſt Month, their ſo much celebrated ‘ *Third of* September, if the great Vigilance and indefatigable Induſtry ‘ of the good General, had not two Days before apprehended the ſediti- ‘ ous Leaders, and given Advertiſements for the Security of others in ‘ moſt Parts of the Kingdom; by the Confeſſions of many of whom their ‘ wicked Deſign is enough manifeſted, and ready for Juſtice: Yet ſome ‘ of the principal Perſons are not yet taken, and ſome others got them- ‘ ſelves reſcued after they were apprehended.— If you carefully provide ‘ for the ſuppreſſing your Enemies at home, which will put you to lit- ‘ tle other Expence than of Courage, Conſtancy and Circumſpection, ‘ you will find your Enemies abroad leſs exalted, and in a ſhort Time ‘ more inclined to live in Amity with you, than to make War upon you; ‘ eſpecially when they ſee you do *in Bello Pacis gerere Negotium*, and ‘ that you take the carrying on the War to Heart, as the beſt and only ‘ Expedient to produce a happy and honeſt Peace.

The Unanimity of both Houſes.

Upon this, and the King's Speech, the Houſe of Commons with great Unanimity came to theſe two preſent Reſolutions: ‘ Firſt, That the ‘ humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty for ‘ his Care and Conduct in the Preſervation of his People, and the Ho- ‘ nour of this Nation: And that this Houſe will aſſiſt his Majeſty with their ‘ Lives and Fortunes againſt the *Dutch*, or any other that ſhall aſſiſt ‘ them in Oppoſition to his Majeſty. Secondly, That the humble Thanks ‘ of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty for the Care he hath had of ‘ the Perſon of his Royal Highneſs, the Duke of *York*.' To both which Votes the Lords gave their chearful Concurrence; and ſo both Houſes went in a full Body to attend his Majeſty upon this Occaſion. After this they proceeded without Delay to conſider of two great Points; one, the carrying on the preſent War, the other the ſuppreſſing and reſtraining the Enemies and Oppoſers at home. As to the the Firſt, the Commons,

1250000 *Pounds voted.*

to make good their Promiſe, voted a new Supply *of twelve hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, to be rais'd by a proportionable Addition to the Monthly Aſſeſſment to begin at* Chriſtmaſs *next*; all which they ſoon turn'd into a Bill. After which they brought in another Bill for a *Month's further Aſſeſſment of a hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, to commence from the Expiration of the former Aſſeſſment, to be granted to his Majeſty, with a Deſire to his Majeſty to diſpoſe of it to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of* York.

3. Theſe

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3. Theſe, and ſeveral other Bills being finiſh'd, on the laſt Day of the Seſſion, the Honourable Houſe of Commons conſidering that they ſate in the Convocation Houſe of the Univerſity, and remembring the many great and loyal Actions of that Place, in the moſt dangerous and difficult Times, they came to this grateful and acceptable Vote: 'Reſolved, That 'the Thanks of the Houſe be given to the Chancellor, Maſters, and 'Scholars of the famous Univerſity of *Oxford*, for their eminent Loyalty 'to his Majeſty, and his Father of ever bleſſed Memory, during the late 'Rebellion; eſpecially for their unparallel'd Zeal and Courage in refu-'ſing to ſubmit to be viſited by the uſurped Powers, and to ſubſcribe 'the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and for thoſe Excellent REASONS 'they publiſh'd to the World to juſtify their Refuſal, and to aſſert his 'Majeſty's Righteous Cauſe.' Theſe Thanks were in a very ſolemn Manner preſented to the Univerſity in full Convocation by four of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Laurence Hyde* and Sir *Heneage Finch*, Members for the Univerſity, and Sir *John Berkenhead* and Colonel *Giles Strangeways*; and all four were either now, or a little before, honour'd by the Univerſity with the Titles of Doctors of the Civil Law.

The Commons Thanks to the Univerſity.

The ſame Day that this Vote was made, *October* the 31ſt, the King came to the Houſe of Peers in order to paſs the ſeveral Bills, and to make a Prorogation: At which Time, the Commons being ſent for, their Speaker, Sir *Edward Turner*, in preſenting the Bills, made a remarkable Speech to the King, which ſhews ſo much the Zeal of the Commons, and the Nature of the Acts themſelves, that it cannot well be abridg'd. With his uſual graceful Way he deliver'd himſelf thus: '*May it pleaſe* '*your moſt Excellent Majeſty*, The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of 'the Commons Houſe of Parliament, in Obedience to your Majeſty's 'Writ of Adjournment, came chearfully to this City of *Oxford* to re-'ceive your Royal Commands. And when your Majeſty was pleas'd to 'acquaint them with your great Expences this Summer, and the conti-'nuing Inſolencies of the *Dutch*, they were ſo inflamed with an Affecti-'on and Zeal for your Majeſty's Service, that they cou'd not ſuffer the 'leaſt Juncto of Time to paſs before they had made a Return ſuitable to 'their Engagements, *That they wou'd aſſiſt your Majeſty with their Lives* '*and Fortunes againſt the* Dutch, *or any other that ſhou'd aſſiſt them in* '*Oppoſition to your Majeſty*. The *Engliſh* Man uſeth to ſpeak as he writes, 'and the *Engliſh* Parliament to ſpeak as they think: No Security upon 'the Earth can be greater than the Engagement of your two Houſes of 'Parliament; *Sed quid Verba audiam, dum Facta videam!* As a Demon-'ſtration of their Fidelity, I am commanded to preſent unto your Ma-'jeſty this Bill, whereby they have given your Majeſty *twelve hundred* '*and fifty thouſand Pounds, to be levy'd in two Years, beginning from* 'Chriſtmaſs *next, by quarterly Payments added to the former Royal Aid:* 'And that your Majeſty's Occaſions may be ſupply'd with ready Mony, 'before the Additional Aid can be rais'd, we have by the Bill prepared 'an undoubted Security *for all ſuch Perſons as ſhall bring their Monies* '*into the publick Bank of the Exchequer.* As the Rivers do naturally 'empty themſelves into the Sea, ſo we hope the Veins of Gold and Sil-'ver in this Nation will plentifully run into this Ocean, for the Mainte-'nance of your Majeſty's juſt Soveraignty on the Seas.

The Speaker's Speech to the King at the Prorogation.

'*Great Sir*, When firſt we beſought your Majeſty to correct the In-'ſolencies, and to repair your Subjects againſt the Rapines of the *Dutch*, 'we did reaſonably ſuppoſe, That the Juſtice of your Majeſty's Demands 'wou'd at leaſt have had a fair and ingenuous Reception: But the *Dutch* 'reſolv'd, with *Machiavil*, *to keep by Force what they had got by*

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'*Fraud*, and to return their Answer by the thundering Noise of their 'Cannon: The great God of Hosts, to whom Vengeance belongeth, 'hath eminently appear'd in your Majesty's Quarrel, and sharply rebuk'd 'the Insolence of that proud People. It is true, our Sins do cry aloud, 'as well as theirs; but God is pleas'd in Mercy to correct us himself, 'while by our Hands he punishes them, and makes them fly before us: 'I hope his Mercy will invite us to a National Repentance, and if *He be 'with us, who can be against us?* We can but take Notice of the sordid 'Defection of some *English* Fugitives, who have traiterously joyn'd with 'the *Dutch*, both in their Counsels and Actions, against your Majesty, 'and this their native Country: We therefore have prepared a Bill, 'whereby *they are enjoyn'd to return by a Day, and answer to the Law, 'or else they shall be attainted of High Treason.* It hath been an old 'Observation, *That scandalous Livings make scandalous Ministers*; and 'this most frequently falls out in Cities and Corporate Towns, where are 'little or no Predial Tythes, and therefore for meer Want they are forc'd 'to chant such Tunes as may please the rich Men in their Parishes: For 'Prevention of this for the future, there is a Bill prepared for the *Uniting of small Churches and Chappels in Cities and Towns Corporate, 'by the Consent of the Patron*, reserving other Parochial Rights di- 'stinct as they were before. This being a Time wherein your Majesty 'needs great Supply, we held it our Duty to ease the People in some 'unnecessary Expences; and therefore we have prepared a Bill *for the 'more effectual Proceeding upon Distresses and Avowries for Rent:* Ano- 'ther *to avoid Circuity of Actions*; a Third *to lessen the Charge of ne- 'cessary Suits in Law*; and a Fourth to take away an ancient and bur- 'thensom Fee in the Courts of Judicature, call'd *Damage Cleer*, or '*Damna Clericorum.*

'*Tacitus* has a Saying, *Such as are false in their Love, are true in 'their Hatred*; and this we find verify'd in our *Nonconformists:* While 'they were in the Bosom of the Church of *England*, they were like in- 'ward Vapours, and inward Bleedings, always oppressing and strangling 'the Body of the Church; and now they are rejected and excluded 'from the Ministerial Function, they have more Malice, and no less Op- 'portunity to propagate their Principles than they had before. Some of 'them are Objects of Pity; they submitted their Reason to their Leaders 'of a higher Class, who fail'd them in their Hopes, and left them to the 'Rigour of the Law. Those poor Creatures have seen their Errors, and 'felt the Smart, and wou'd live peaceably; but their Jesuitical Leaders 'keep up their Spirits, and herd with them in Cities and Corporate 'Towns, where, by the Pretence of *Persecution* and *Self-Denial*, they 'move the Pity of good-natur'd People, who with their Charity keep 'up the Party, lessen the Maintenance of *Conforming* Ministers, and 'spread their Contagion amongst the Youth of the Nation. For the 'Prevention of this growing Mischief, we have prepared a SHIBO- 'LETH, a *Test*, to distinguish amongst them who will be peaceable, 'and give Hopes of a future Conformity, and who, of Malice and evil 'Disposition, remain obdurate: The One, we shall keep amongst us with 'all Love and Charity; the Other, we shall exclude from *Cities* and '*Corporation Towns*, like those that have an infectious Disease upon 'them.

'It is not unusual for the Commons, at the Close of a Session of Par- 'liament, by their Speaker to present a Petition to their Soveraign; and, 'with your Majesty's Leave, I am now commanded that Service: We do, 'with all humble Thankfulness, acknowledge to God our great Happi- 'ness, That we are govern'd by a Prince, whose Prudence in Council,

'whose

'whoſe Valour in Action, and whoſe Fatherly Care in Protection of his 1665.
'People is eminent in all the World; and it is not the leaſt Mercy, both
'to your Majeſty and your People, That God has bleſs'd you with a Car. 17
'BROTHER ſo like your Self. The Name of his ROYAL Reſ. 6.
'HIGHNESS is already enroll'd amongſt the Heroes of *other Nations*; but his *Native Country* had not ſo great Experience of him, till
'your Majeſty was pleas'd, in this Summer's Expedition, to truſt him
'with the Conduct of the moſt Royal Fleet that ever ſail'd upon the *Britiſh* Seas; wherein he ſhew'd that Proweſs and that Prudence, and,
'by the Bleſſing of Almighty God, was crown'd with that Succeſs a-
'gainſt the *Dutch*, that we cannot paſs it by in Silence; and yet we are
'at a Loſs how to expreſs our Thanks both to your Majeſty and Him.
'I am commanded therefore to beſeech your Majeſty, That you will
'vouchſafe to let us make a PRESENT to you of a Month's Tax, *to*
'*come in the Rear after the twenty four Months of your Majeſty's Royal*
'*Aid*; *and that your Majeſty will be pleas'd to beſtow it upon his Royal*
'*Highneſs*. And now, *Great Sir*, I have no more, but to beſeech Al-
'mighty God, who hath ſo miraculouſly preſerv'd your Royal Perſon,
'and your two Houſes of Parliament, from all Sickneſs and Contagion
'during this Seſſion, that he will be pleas'd to ſend Health throughout
'all the Nation; that he will crown all your Deſigns againſt your Ene-
'mies with Victory and Succeſs, and give your Majeſty a long and hap-
'py Reign over us.'

The End of the Sixth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

Upon paſſing the foremention'd Bills, the King, without any particular Speech, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 20th Day of *February*, and ſo terminated the Sixth Seſſion of the Second Parliament, after it had ſate no longer than twenty two Days. This was the ſhorteſt Seſſion of Parliament ſince the Reformation; yet perhaps equal to any for Vigour, Unanimity, and Diſpatch; nor does it appear by any ſubſtantial Proof, that the Members had ever been yet led or induc'd to act contrary to their natural Inclination. They have indeed been cenſur'd by ſome for making this laſt ſevere Act againſt the Diſſenting Teachers; but ſtill it was their own Inclination, and not that of the Court, tho' the Chancellor himſelf encourag'd it.

The Five Mile Act.

The Subſtance of this noted Act is, 'That no Nonconform-
'ing Teacher, under what Denomination ſoever, ſhall dwell, or come,
'unleſs upon the Road, within five Miles of any Corporation, or any o-
'ther Place where they had been Miniſters, or had preached after the
'*Act of Oblivion*, unleſs they firſt took the following Oath; *I* A. B. *do*
'*ſwear, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take Arms*
'*againſt the King*; *and that I do abhor the traiterous Poſition of taking*
'*Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are*
'*commiſſion'd by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſions*; *And that I will*
'*not at any Time endeavour any Alteration of Government, either in*
'*Church or State.*' The Penalty was forty Pounds, and ſix Months Impriſonment, unleſs they took the ſaid Oath before their Commitment. The Reaſon of this Severity given in the Act, is, 'That theſe Teachers
'had ſettled themſelves in divers *Corporations*, ſometimes three or more
'in a Place, and took Opportunity to diſtil the poyſonous Principles of
'Schiſm and Rebellion, to the great Danger of the Church and King-
'dom.' We are told by an anonymous Author in 1675, that this Oath was ſtrongly oppos'd in the Houſe of Lords by the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*, the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord *Aſhley*, and others, as a moſt unlawful and unjuſtifiable Oath; but in the Houſe of Commons it was ſo far approv'd of, that it was there ſeconded by another Bill to impoſe the ſame Oath upon the whole Nation, which was thrown out only by two or three Votes.

It

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Reflections upon it.

It has been a general Obſervation, That whatever Hardſhips the Diſſenting Party met or felt from the Laws, they aroſe more from the ſeditious Practices of ſome of them, than the religious Exerciſes of any of them; and that every Act of Parliament made to their Detriment, was founded upon the Reality, or the certain Belief of ſome Plot or Conſpiracy againſt the Nation's Peace, which they had promoted and encourag'd: So that what the Parliament did, eſpecially in the firſt ſeven Years of the Reſtoration, look'd more like *Self-Preſervation*, than *Perſecution*. And particularly in this Year, beſides what has been already ſaid, the Correſpondence of ſome of them with the Enemy was too notorious to be deny'd; and even the more Moderate of them ſhew'd a manifeſt Diſinclination to the War againſt the *Dutch*, tho' begun by the Call of the main Body of the People: So that when this Parliament was rous'd by the Information of the Chancellor, they thought they cou'd do no leſs than lay a new Reſtraint upon them, which they did by this call'd *The Five Mile Act*. In the other Act, before mention'd, they attainted *Thomas Doleman*, *Joſeph Bamfield*, alias *Stepner*, and *Thomas Scot*, Son to *Thomas Scot* the Regicide formerly executed, and others in the *Dutch* Service, who might be ſummon'd to return by a Proclamation: Accordingly Colonel *Desborough*, Colonel *Kelſey*, Colonel *White*, *Grove*, *Honywood*, *Nicholas*, and others, were afterwards ſummon'd to return by a certain Day; but we do not find that any of them did, except *Desborough*. Another Cauſe or Occaſion of the Parliament's ſtrict Care of the Diſſenters, was the *Conventiclers* in *Scotland*, who were this Year very mutinous and inſolent, and were thought to have held too much Correſpondence both with the *Dutch* and their Brethren in *England*.

The Behaviour of the Diſſenters.

As to the Behaviour of the Diſſenters with reſpect to thoſe Laws that bore hard upon them, the *Act of Uniformity*, the *Conventicle Act*, and the *Five Mile Act*, we ſhall give ſome Account in the Words of a particular Friend; who tells us in the Year 1664, after the two firſt Acts were paſs'd, the *Nonconformiſts* were not a little divided among themſelves, as to the Lawfulneſs and Expediency of worſhipping God in the publick Churches, over and above their private Meetings, ſtill kept up with great Secrecy. Mr. *Baxter*, and Dr. *Bates*, and ſeveral others with them, were for frequenting the publick Churches, when better Helps were not to be had; and for reſorting to them now and then, tho' they had their Choice, to ſhew their Charity. They were for having their moſt *Uſual Communion* with thoſe Aſſemblies, which they thought were manag'd moſt agreeably to the Rule and End of Worſhip; and yet for having *Occaſional Communion* with others, as Members of the Catholick Church, to ſhew their *Catholick Communion* with all the Body of Chriſt. But others were vehement for an *entire Separation*. From this Account we learn the Riſe of OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY, which, at this Time, did not appear to be ſubſervient to any ſecular Ends or political Purpoſes. After the *Five Mile Act* took place, the ſame Author tells us, That thoſe Miniſters that had any Maintenance of their own, found out ſome Dwellings in obſcure Villages, or in ſome Market-Towns that were not Corporations: And ſome that had nothing, left their Wives and Children, and hid themſelves abroad, and ſometimes came ſecretly to them by Night. But the moſt reſolv'd hereupon to preach the more freely in Cities and Corporations till they went to Priſon, *&c.* But the *Nonconformiſts* being in this Act charg'd with ſeditious Doctrines, and heinous Crimes, many were much concern'd. And hereupon they endeavour'd to find out a Senſe in which the Oath might be taken ſafely, to prevent their paſſing under that Brand to Poſterity. Dr. *Bates* conſulted the Lord-Keeper *Bridgman*, who profeſs'd a great Reſpect for him,

about

about his taking it in a Sound Senſe. He to ſatisfy him, promis'd to be at the next Seſſions, and there on the Bench to declare openly, That by *Endeavour* in the Oath to change Church-Government, was meant *only Unlawful Endeavour*. Upon which Declaration, He and ſundry other *Nonconformiſts*, to the Number of Twenty, took it at the Seſſions, to avoid the Imputation of Seditious Doctrine. 1665. Car. 17 Reſ. 6.

To this Account we may reaſonably add what is ſaid by Another, the Author of *the Compleat Hiſtory of* England; That tho' the *Diſſenters* did, for the Reaſons before mention'd, *&c.* happen to raiſe the Zeal or Jealouſy of the two Houſes of Parliament againſt them; yet the King, and his ſecret Council, were always diſpos'd to countenance and protect them. And the King Himſelf, in Clemency and Good-Nature, if not in Judgment and Conſcience, gave a very generous and faithful Protection to the Foreign *Proteſtants*, and eſpecially the *French*, even after the Breach with that Court; reſerving his Promiſes of Safety, and Protection to them, in his Declaration of War: For which, immediately after, ſome Deputies from the *French* Church in the *Savoy* attended his Majeſty, with 'The humble Thanks of that Church for his good Protection, and 'kind Indulgence, expreſs'd towards them in his late Declaration againſt 'France.' And to give them the greater Invitations of Security and Eaſe, the *French* Proteſtants had the Favour to have a new Church, and full Liberty of uſing it, granted to them in the City of *Dublin*: And when their firſt Aſſembly met, at the Opening of it, the Lord-Lieutenant *Ormond* honour'd them with his Preſence, and with a firm Aſſurance of Continuing to them their Liberty, and a peaceable Enjoyment of it. *The King's Civility to them and the* French *Peoteſtants.*

4. And now it is Time to come to a Concluſion of the old Year 1665, after having ſpoken a Word or two with Relation to *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and mention'd ſome inferior Matters in *England*. In *Ireland*, the Duke of *Ormond*, Lord-Lieutenant, was remanded back to that Kingdom, and being receiv'd at *Dublin* with great Splendor and Magnificence, held a Parliament at the End of this Year; which granted to the King eight intire Subſidies, towards Supporting the weighty Occaſions of his Majeſty's Expences. Here ſeveral of the Members were accus'd for having been in the Plot againſt the Government in 1663, and Mr. *Staples* and Mr. *Shapcot*, and five others, being call'd to the Bar, were for ever expell'd the Houſe. A Parliament was alſo held in *Scotland*, which being provok'd by the inſolent Carriage of one *Alexander Smith*, and other Conventiclers, a ſevere Proclamation was iſſu'd out in that Kingdom, *December* 24th, 'Commanding all Silenc'd *Presbyterian* Mini-'ſters to remove themſelves and their Families out of the Pariſhes where 'they were Incumbents, within Forty Days, and not to reſide within 'twenty Miles of the ſame, or within ſix Miles of *Edinburgh*, or any 'Cathedral Church, or within three Miles of any *Burgh-Royal* of the 'Kingdom, or reſide Two of them in one Pariſh, under Pain of Incur-'ring the Penalties of the Law, againſt *Movers of Sedition*. *The Affairs of* Ireland, *And* Scotland.

In *England*, upon the Account of the dreadful Peſtilence, the King by Proclamation adjourn'd the *Michaelmas* Term from *Weſtminſter* to *Oxford*; and ſoon after the Breaking up of the Parliament, the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice ſat in the Publick Schools of the Univerſity. Here Sir *John Keeling*, an eminent Lawyer, firſt appear'd on the Bench as Lord chief Juſtice of *England*; and Sir *William Morton* one of the Judges of the ſame Court, in the Place of Sir *Wadham Windham* deceas'd. The next *Hilary* Term was from thence adjourn'd to *Windſor*; but, upon the Plague ceaſing, was from thence reſtor'd to *Weſtminſter*. His Majeſty, in the mean Time, to reſtrain Extravagancy, and to promote good Huſ- *The Term adjourn'd to* Oxford.

1665. Car. 17 Ref. 6. *The King's Care, and Diverſion.*

Husbandry, firſt declared in Council, and then wrote to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, 'That both Himſelf and his Royal Conſort wou'd wear, 'neither Inſide nor Outſide of their Cloathes, any Thing but what 'was Manufactured within his Kingdom of *England*; and that he had en-'joyn'd his whole Court to follow their good Examples therein, expect-'ing the reſt of his good Subjects to do the ſame; with only an Except-'tion of Linnen-Cloth and Calicoes.' Then for Diverſion and Curioſity, in the Beginning of this Year the King was pleas'd to viſit the famous Colledge of Phyſicians at *London*, where he was very honourably receiv'd by the eminent and learned Doctors. Here he ſaw the Marble Statue of the famous *Harvey*, the great Diſcoverer of the Blood's Circulation; and heard the Preſident Dr. *George Ent*, with equal Eloquence and Art, Reading upon the Myſteries of Anatomy, whom he there honour'd with Knighthood: There he ſaw the Chief Phyſician *Bates*, renowned both in the Medical Skill, and his Knowledge of the *Latine* Tongue; and *Fraſier* his chief Phyſician ſince; and *Gliſſon*, excellent in Medicine and Natural Philoſophy; and ſucceſsful *Micklethwait*; and much eſteemed *Cox*; and *Scarborough*, accompliſh'd in all Philoſophy, and no leſs famous among the Muſes; with *Wharton* the Secretary of the *Glandules*; and acute *Merret*: Beſides many others eminent in the Art of Healing and Relieving; to whom afterwards was aſſociated *Willis* the noble Reſtorer of Medicine, but of too ſhort a Life, together with *Lower* and *Needham*, who have ſince illuſtrated the Faculty by their ſeveral Writings.

An Account of Mr. Greatrakes.

After theſe we may mention a prodigious Healer of another Nature, who appear'd in *England* this Year, and fill'd the Mouths of all People, both in the Country and City: This was Mr. *Valentine Greatrakes*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman of a good Family, and a Juſtice of the Peace in the County of *Cork*; whoſe apparent Simplicity of Manners was attended with a great ſhew of Piety and Religion. As he himſelf informs us, In the Year 1662, an inward Inſpiration inform'd him, that he had the Gift of Curing the *King's-Evil*; which Perſwaſion grew ſo ſtrong in him, that he touch'd ſeveral People, and fully cured them. After this he had a ſecond Impulſe, and then a Third, by which he was ſatisfy'd that he cou'd cure Agues, and Pains in the Head, as likewiſe Wounds and Ulcers; all which, he ſays, was confirm'd by Experience; and he even found that he cured Convulſions, Dropſies, and ſeveral other Diſtempers. People flock'd to him from all Parts, and his Reputation encreas'd to that Degree, that the Lord *Conway* of *Ragley* in *Warwickſhire* engag'd him to come over and attend his Lady, then labouring under a long Illneſs. As he advanc'd towards that Seat, the Magiſtrates of ſeveral Cities and Towns invited him to paſs through the ſame, to cure their Sick; and the King being inform'd of the Rarity, commanded the Earl of *Arlington* to order him to repair to *White-Hall*. From thence he daily repair-ed to *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, whither came incredible Numbers of Perſons of all Ranks and Sexes, expecting the Reſtoration of their Health. He undertook all without receiving Mony, or any other Preſent; and all he did was only to Stroak the Patients; by which all old Pains, Gout, Rheumatiſms, Convulſions, *&c.* were ſenſibly remov'd from Part to Part to the Extremities of the Body, after which they entirely ceas'd; which caus'd him to be commonly call'd *The Stroaker*. Of all which he had the Teſtimonials of ſome of the moſt curious Men in the Nation, both Phyſicians and Divines. But his Failing ſometimes, and his leaving the Nation, ſoon made the Wonder to diminiſh, and great Numbers to attribute his Cures to the Credulity of the People. Yet many eminent and wiſe Men will not allow him to be an Impoſtor; and ſeveral of the Facts were

were ſo manifeſt and unqueſtionable, that ſome *Vertuoſi*, as Mr. *Boyl*, Dr. *Stubbe* and Dr. *Henry Moor*, have made a plauſible Attempt to give a natural and Philoſophical Solution of theſe Cures, too long to be mention'd in this Hiſtory. 1665. Car. 17 Reſ. 6.

After ſo many noted Men living, we are in the laſt Place to take Notice of ſome who dy'd this Year, as four of the Laity, and five Profeſſing Divinity. The Firſt was *Mountague Bertie*, Earl of *Lindſey*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, one of the *Quadrumvirate* that had been ſo eminently diſtinguiſh'd for their unparallel'd Loyalty to the late King, as has been formerly hinted; a brave and experienc'd Soldier; a great Patron of uſeful Learning and Ingenuity, an honeſt, frugal and faithful *Engliſhman*, and a true Patriot and Imitator of the ancient Nobility, whoſe Grandeur conſiſted neither in rich Cloaths, nor fine Courtſhip. After he had waded through an Ocean of Difficulties, he dy'd in Quiet, Peace and Honour. The two next dy'd in War and Action, and both at Sea; who were Sir *John Lawſon*, and Mr. *Edward Mountague*. The Former was a poor Man's Son of *Hull*, who being bred to the Sea, by his great Induſtry and Courage ſoon became Captain of a Man of War, and ſignaliz'd himſelf in all the ſeveral Battels againſt the *Dutch*, during the Uſurpation; and afterwards gain'd new Honours in the *Mediterranean*, by bringing *Argiers*, and other great Diſturbers of Commerce, to Terms of Reaſon and Submiſſion; till at laſt, being one of the Admirals under the Duke of *York*, he bravely ventur'd and loſt his Life in the late great Sea-Fight, as was before mention'd. The Other, Mr. *Mountague*, was Son to the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, a near Relation to the Earl of *Sandwich*, and the Queen's Maſter of the Horſe, who, having nobly diſplay'd his Courage, he was cut off in the unſucceſsful Attempt at *Berghen*, under Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, to the particular Regret of the Court; being a young Gentleman ſo finely accompliſh'd by Nature and his own Induſtry, that it was always a Doubt among his Friends which was moſt agreeable, his polite Wit, or his gentile Behaviour. The Fourth to be mention'd, and very different from all the Reſt, is Sir *Kenelme Digby*, a Gentleman of the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Family, the head *Vertuoſo* of the Times, One of a ſtrange extenſive and unbounded Genius, who by his unweary'd Induſtry, and his various Travels into many Foreign Countries, brought himſelf to a prodigious Inſight into all Parts of Knowledge; ſo that he was generally ſtyl'd the *Magazine of all Arts*, and by ſome the *Ornament of the Nation*: He was beſides a Man of intrepid Courage and Gallantry; his Perſon handſom and ſurprizing, accompany'd with ſuch a graceful Elocution and noble Addreſs, as commanded Reſpect from all Strangers. Yet with all his Accompliſhments, both of Body and Mind, his Wit and Invention did ſometimes ſo tranſport him, that he is charg'd with ſuch unlimited Vanities, and Romantick Extravagancies as are hardly conſiſtent with the ſound Senſe and exact Judgment that he ſo often manifeſted to the Learned World. This excellent and exorbitant Man dy'd in the 63d Year of his Age, at his Houſe in *Covent-Garden London*; which had been a Rendezvous to the greateſt Wits and *Vertuoſi* of the Age.

The Deaths of the Earl of Lindſey,

Sir John Lawſon,

Mr. Mountague,

Sir Kenelme Digby,

Among the Divines we ſhall firſt take Notice of Dr. *John Earle*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, a Perſon educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards made Chaplain and Tutor to the preſent King, when Prince of *Wales*: After he had ſuffer'd with him in his Exile, at the Reſtoration, he was gradually made Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Biſhop of *Worceſter*, till he arriv'd at the See of *Salisbury*: He was a Man of a moſt gentile and obliging Temper; and one ſays of him, 'That ſince Mr. *Richard Hooker*, none have liv'd, whom God had bleſs'd with more in-

Biſhop Earle,

1665. Car. 17 Ref. 6.

Dean Warmeſtry,

'nocent Wiſdom, more ſanctify'd Learning, or a more pious, peaceable, 'primitive Temper than he.' The next was Dr. *Thomas Warmeſtry*, Dean of *Worceſter*, a worthy Divine, educated in the ſame Univerſity of *Oxford*; who, having loſt all his Preferments in the late Troubles, ſettled at *London*, and there became the Almoner General to the Sufferers for the Royal Intereſt, the chief Confeſſor to Loyal Martyrs, a conſtant and indefatigable Viſitor and Comforter of ſick and diſtreſſed Cavaliers, zealous and happy in converting Infidels, induſtrious in reclaiming the Looſe, and eſtabliſhing the Wavering, and no leſs vigorous in preparing his Auditors for the Sacrament, and for Death; in all which he out-did the contrary Party in their own Talent of Preaching. The three other Divines were all *Presbyterians*, Dr. *William Spurſtow*, Dr. *Francis Cheynell*, and Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs*, all three celebrated Incendiaries in the late Times

Dr. Spurſtow,

of Confuſion. The firſt Dr. *Spurſtow*, was the moſt moderate of the three, yet was one of the five who compoſed the Book that ſo boldly ſtruck at the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, call'd *Smectymnuus*; the other four being *Stephen Marſhall*, *Edmund Calamy*, *Thomas Young*, and *Matthew Newcomen*, the initial Letters of whoſe Names compos'd that uncommon Word: Notwithſtanding this, and ſome Sermons of his before the Long Parliament, he is ſaid to be of a peaceable and humble Diſpoſition. He was one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, Maſter of *Catharine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and Miniſter of *Hackney* near *London*; out of the Maſterſhip he was ejected for refuſing the *Engagement*, and out of the laſt for

Dr. Cheynell,

Non-Compliance with the *Act of Uniformity*. The Second, Dr. *Cheynell*, was likewiſe one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and a frequent Preacher before the Parliament, and Miniſter of the rich Living of *Petworth* in *Suſſex*: He was a Man of conſiderable Learning and great Abilities, and of great Perſonal Strength and Courage, all which he employ'd to good and bad Purpoſes; having ſuch a Heat in his Temper as for a while diſorder'd his Brain, the Fury of which ſufficiently ſhew'd it ſelf in his Behaviour at the Funeral of the great Mr. *Chillingworth*, which has been

And Dr. Burgeſs.

formerly mention'd. The laſt, Dr. *Burgeſs*, was alſo one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and a very frequent Preacher before the Long Parliament, and one of the greateſt *Boutefeu*'s of the whole Party, being the perpetual Trumpeter to the worſt and moſt violent Proceedings of that Parliament: He was certainly a great Inſtrument in bringing on the Miſeries of the Nation, as is formerly remember'd, in which he was ſo furiouſly active, and withal ſo ſcandalouſly ſubſervient, that few or none have undertaken to vindicate him. He had been educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and made Chaplain to the late King; but being diſguſted with a Proſecution in the *High Commiſſion* Court, and his Ambition unanſwer'd, he ſhew'd himſelf a true Time-Server, and gain'd ſo much as to grow rich by the Purchaſe of Biſhop's Lands: But after the Reſtoration, he loſt all, and living privately at *Watford* in *Hertfordſhire*, he there dy'd in great Want and Poverty, tormented and eaten up with a Cancer in his Neck and Cheek; a fearful Inſtance of Rebellion and Sacriledge. An Incendiary, let his *Religion* or *Cauſe* be what it will, is never to be ſpared by an impartial Hiſtorian; whoſe Buſineſs is to diſplay the Honour, and expoſe the Infamy of all that make a Noiſe in the World.

1665/6. Car. 18 Ref. 6.

The Caſe of the Dutch,

III. 1. About the Beginning of the New Year, the two contending Nations of *England* and *Holland* were both preparing for new War and Action, which they ſeem'd reſolv'd to carry on with the utmoſt Power and Vigour. The *Dutch*, in the preceding Year, had been manifeſtly the greateſt Sufferers by Sea; and while they were ſtruggling with thoſe

Philips. Temple. D'Eſtrades. Tromp's Life. Caſtlemain. Gumble. Skinner. MSS.

thoſe Inconveniencies, they had ſtill a greater Difficulty to defend themſelves by Land. For the Biſhop of *Munſter*, as was hinted in the King's Speech to the Parliament, being encourag'd by the *Engliſh*, and ſupported by their Mony, had advanc'd into the Country of *Frieſland*, and defeating ſeveral conſiderable Parties of the *Dutch*, had taken ſome Towns, and had pillag'd and burnt ſeveral Villages, while Prince *Maurice*, with eighteen thouſand Men, was little more than a Spectator. The *Dutch*, under this Mortification, had no Friends or Aſſiſtants but the King of *France*, the *Lunenburgers*, and the *Brandenburgers*; which laſt were cold in the Cauſe, and choſe rather to be negotiating a Mediation between the *States* of *Holland* and the Biſhop of *Munſter*. The *Lunenburgers* were altogether as indifferent in the Matter, and ſent to excuſe themſelves to the King of *England*, for what they had done, and pretended Ignorance of the Grounds and Cauſes of the Biſhop's taking Arms. The greateſt Hopes and Dependence of the States was in the *French* King; who, tho' provok'd by the Biſhop of *Munſter*, yet ſent them only a Supply of ſome ſickly Troops, which rather more infected than aſſiſted their Allies; and therefore were ſent to quarter in the *Brandenburgers* Country, as if they went chiefly for freſh Air. But ſtill the Biſhop of *Munſter*, with all theſe Advantages, thought himſelf not ſufficiently ſupported by the *Engliſh* Mony, and became a little wavering; which occaſion'd Chancellor *Clarendon* to uſe theſe Words, in a Letter to Sir *William Temple* at *Bruſſels*: 'And as the Failing towards the Biſhop of *Munſter* has not proceeded from any Faults of ours, but even 'from the Hand of God; ſo we ſhall out of hand repair theſe Omiſſions.' In the ſame Letter he complain'd of the great Weight that lay upon them in carrying on one War againſt the *Dutch*, and preparing for another againſt *France*; and afterwards has theſe remarkable Words, 'There is nothing now ought to be labour'd with ſo much Induſtry and 'Dexterity, as the uniting *England*, *Spain* and *Flanders*; which wou'd 'give, and which only can give Peace to *Chriſtendom*. I am ſure our 'Maſter is paſſionately inclin'd to it; and truely I think *Spain* is well 'diſpos'd in the main; yet I know not how by the fatal Delay in Diſ'patch there, and it may be their Expectation, that in the Straights we are 'in, we ſhall buy their Friendſhip at a Rate we ſhall never pay for, 'there is not the Haſte made that the Affair required.

1665. Car. 18 Reſ. 6.

Who depend upon France.

Chancellor Hyde's *Opinion.*

About the middle of the Winter the *French* King began to be very ſenſible, that the *Engliſh* were much ſuperior to the *Dutch* by Sea; and being apprehenſive of the prevailing Power of the former, he more than once threatned to declare War againſt them: But yet to make it rather a Politick Intrigue, than an open compleat Rupture, he began with acquainting the Queen Mother of *England*, *That tho', by means of the repeated Inſtigations of the* Dutch, *he cou'd no longer keep off a Declaration of War againſt his Majeſty of* Great Britain; *yet he ſhou'd always preſerve the ſame Eſteem and Value for his Majeſty's Perſon, hoping that his* Britannick *Majeſty wou'd always continue the ſame Kindneſs and Affection for him.* To prevent or divert this impending Storm, the Lord *Hollis*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, preſented a Memorial to the *French* King, teſtifying his Maſter's Inclination to Peace: But knowing the Humour of the *French*, and finding that their Ambaſſador *Courtin* had ſaid at *Oxford*, *The Parliament might give as they pleas'd, he was ſure the People wou'd never pay the Mony*, he inſerted this Paragraph in his Memorial, which ſhou'd not be here omitted: 'The *Dutch* at 'firſt hop'd to make their Advantage of ſome ſuppos'd Diſorders in '*England*, or of the King's not being able to carry on the War for want 'of Mony; which embolden'd them to injure and inſult us, and actual'ly to begin a War with us in *Guiney*. But, God be thanked, they are

Hollis's *Memorial to the* French *King.*

1665. Car. 18 Ref. 6.

'so out of their Calculation, That the People of *England* were never 'better united than at preſent: And as to Mony, the King will never 'want any to carry on the War. I can ſay this perhaps with more Aſ-'ſurance than another, having been converſant with Parliamentary Af-'fairs theſe forty Years, from the Time of King *James* of happy Me-'mory; and I will affirm, that the two Houſes are ſo zealous for their 'Prince's Glory, and the Publick Intereſt of the Nation, that they will 'not ſuffer the leaſt Want of what is neceſſary to finiſh this War. If what 'is already given be defective, they will give three Quarters, and reſerve 'only for themſelves what is neceſſary to keep them alive. *This, Sir, 'is what I am ſure the King my Maſter will meet with in the Affection 'of his People, for the Support of his Rights, againſt the Inſults and Vi-'olences of his Enemies.*

The French King's Declaration of War againſt England.

The Memorial was preſented on the 20th Day of *January*; notwithſtanding which, the *French* King within ſix Days after publiſh'd his *Declaration of War againſt* England, which begins with this following mild Narrative: 'His Majeſty having receiv'd Advice, that ſome Miſunder-'ſtandings had aroſe between *England* and the *United Provinces*, or-'der'd his Ambaſſadors in Ordinary to try all the good Offices in his 'Name to endeavour to ſtifle this Diviſion in its Birth; and having with 'Grief underſtood, that both Sides were ſo exaſperated as to come to 'Acts of Hoſtility, his Majeſty ſent Ambaſſadors Extraordinary to the 'King of *Great Britain*, to endeavour by new Offices to pacify and 'compoſe thoſe Differences by an Accommodation: But the Mediation 'not meeting with the promis'd Effect, the *States General* of the *United 'Provinces* have, with preſſing Inſtances, continu'd to ſolicite his Maje-'ſty to execute the Treaty of a *Defenſive League* concluded with them 'the 27th of *April* 1662: And his Majeſty finding himſelf oblig'd to per-'form his Royal Word, and the Engagements into which he enter'd by 'a *Solemn Treaty*, at a Time when *England* and *Holland* were entire 'Friends, and without any Proſpect of a Rupture; his Majeſty has de-'clared, and by theſe ſign'd Preſents does declare, that he has agreed and 'reſolv'd to aſſiſt the ſaid *States General* of the *United Provinces*, pur-'ſuant to the ſaid *Defenſive League*, and to join all his Forces to theirs, 'to act againſt the *Engliſh*, as well by Sea as by Land. And for that 'End, his Majeſty commands all his Subjects, *&c.* to attack the 'ſaid *Engliſh*; and forbids them hereafter to have any Communi-'cation, Commerce, or Intelligence with them on Pain of Death.—' Before the Publication of this Declaration, the *French* King and the *States* had in Effect made themſelves ſecure of the King of *Denmark*, who having been by Miſtake unkindly treated by *England* upon the *Berghen* Expedition, was privately induc'd, upon the Payment of a certain Sum of Mony, to come into this following Treaty: '1. That 'each Party ſhou'd abſolutely deſiſt from all former Pretenſions. 2. That 'all Miſunderſtandings in *Norway* ſhou'd be totally forgotten. 3. That 'the *States General* ſhou'd engage to pay the King of *Denmark* fifteen 'hundred thouſand Livers *per Annum*, as long as the War againſt *Eng-'land* ſhou'd continue; of which the *French* ſhou'd pay three hundred 'thouſand Livers yearly for their Part: For which his *Daniſh* Majeſty 'ſhou'd engage to maintain a Fleet at Sea of thirty Ships of War, to be 'employ'd in the Service of the *States*, of which ſome ſhou'd be fur-'niſh'd with a ſufficient Number of Regular Troops.' This Treaty was carry'd on with that Secrecy, that the King of *England* had no Notice of it till the Concluſion: For the Secretary of the *Daniſh* King's Embaſſy in *Holland*, was ſent *Incognito* by the Miniſters of that Prince, immediately after the finiſhing the Treaty, to the King their Maſter, to preſent it to him, and get his Ratification; after which the Secretary re-

Denmark *joins with* Holland.

turn'd

turn'd with all Expedition to the *Hague*. By which clandeſtine Management, the *Engliſh* Reſident at *Denmark*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, had not Time to caution the Merchants of his own Nation; ſo that all their Effects were ſeiz'd and confiſcated throughout the whole Extent of the Kingdom. 1665. Car. 18 Reſ. 6.

The Swedes *reſent it.*

This was ſo ill reſented by the Regents of *Sweden*, that they declared to all Publick Miniſters their Reſolution to ſtand firm to the League with *England:* In order to which, General *Wrangle*, underſtanding that ſome *Dutch* Frigates were come into the *Elbe*, where at that Time rode a Fleet of *Engliſh* Merchantmen, commanded a *Swediſh* Man of War to guard them, and rather to ſink by their Sides, than to ſuffer them to receive any Injury. The ſame Care was likewiſe taken by the *Swedes* to ſecure the *Engliſh* in *Schonen*. They alſo ſent an Ambaſſador into *Denmark*, to expoſtulate the Reaſon of their new Alliance, and to teſtify their Diſlike of the whole Tranſaction. And when the *Daniſh* Reſident, in a formal Speech, endeavour'd to give the Queen and Regents of *Sweden* 'an Account of his Maſter's Intentions in that League for the Security of the *Sound*, and the Provocations pretended from *England*, which 'forc'd him to a Retaliation, and offer'd to have the Crown of *Sweden* 'included in the ſame Alliance;' he was briskly anſwer'd, *That the Procedure of his Maſter ſeem'd ſo unfair and diſhonourable, that they knew not how any Prince for the future wou'd treat with him.* But the *Swedes*, ſeeing what the *Danes* had determined, reſolv'd by no Means to ſuffer the *Sound* to be ſhut up at Pleaſure; therefore they reinforc'd their Garriſons in *Schonen*, and prepared a ſufficient Navy for their Defence. However, to ſhew themſelves not altogether averſe from Peace, the *Swedes* afterwards form'd a Project for an Accommodation between the *States* and Themſelves, which contain'd ſo many Points of Reſtitutions and Reparations, to be made by the *States*, as cou'd meet with no favourable Reception: Eſpecially ſince the *Swedes* inſiſted to be admitted into the Trade of the *Indies*; a Point, above all the reſt, in which the *Dutch* were moſt jealous and tenacious.

Soon after the Defection of *Denmark*, the Biſhop of *Munſter* began to ſhew the ſame mercenary Temper; and being preſs'd by the *French*, the *Dutch*, and the *Brandenburgers*, and wanting ſome Remainder of the *Engliſh* Subſidies, he hearken'd to Propoſals of Accommodation. Sir *William Temple*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at *Bruſſels*, who had been a chief Inſtrument in the Alliance, wrote a pathetick Letter to him; and ſhortly after took a Journey to *Munſter*, to endeavour to keep him true to it, but in vain. But upon his Return to *Bruſſels*, being inform'd that Monſieur *Colbert*, the *French* Miniſter, was going to *Munſter* to hire the Troops the Biſhop deſign'd to diſmiſs, Sir *William* by a Letter repreſented to that Prince, 'How unjuſt, how treacherous, how ungrateful it wou'd appear, for thoſe Troops that were rais'd and arm'd by the 'King his Maſter's Mony, to enter into the Service of a foreign Prince, 'now at open Enmity with *England*; by which Means they became 'Rebels rather than Enemies: And therefore deſired that thoſe Troops 'be plac'd in the Service of the King of *Spain*, who had been long his '*Britannick* Majeſty's Friend and Confederate.' However, the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Munſter* Envoys met at *Cleve*, and there by the Mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburgh* concluded a Peace, notwithſtanding Sir *William*'s Endeavours to prevent it; who with great Difficulty and Danger, in the Diſguiſe of a *Spaniard*, repair'd to *Munſter* juſt as the Treaty was ſign'd. The Biſhop wou'd have engag'd him to ſtay there, till he had repreſented his Reaſons to the King his Maſter, and receiv'd his Anſwer; but Sir *William* finding his Deſign was to keep him there, while

The Biſhop of Munſter *falls off from* England.

1665. Car. 18 Ref. 6. while his Agent at *Bruſſels* receiv'd Bills of Exchange from *England*, wiſely refus'd to comply. So with the ſame Secrecy, and no leſs Danger and Fatigue, Sir *William* haſtned through the wildeſt Country, and had the good Fortune to arrive at *Bruſſels* Time enough to ſtop ſeveral Bills of Exchange, that wou'd otherwiſe have fallen into the Hands of the Biſhop's Agent, and to forbid the Payment of the reſt he receiv'd in his Abſence. And thus ended the whole Affair of *Munſter*, that made ſo much Noiſe, and rais'd ſo much Expectation in the World: However, Sir *William* ſo well concerted with the Biſhop, that he engag'd him to ſend five or ſix thouſand of his beſt Troops into the *Spaniſh* Service, upon the Governor's paying fifty thouſand Pattacoons, and obliging himſelf to reſtore them, when the Biſhop wanted them, upon the Re-payment of the like Sum; which however defeated the Negotiation of Monſieur *Colbert* at *Munſter*

England's bad Condition. Thus the King of *England*, before he cou'd enter upon his ſecond Year's Expedition, was abandon'd and left deſtitute of his chief Friends and Supporters, and likewiſe forc'd to contend and ſtruggle with unforeſeen and powerful Enemies; and all this while a dreadful Plague, tho' juſt expired in the City of *London*, ſtill rag'd in many other Cities and Towns in the Kingdom. Of his new Enemies, the *French* were more fair than the *Danes:* For upon the Lord *Hollis*'s remonſtrating at *Paris* the great Injuſtice of the new *Declaration of War*, which ſubjected the *Engliſh* Eſtates and Perſons to all Acts of Hoſtility, contrary to former Treaties between the two Crowns, allowing three Months to each Party for withdrawing Effects after a Rupture; the *French* King thereupon iſſu'd out a ſecond Proclamation, allowing the *Engliſh* the ſaid Liberty of three Months to tranſport themſelves and their Goods.

The King, &c. return to London. **2.** In the mean Time, the Plague being in a manner ceas'd in *London*, on the firſt of *February* the King, with his Royal Brother the Duke of *York*, left *Hampton-Court* and *Oxford*, and repair'd to his Palace at *Whitehall*, to the infinite Joy of the City, which they manifeſted with Bells, Bonfires, and more than ordinary Marks of Exultation. And the next Day the Lord-Mayor and the Sheriffs of the City of *London* waited upon his Majeſty with a particular Compliment from the City, *in a humble and hearty Welcome to his happy Return, after ſo long and melancholy an Abſence*; and were ſo graciouſly receiv'd, that his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on Alderman *Robert Hanſon*, and Alderman *William Hooker*, the two Sheriffs of the City. The Queen, being much indiſpos'd, was for a while left behind, who met with an Illneſs and Misfortune that was leaſt of all expected, which was a Miſcarriage of a Child, and which her Infirmities wou'd not permit her to bring to Maturity. Of which Affair, we find theſe Words in a Manuſcript of a knowing Miniſter, ‘ *February* the 10th, It is whiſper'd that the Queen ‘ gives out, That the true Cauſe of her Miſcarriage was a Longing to ‘ ſee the King, and not ſhe her ſelf, who ſaid, *She was ſure ſhe cou'd ‘ never eſcape it!* So great was her Paſſion at that Time.'

The Queen miſcarries.

The King being ſettled again at *Whitehall*, and finding the hearty Zeal of his Subjects, without any Fear or Delay publiſh'd his *Declaration of War againſt the* French; which began in theſe modeſt Terms: ‘ Where- ‘ as the *French* King, pretending the Execution of a *Defenſive Treaty* ‘ with the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, and thereby deter- ‘ mining us to be the Aggreſſors and Invaders of them (the contrary to ‘ which is moſt notoriouſly known to all the World) did on the $\frac{16}{26}$th of ‘ *January* laſt declare War againſt our Subjects, making himſelf thus the ‘ Aggreſſor, and rendring the Peace we have always deſired with the ‘ ſaid

The King's Declaration of War againſt France.

'ſaid *States* more difficult; towards which the *French* King's Ambaſſa- 1665.
'dors never offer'd either Satisfaction for paſt Injuries done to our Sub- Car. 18
'jects, or a fair Regulation of Commerce for the future; We relying Reſ. 6.
'upon the Help of God Almighty in the *Juſtice of our Cauſe*, and be-
'ing aſſured of the Valour and Affections of our Subjects in Defence
'thereof, have thought fit to declare, and by theſe Preſents do Declare,
'That we will oppoſe the *French* King, and vigorouſly proſecute the
'War which he hath ſo unjuſtly begun, with the utmoſt of our Force by
'Sea and Land, *&c.*' — After he had forbid all his Subjects from holding Correſpondence with the *French*, upon Pain of Death, he nevertheleſs graciouſly declar'd, 'That all ſuch of the *French* or *Dutch* Nation, re-
'maining in his Dominions, as ſhou'd demean themſelves dutifully, with-
'out correſponding with his Enemies, ſhou'd be ſafe in their Perſons and
'Eſtates, and free from all Moleſtation and Trouble. And further, he
'declared, That if any of the *French* or *Low-Country* Subjects, upon
'any Reaſon ſhou'd come into his Kingdoms, they ſhou'd be all prote-
'cted in their Perſons and Eſtates, and eſpecially thoſe of the *Reform-
'ed Religion*, whoſe Intereſt ſhou'd ever be particularly owned by
'Him.

This Declaration was on the 10th of *February* publiſh'd with the uſu- *The Nation pleas'd with it.*
al Solemnities by the Heralds at Arms in ſeveral Parts of the City, where there appear'd a general Harmony and Satisfaction. His Majeſty then iſſu'd out his Orders to all the Maritime Counties to put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence; which they did with all poſſible Readineſs and Alacrity, and offer'd their continual Attendance of their Militia in Arms; but the King unwilling to give them a needleſs Trouble and Expence, was pleas'd to direct their Diſmiſſion and return home, till farther Occaſion ſhou'd require. Thus early were the People warm'd and animated againſt the Power of *France*, before they cou'd foreſee the Swelling Exorbitance of it: For at this Time the *French* King, tho' he had undoubtedly form'd vaſt Deſigns in his Head, had himſelf done nothing ſo great either by Sea or Land, as to give any direful Apprehenſions to his Neighbours, beſides the Purchaſe of *Dunkirk*; which at that Time was not look'd upon as a Matter ſo formidable, as it afterwards appear'd.

3. It was with all the foremention'd Inconveniencies and Difficulties 1666.
that the King undertook and began the ſecond Year's Expedition againſt Car. 18
the *Dutch*, now ſtrengthen'd or encourag'd by a new Alliance; which Reſ. 6.
caus'd them to put to Sea with great Readineſs and Forwardneſs. The *Engliſh* Fleet was no ways defective in Expedition; and becauſe it was ſtill reſolv'd that the Admiral the Duke of *York* ſhou'd not adventure his Perſon, and that the Earl of *Sandwich* was now ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, it was therefore appointed that Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albermarle*, two intrepid Commanders, ſhou'd be his Majeſty's Generals at Sea for this Summer's Expedition; having Sir *George Ayſcough* Admiral of the *White*, and Sir *Thomas Allen* of the *Blue* Squadron. Theſe, with other brave Soldiers, on the 23d of *April*, went down to the Fleet, and enter'd on the Command of it. They lay for ſome Time at the *Buoy in the Nore*, where they were ſolemnly viſited by the King Himſelf and his Royal Brother, on the 3d of *May*. On the 23d they arriv'd at the *Gun-Fleet*, and were riding in the *Downs* on the 29th, when Prince *Rupert* receiv'd particular Orders to leave the grand Fleet, and ſail with twenty great Ships and joyn with ten more at *Plymouth*, to meet and intercept the *French* Fleet under the Duke of *Beaufort*, which were believ'd to be then coming from *Belle-Iſle* into the *Engliſh Channel*. This

The ſecond Year's Expedition againſt the Dutch.

was

1666. Car. 18 Ref. 7.

was thought an artificial Rumour to divide the *Engliſh* Fleet: The Orders however were too haſtily obey'd; and at the ſame Time it was reported that the *Dutch* Fleet wou'd not be out in ſix Weeks.

Neither of theſe prov'd true; and the Want of exact Intelligence prov'd very pernicious, tho' not fatal to the *Engliſh*, who on *Friday* the 1ſt of *June*, diſcover'd the whole *Dutch* Fleet under *De Ruyter* and *Tromp*, at Anchor near *Newport*, conſiſting of ninety one Sail, when theirs amounted to a little above Fifty. Upon which Admiral *Monk* call'd a Council of the Flag-Officers, who agreed with him, 'That, conſidering the preſent 'State and Circumſtances, it wou'd be unſafe and diſhonourable to retire 'and decline the Battle;' and ſo, with this great Inequality, they reſolv'd to engage the Enemy; and tho' the Height of the Wind hinder'd them from uſing their loweſt Tire of Guns, they fell in with ſo briſk a Reſolution, that the *Dutch* were forc'd to cut their Cables, not having Time to weigh Anchor. And thus, with ſuch Thunderings as reach'd the City of *London*, began that bloody and celebrated Battle of four Days, 'the Memory of which, according to the Words of a *Dutch* Writer, 'ought to be preſerv'd to all Poſterity, as well for the unexampled 'Bravery of the *Engliſh*, tho' over-power'd by Numbers, becauſe divi-'ded in Force, as for the dear bought Advantage of the *Hollanders*, 'which yet was far from meriting the Name of a Victory, tho' State 'Policy requir'd it ſhou'd be extoll'd and proclaim'd abroad as one of the 'moſt compleat Kind.

The Second BATTLE.

First Day.

The Particulars of this Battle are ſomewhat variouſly related, according to the Judgement and Opinion of each Party: But in General all agree that the Duke of *Albemarle*, the *Engliſh* Admiral, with his unequal Numbers moſt glorioufly engag'd and fought the whole *Dutch* Fleet for the beſt Part of three Days. The Firſt Day's Fight was manag'd with great Bravery on both Sides, and with almoſt equal Advantage. After which, ſoon in the next Morning, calling the Commanders and Captains to a Council of War, he ſpoke to them after this Manner: *Had we fear'd the double Number of the Enemy, we ſhou'd have fled Yeſterday; for tho' we are inferior to them in Ships, in all Things elſe we are Superior. Numbers make them bold, and couragious: Let us reflect upon that Fortune and Valour, which the* Dutch *have ſo often felt to their woful Experience. Let our Adverſaries find to Day, that tho' our Fleet be divided, our Courage is entire; and when we conſider our own Glory and ancient Renown, how much more honourable will it be to dye reveng'd upon the Seas, than to be carry'd Priſoners, as a Spectacle of Triumph to the* Dutch? *It is leſs Diſgrace to be overcome than fly; and Death is to be prefer'd before Fear.* This was immediately ſucceeded with the ſecond Day's Fight, which was more terrible and bloody than the Former, eſpecially in the Afternoon; ſo that there were few Ships of either Fleet but ſufficiently felt the Effects of it by the Loſs of their Maſts, Round-Tops, Sails and Rigging. And, notwithſtanding the *Dutch* receiv'd that Day a new Supply of ſixteen Ships, both Fleets parted that Night without any apparent Advantage on either Side. In the Third Day's Fight, the Numbers being ſtill more unequal, the *Engliſh* retired towards their own Shore: Yet in this the Valour and Conduct of their Admiral appear'd in full Splendor; for being Himſelf ever in the Rear, he ſo bravely and warmly receiv'd the Purſuers, and ſo skilfully cover'd and protected the weakeſt of the *Engliſh* Ships, that moſt of them made a commodious and ſafe Retreat.

Second Day.

Third Day.

Fourth Day.

The Duke having thus unequally and bravely fought for three Days, Prince *Rupert*, hearing the Noiſe of the Cannon, came up and joyn'd him; and ſo there began a fourth Day's Fight, which was continu'd in ſeveral

veral Forms and Ways, with incredible Bravery and Reſolution: And it may be ſaid, that there and then it was, that the Valour of all in general and of every One in particular, appear'd in its full Power and Luſtre. The Conſequence of which was ſufficiently hideous and diſmal; on both Sides a ſad Spectacle to be ſeen of dead and wounded Men, and a terrible Harveſt of Maſts mown down, and of Sails and all ſorts of Tackle tumbling into the Sea, with all the Mixtures of Horror and Confuſion. Prince *Rupert*, with a Courage and Heat peculiar to Himſelf, with his Squadron fought four or five Times through the whole Body of the *Dutch* Fleet with good Advantage; but when he thought Himſelf ready to reap the Fruits of his Valour, he found his Maſts were ſhot off, and his Ship diſabled for any Purſuit. And now both Sides being miſerably ſhatter'd, as the Evening came on, they retired to their own Coaſts, each of them Challenging the Victory; but the *Dutch* coming out firſt, were reputed to be Maſters of the Sea. The Loſſes were conſiderable on both Sides, but variouſly related. The *Dutch* are ſaid to have loſt above fifteen Ships and twenty one Captains, and above five thouſand common Seamen. The *Engliſh* had nine Men of War taken or burnt, of which the chief was the *Prince*, a firſt Rate Ship commanded by Sir *George Ayſcough*, which being unfortunately ſtranded, Sir *George* was taken Priſoner, and the Ship burnt. The Ships that eſcap'd ſuffer'd terribly for the moſt part, eſpecially in their Rigging; and of thoſe Men that were kill'd, which were ſtill leſs numerous than the *Dutch*, Sir *William Berkley* and Sir *Chriſtopher Minns* were the moſt noted, and lamented.

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Both Sides challenge the Victory.

In this memorable Battle of four Days, there were diſcover'd innumerable Inſtances of the Valour and Bravery of particular Men; of which we ſhall only mention two of the *Engliſh*, and both taken from the Accounts publiſh'd by the *Dutch*, which were thoſe of Sir *John Harman*, and Sir *William Berkley*. The Former was Rear-Admiral of the *White*, and Commander of the *Henry* of ſeventy ſix Guns, of whom they give us this Account. —'Whoſe Ship having been vigorouſly attack'd by *De* 'Ruyter, and ſome other Ships of his Squadron, and being very much 'ſhatter'd, *De Ruyter* ſent out a Fireſhip, which faſtned upon her and 'ſet her on Fire; but the firſt Fireſhip was put off and ſunk, and the 'Flames in the Rear-Admiral extinguiſh'd. Then another Fireſhip of 'the *Zealand* Squadron was ſent to burn her; and again ſet the *Engliſh* 'Ship in Flames, but that was likewiſe repell'd, and the Fire quencht. 'A Third Fireſhip, under the Covert of Admiral *Evertz*'s Guns, was 'once more ſent to try to repair the former Miſcarriages, but was no 'more fortunate; for faſtning upon the *Engliſh* Rear-Admiral, he indeed 'ſet fire to him; but in a Moment that was quencht, and the Fireſhip 'ſunk with the Cannon-Shot: So that according to the Teſtimony of all 'the *Dutch* Officers, who were Spectators of that glorious Action, the 'undaunted Bravery of the *Engliſh* Commander cou'd not be ſufficiently admired; which was ſo much the more remarkable, becauſe near 'three Hundred of his Men had deſerted him, and leapt into the Sea, 'at the Approach of the two firſt Fireſhips. And at the End of the 'Conflict, the ſame Rear-Admiral perform'd likewiſe an Action glorious to Him, but fatal to Us, by a Cannon-Shot, that took away the 'Life of the illuſtrious Admiral *Evertz*, whoſe good Conduct and 'great Courage had made him admired both in this and other Encounters.' As to the other Inſtance of Sir *William Berkley*, they write thus: 'Among other remarkable Paſſages in the Fight, the undaunted Reſolution of Vice-Admiral *Berkley* was particularly admired; who having 'had forty Men kill'd on board him, and being no longer able to make

Great Inſtances of Valour.

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'Reſiſtance, yet was ſo obſtinately bent to fight, that he wou'd take no 'Quarter; and wou'd have kill'd with his own Hand three or four of his 'Enemies that had boarded his Ship: But at laſt being ſhot into the 'Throat with a Musket Bullet, he retired into his Cabbin, where laying 'himſelf at Length on the Table, he was in that Poſture found dead by 'the Victors, all cover'd with the Blood that flow'd out of his Wounds. After all the ſame Writers tell us, 'That under God, the undaunted 'Courage and wiſe Conduct of Admiral *De Ruyter* had the greateſt 'Share in what Advantage was gotten in that fierce Battel againſt the 'Potent and Warlike; who, tho' out-number'd and overpower'd, yet 'fought ſo obſtinately, that they wou'd in all Probability have raviſh'd 'the Victory from a leſs expert and valiant Commander than himſelf.

The Dutch *appear a ſecond Time.*

4. Both Parties being retired to their own Coaſts and Harbours, the *Dutch*, eſpecially *De Wit*'s Party, ſhew'd all the Marks of Joy and Triumph for their dear bought Victory; and, being again encourag'd by the Promiſes of the *French* Ambaſſador, they us'd all poſſible Vigour and Diligence to put to Sea again. They had the Credit and Reputation of appearing on the Ocean, before the *Engliſh* were ready to come out; which caus'd them to ride braving upon the Coaſts, dating their Letters and Paſſports *From aboard the* Seven Provinces *in the Mouth of the River of* London. They conſiſted of eighty ſix Sail, and were divided into three Squadrons, the firſt commanded by *De Ruyter*, the ſecond by the other *Evertz*, and the third by *Tromp*; and as they rode upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, they often made towards *France*, in a ſecond Expectation of meeting the *French* Fleet to join them, under the Command of the Duke of *Beaufort*. They had not been long at Sea, when they were very much ſurpriz'd to ſee their Enemy, whom they thought they had irrecoverably weaken'd for one Year, appear with no leſs than ninety Sail of Men of War, and twenty Fire-Ships, *&c.* They were likewiſe divided into three Squadrons; the *Red* under the Command of Prince *Rupert* and General *Monk*, the *White* under Sir *Thomas Allen*, and the *Blue* under Sir *Jeremy Smith*. Beſides whom there were theſe brave Commanders, Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, Captain *Utbert*, Sir *Robert Holms*, Sir *Edward Spragge*, and Captain *Kempthorn*, who had each of them the Honour to bear a Flag.

The Engliſh *meet them.*

The Third BATTEL.

In a very ſhort Time, on the 24th of *July*, the two formidable Fleets came in Sight of each other, reſolving to exert themſelves to the utmoſt Degree; and the next Morning began the Battel with all imaginable Fierceneſs and Fury. Never were greater Numbers of Guns diſcharg'd within the Space of four Hours; the dreadful roaring of which ſeem'd to outvie all the Thunderings of the Heavens; and the Smoak clouded the very Sun, and render'd the Air blacker than in the darkeſt Winter Days. After a hideous Confuſion, and terrible Strugglings and Conflicts, *De Ruyter*, finding his Ship miſerably ſhatter'd, and three hundred of his Men ſlain or diſabled, on the Afternoon made all the Sail he cou'd, and retired, being with the reſt of his Fleet forc'd to yield to the *Engliſh* the ſo much conteſted Empire of the Sea. The latter ſunk and burnt about twenty of their Men of War, kill'd *Evertz* Admiral of *Zealand*, *Tirrick Hiddes* Admiral of *Friezland*, the Vice-Admiral of *Friezland*, and Rear-Admiral *Van-Saen*, with above four thouſand common Sea-Men, and near three thouſand wounded; and likewiſe chas'd their Ships along the Coaſts of *Zealand* and *Holland*, till with the Advantage of the Flats and Banks, over which the *Engliſh* great Ships cou'd not follow them, they got into the *Weilings*. All this was effected with a very inconſiderable, or at leaſt diſproportionable Loſs on the *Engliſh* Side. In the

The Engliſh *victorious.*

the Flight the Enemy met with a ridiculous kind of a Mortification: For, when the *Engliſh* were unable to purſue any further, the *Fanfan*, a ſort of a Pleaſure-Boat made for Prince *Rupert*, made up with her Oars to *De Ruyter* himſelf, and bringing her two little Guns on one Side, continu'd for near an Hour, plying Broad-Sides, to the great Laughter of the *Engliſh*, and Indignation of the *Dutch*, to ſee their Chief Admiral attack'd by a ſingle Sloop. 1666. Car. 18 Reſ. 7.

The Conſequences of this Victory were ſtill more conſiderable: For the Prince and the Duke, finding their Enemies in Effect block'd up in their Harbours, reſolv'd not to lye unemploy'd on the *Dutch* Coaſts; but underſtanding that there were many rich Merchant Ships at the *Vly* near the Mouth of the *Texel*, they order'd Sir *Robert Holms*, a Man of an enterprizing Spirit, to undertake the Deſtruction of thoſe Veſſels, and to make a Deſcent into the Iſlands. Sir *Robert* having form'd the Scheme and Manner of proceeding, and having left a Guard of Ships at the Entry of the Enemy's Harbour, he took with him five Fire-Ships, and one Frigate, beſides Pinnaces and Boats mann'd with ſelect Soldiers and Seamen, and very boldly entering in, he burnt, beſides two Men of War, a hundred and fifty large Merchant Ships, ſome of whom were *Eaſt-India* Veſſels, and richly laden. He likewiſe burnt the Town of *Brandaris* in the Iſle of *Schelling*, conſiſting of about a thouſand Houſes, and gave the remaining Plunder to the Soldiers. *Holms* having thus ſhared the Glory and Danger with his Men, came ſafely off, leaving behind him a terrible Bone-fire of Ships and Houſes, and a dreadful Conſternation on all the neighbouring Coaſts. In a good Manuſcript out of the Secretary's Office, I find that the Loſs of theſe Ships alone amounted at leaſt to ten hundred thouſand Pound Sterling. *The Conſequence of the Victory.*

5. To recover theſe Diſaſters, or rather to appeaſe the People, the *Dutch* us'd all Diligence, and put to Sea again about the End of *Auguſt*; and on the firſt of *September* paſs'd by *Dover*, and made for the Coaſt of *France*, ſtill purſuing the miſtaken Hopes of being join'd by the *French* Admiral, the Duke of *Beaufort*, who lay at *Rochelle* with forty Men of War. The *Engliſh* Fleet, now under the ſole Command of Prince *Rupert*, ſtood after them to the *Bolloign*-Road; where the *Dutch*, endeavouring to avoid another Battel, were forc'd to hawl their Veſſels cloſe to the Shore, and had probably been all burnt or ſtav'd, if a ſudden Storm had not oblig'd the other to abandon the Chace, and ſtand for St. *Hellen*'s Bay, the Place of Rendezvous, and the moſt proper Station for their hindering the Conjunction of the *Dutch* and *French* Fleets. The *Dutch* by this Means recover'd their own Coaſts; and the *French* ſeveral Times made an Attempt to join them, and once got as far as *Dieppe*: Yet with all their Caution, three or four Men of War being ſeparated from the reſt, fell among an *Engliſh* Squadron, commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*, who took the *Ruby*, a Ship of a thouſand Tunns, and five hundred Men, commanded by Monſieur *la Roche*; which Accident was a fair Pretence for the *French* Fleet to proceed no farther this Year. But in the ſame Year they found Means to do great Damages to the *Engliſh* in their Plantations upon the *Leeward* Iſlands; and almoſt totally expell'd them out of *Saint Chriſtopher*'s, and much interrupted the Trade in thoſe Parts. In the mean Time *De Ruyter*, being compell'd by Sickneſs to return home, the *States General* recall'd their Fleet, and brought the People into very ſeditious Murmurs at the ill Succeſs of it. At the ſame Time *De Ruyter* and *Tromp*, who were of two different Parties, fell into a dangerous Quarrel, and threw the Miſcarriages upon each other. The *States*, through the Intereſt of *De Wit*, favour'd the former, and took *The Dutch appear a third Time.* *But to no Effect.* *Troubles in Holland.*

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away *Tromp*'s Commiſſion, and confin'd him to *Amſterdam*; and moreover examin'd many of the Captains for Cowardiſe or ill Conduct, of whom ſome were puniſh'd with Death, and others with great Fines. All the while the People, and the inferior Cities, were crying out for Peace, and bore very hard upon *De Wit*, and his Party.

How resented by the French *King.*

It is worthy of the Reader's Knowledge how theſe Matters were taken and reſented by the *French* King, and with what a lofty Air he expreſs'd himſelf to his Ambaſſador *D' Eſtrades*, in his Letter to him of the 17th of *September*; in which he proceeded thus: 'The Provinces who cry 'out for Peace, and ſo loudly declare they can no longer maintain the Charges of the War, act directly contrary to their Aim. That is not the 'Way to obtain it, but rather to ſhew the Enemy that they ought not to 'grant it; and it is to tell them plainly, *They ought to be ſtiff, and re-* 'quire that it ſhou'd be begg'd of them at their own Doors. This it is 'to enter into cloſe Alliance with *Popular States*, who very often do 'not underſtand their *Intereſt*, making little reckoning of their *Honour*, 'their *Word*, and their *Treaties*, and act ſtill leſs out of a Principle of 'Gratitude. Their *State* had been undone, if I had not ſupported them 'againſt the ſingle Attack of the Biſhop of *Munſter*, with whom ſeveral 'Princes of the Empire wou'd have join'd, had I not declared for them. 'The King of *Denmark* embrac'd their Party only on my Account: I 'kept the *Swedes* from joining with the *Engliſh* in the War againſt them, 'to which that Nation was very much inclin'd: I reduc'd the King of 'England ſo low in his Intereſt abroad, that he had no Friend nor Ally 'in this War, which he was oblig'd to carry on with the Forces of a 'Kingdom only, divided into different Sects, all diſaffected to his Go-'vernment. I my ſelf enter'd into a War with that King, my near Re-'lation, and my Friend, only for their Intereſt, and entirely againſt my 'own, tho' it was not very evident that he was the Aggreſſor. I might 'have ſtopp'd at a ſimple Rupture, and fulfill'd the Treaty of our Alli-'ance: But I have been at the Expence of arming my Fleet, to aſſiſt 'them more powerfully; and after ſeven Months embarking ſo heartily 'and affectionately, I hear five Provinces crying out for Peace! and de-'claring *they can contribute no more to the Charges of the War*. After ſome other Complaints of the *States* Miſmanagement in this Year's Expedition, and their not joining with his Fleet, he proceeded thus: 'I 'like very well what the Sieur *De Wit* propos'd, that is, for you to de-'clare Peace ſhall be labour'd after, provided the King of *England* will 'explain himſelf on the Propoſitions made in Behalf of the *States* at '*Paris*.— In fine, I am willing to make a Peace, and have really more 'Intereſt in it than another, having none at all in the War, which can-'not produce any imaginable Advantage to me: But I wou'd have this 'Peace treated of by honourable Ways; and am reſolv'd, happen what 'will, not to ſuffer my ſelf to be impos'd upon, either by my Friends or 'my Enemies.

The Deſigns of the Republicans abroad.

IV. 1. While the King of *England* was contending and ſtruggling with the open and profeſs'd Enemies of his Kingdoms, he was, this Year as well as the laſt, not a little endanger'd by the ſecret Projects and Correſpondencies of the Republican Party, who, taking Advantage of the calamitous Times, more than ordinarily exerted themſelves. *Ludlow* himſelf freely acknowledges their new Deſigns this Year, and that a Treaty of the ſame Nature with that in *Holland* before mention'd, after the Rupture with *France*, was agreed to be carry'd on at *Paris*, where Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, *Ludlow*, and others, were to be lodg'd in the Houſe of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador; to which End they had Letters of

Ludlow. Gazette. Skinner. Philips. M S S. Leſtrange. Rot. Parl.

ſafe

safe Conduct from Monsieur *de Lionne* the *French* King's Secretary, and Passes from Monsieur *d'Estrades* the Governor of *Dunkirk*. At the same Time *Ludlow* had a Letter from *England* informing him, 'That the Condition of their Friends there was not contemptible; That they thought 'no Hazards too great to venture for the *Cause*; exhorting therefore 'to lay aside Scruples, and improve that favourable Conjuncture to the 'Advantage of the *Common-Wealth*.' He had other Letters about the same Time from Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Say*, and Colonel *Briscoe*, pressing him to engage in the Undertaking; but the Lord *Jermyn* being then upon a Treaty at *Paris*, *Ludlow* was apprehensive of the Success of his Negotiation: Notwithstanding which he promis'd, 'That if the *States* of *Holland* wou'd by a publick Declaration acknowledge their Error in delivering up their three Friends, formerly mention'd, *&c.* he wou'd heartily engage in the Enterprize.' He afterwards receiv'd another Letter from *Holland*, subscrib'd by many Hands, importing, 'That they had 'there receiv'd such an Account of the Condition of their Friends in '*England*, that the *States* were inclin'd to give them considerable Succours of all Things necessary for the Enterprize, and had a *Second Time* 'caus'd a great Body of Land Forces to be shipp'd on Board the Fleet, '*purely on their Account*, solemnly protesting, *That they had no other* '*Design than to give the good People of* England *a seasonable and effectual Aid:* So they, the Subscribers, renew'd their most affectionate Desires, *That he wou'd hasten to them, and not let another Opportunity be* '*lost*.' He was afterwards desired to command four thousand Land Men, put on board the *Dutch* Fleet, which were then commanded by Colonel *Doleman*, and design'd to be landed at a certain Place in *England*, and their Friends were to have timely Notice of their Intentions: But after all, *Ludlow* having no Satisfaction in the Points he insisted on, and being apprehensive of a discouraging Peace, declin'd the Service. 1666. Car. 18 Ref. 7.

As a natural Concatenation with this last Project, we may here properly take Notice of a more Domestick Conspiracy, as it was publish'd by the Government at the Conclusion of the Month of *April*, as following: At the Sessions in the *Old Bayly*, *John Rathbone* an old Army Colonel, *William Sanders*, *Henry Tucker*, *Thomas Flint*, *Thomas Evans*, *John Myles*, *William Wescot*, and *John Cole*, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the late Rebellion, were indicted *for conspiring the Death of his Majesty, and the Overthrow of the Government*; having laid their Plot and Contrivance for the Surprizal of the *Tower*, the killing his Grace the Lord General *Monk*, Sir *John Robinson* Lieutenant of his Majesty's *Tower* of *London*, and Sir *Richard Brown*, and then to have declared for an equal Division of Lands, *&c.* The better to effect this hellish Design, *the City was to have been fired*, and the Portcullis's to have been let down, to keep out all Assistance; the Horse Guards to have been surpris'd in the Inns where they were quarter'd, several Ostlers having been gain'd for that Purpose: The *Tower* was accordingly view'd, and its Surprize order'd by Boats over the Mote, and from thence to scale the Wall. One *Alexander*, who is not yet taken, had likewise distributed Sums of Mony to these Conspirators; and for the carrying on of the Design more effectually, they were told of a Council of the Great Ones that sate frequently in *London*, from whom issu'd all Orders; which Council receiv'd their Directions from another in *Holland*, who sate with the *States*; and that the THIRD OF *SEPTEMBER* was pitch'd on for the Attempt, as being found by *Lilly*'s Almanack and a Scheme erected for that Purpose, to be a LUCKY DAY; a *Planet* then ruling which prognosticated the *Downfall of Monarchy*. The Evidence against these Persons way very full and clear, and they accordingly were found guilty of High-Tre[illegible] suffer'd accordin[illegible] *A Conspiracy at home.*

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The great FIRE *of* London.

2. The Third of *September* was a Day auſpicious and full of Expectation from one Party, but at this Time ominous and direful to the Nation: And tho' the Hand of Juſtice laid hold of theſe laſt Criminals, yet the City was burnt at the very Time thus projected and prognoſticated; which gave a ſtrong Suſpicion, tho' not a full Proof of the Authors and Promoters of it. This diſmal Fire broke out in a Baker's Shop in *Pudding-lane*, in the lower Part of the City near *Thames-ſtreet*, amongſt rotten wooden Houſes ready to take Fire, and full of combuſtible Goods; and the Darkneſs of the Night very much increas'd the Confuſion and Horror of the ſurprizing Calamity. The Citizens, affrighted and amaz'd, delay'd the Uſe of timely Remedies; and what added to the Misfortune was the Peoples neglecting their Houſes, and being ſo fatally ſet upon the haſty removing of their Goods, which were notwithſtanding devoured by the nimble Encreaſe of the Flames. A raging Eaſt Wind fomented it to an incredible Degree, which in a Moment rais'd the Fire from the Bottom to the Tops of the Houſes, and ſcatter'd prodigious Flakes in all Places, which were mounted ſo vaſtly high into the Air, as if Heaven and Earth were threatned with the ſame Conflagration. The Fury ſoon became inſuperable againſt all the Arts of Men, and Power of Engines; and beſides the dreadful Scenes of Flames, Ruins, and Deſolation, there appear'd the moſt killing Sight under the Sun, the diſtracted Looks of ſo many Citizens, the Wailings of miſerable Women, and the Cries of poor Children and decrepid old People, with all the Marks of Confuſion and Deſpair. No Man that had the Senſe of human Miſeries cou'd unconcernedly behold the diſmal Ravage and Deſtruction made in one of the nobleſt Cities in the World. The reſt ſhall be taken from the Inſcription on famous Monument, the moſt ſtately Pillar in *Europe*, erected in Memory of this Calamity: *The dreadful Fire broke out in a Lane adjoyning, about Midnight, and being driven by a high Wind, conſum'd not only the adjacent Parts, but Places far remote; and with incredible Noiſe and Fury deſtroy'd eighty nine Churches, among which was the Cathedral of St.* Paul, *City Gates,* Guild-Hall, *many publick Structures, Hoſpitals, Schools, Libraries, a vaſt Number of ſtately Edifices, thirteen thouſand two hundred Dwelling-houſes, four hundred Streets; of ſix and twenty* Wards, *it utterly ruin'd fifteen, and left eight others ſhatter'd and half burnt. The Ruins of the City were four hundred thirty ſix Acres, extending from the* Tower *along the* Thames *Side to the* Temple *Church, and from the North-Eaſt Gate along the City Wall to* Holborn-Bridge *or* Fleet-Ditch. *It was mercileſs to the States and Fortunes of the Citizens, but favourable to their Lives, that it might in all things reſemble the laſt and great Conflagration. The Deſtruction was ſudden; for in a ſhort Time the ſame City, which was ſeen in a flouriſhing Condition, was reduc'd to Nothing; and, after three Days, when the fatal Fire had in Appearance overcome all Means of Reſiſtance, and human Counſels, by the Will of Heaven it ſtop'd, and was extinguiſh'd.*

The Inſcription upon the Monument.

The tender Care of the King and Others.

During the whole Continuance of this unparallell'd Calamity, the King himſelf, rous'd from his Pleaſures, commiſerated the Care of the Diſtreſſed, and acted like a true Father of his People. In a Manuſcript from the Secretary's Office we find theſe Words: 'All own the immediate 'Hand of God, and bleſs the Goodneſs and tender Care of the King, 'who made the Round of the Fire uſually twice every Day, and for 'many Hours together, on Horſeback and on Foot, gave Orders for purſuing the Work by Commands, Threatnings, Deſires, Example, and 'good Store of Mony, which he himſelf diſtributed to the Workers out

'of

'of a hundred Pound Bag, which he carry'd with him for that Purpoſe.' 1666.
At the ſame Time the Duke of *York* alſo, and many of the Nobility, Car. 18
were as diligent as was poſſible; they commended and encourag'd the Ref. 7.
Forward, aſſiſted the miſerable Sufferers, and gave a moſt generous Example to all by the vigorous Oppoſition they made againſt the devouring Flames. And after that, when the Multitudes of poor People were forc'd to lodge in the Fields, or crowd themſelves into poor Huts and Booths built with Deal-boards, his Majeſty was frequent in conſulting all Ways to relieve theſe Wretches, as well by his Proclamations, as Orders to the Juſtices of the Peace, to ſend Proviſions into *Moor-fields* and other Places; and moreover he ſent them out of the *Tower* the warlike Proviſions of Victuals, which were there depoſited for the Seamen and Soldiers, to keep them from ſtarving in this Extremity. At the ſame Time he proclaimed a general Faſt throughout *England* and *Wales*; and order'd, That the diſtreſſed Condition of the Sufferers ſhou'd be recommended to the Charity of all well-diſpos'd Perſons, upon that Day, to be afterwards diſtributed by the Hands of the Lord-Mayor of *London*. Laſtly, to ſhew his ſpecial Care for the City's Reſtoration in Council, wherein he firſt prohibited the haſty Building any Houſes, till Care cou'd be taken for its Re-edification, ſo as might beſt ſecure it from the like fatal Accident; for the Encouragement of others, he promis'd to rebuild his own *Cuſtom-houſe*, and to enlarge it for the Benefit of Merchants and Trade; which he afterwards perform'd at his own particular Charge.

Conjectures and Reflections upon the Whole.

Great Calamities naturally produce various Conjectures and prodigious Imaginations; Men ſeldom conſidering that the moſt ſtupendous Effects often proceed from the moſt minute Cauſes, or moſt remote Accidents. At firſt the People naturally and generally look'd upon this as the Judgment of Heaven upon a wicked City and Nation, not ſufficiently humbled by the preceding Peſtilence. But Time ſoon produc'd abundance of Suſpicions, and Variety of Opinions: Some believ'd that it was carry'd on by a Conſpiracy of Papiſts and Jeſuits; which was afterwards offer'd to be made appear in the *Popiſh Plot*. Others ſuſpected it an inſidious Way of the *Dutch* and *French* making War upon the *Engliſh*; their two Fleets being at that very Time neareſt to a Conjunction: And what increas'd that Suſpicion was, that the above-nam'd Criminals that ſuffer'd were ſaid to be under the Direction of a Committee who ſate conſtantly in *London*, and receiv'd Orders from another Council in *Holland*: And not long before the Fire, the *French* had ſent the Governor of *Chouſey* in a ſmall Boat with a Letter to Major-General *Lambert*, then Priſoner in *Guernſey*, to offer him Terms to contrive the Delivery of that Iſland to them; but the Governor and Pilot were both taken and hang'd as Spies. Divers Strangers, both *Dutch* and *French*, were during the Fire apprehended upon Suſpicion, impriſon'd, and ſtrictly examin'd: And in the above-nam'd Manuſcript we find theſe Words: '*Tueſ-*
'*day*, *Sept.* 11. My Lord Chief-Juſtice is upon the Examination of thoſe
'*Dutch* and *French* that have been ſeiz'd on Suſpicion of being Agents
'in the late burning of the City: This Morning comes in from my Lord
'*Lovelace* a plain Confeſſion of a Youth, one *Taylor*, Son to a *Dutch*-
'man reſiding in *London*, who moſt expreſly confeſſes, He, his Father,
'and his Uncle ſet Fire on the Man's Houſe in *Pudding-lane*, on *Satur-*
'*day* Night, by Fire-balls thrown in at a Glaſs-window which was open,
'with many other Circumſtances of their propagating that horrid De-
'ſign. The Boy's Age being but ten Years old renders the whole ſuſ-
'pected; but it is put into my Lord Chief-Juſtice's Hands.' As to the Papiſts contributing to this Fire, I have been told by an eminent Prelate

that

1666. Car. 18 Reſ. 7. that Dr. *Graunt*, one of that Religion, was ſtrongly ſuſpected, who, having a Share in the Water-houſe by *Iſlington*, contriv'd, as is believ'd, to ſtop up the Pipes the Night before the Fire broke out, ſo that it was many Hours before that any Water cou'd be got after the uſual Manner in the City. After all Examinations there was but one Man try'd for being the Incendiary, who confeſſing the Fact, was executed for it: This was *Robert Hubert*, a *French Hugonot* of *Rohan* in *Normandy*, a Perſon falſly ſaid to be a Papiſt, but really a ſort of a Lunatick, who by meer Accident was brought into *England* juſt before the breaking out of the Fire, but not landed till two Days after, as afterwards appear'd by the Evidence of *Laurence Peterſon*, the Maſter of the Ship who had him on board. As to the Reports concerning the King and the Duke, and *Oates* and *Bedloe*'s Narratives as to this Matter, the Suppoſitions are ſo monſtrous, and the Evidence ſo wretchedly mean, that they deſerve no Hiſtorian's Conſideration. So that after weighing all Circumſtances, we can ſtill make no exact Determination; but to judge on the charitable, and perhaps probable Side, we may ſay, That the Beginning of this dreadful Fire was the Judgment, and the End of it the Mercy of Heaven; for neither of them ſeem to have been the Effects of human Means or Counſels.

The SEVENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

3. Not long after this Conflagration, on the 21ſt Day of *September*, the Parliament, after ſeveral Prorogations, and a long Receſs of ten Months and three Weeks, met at *Weſtminſter*; being now the Life and Expectation of the Nation, after the two great Calamities of Peſtilence and Fire. This was the Seventh Meeting or Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, which was open'd by a very acceptable Speech of the King's to both Houſes, which is as follows: *The King's Speech to both Houſes.*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, 'I am very glad to meet ſo many of you together again, and God be 'thanked for our Meeting together in this Place: Little Time hath paſs'd 'ſince we were almoſt in Deſpair of having this Place left to meet in. 'You ſee the diſmal Ruins the Fire hath made; and nothing but a Mi'racle of God's Mercy cou'd have preſerved what is left from the ſame 'Deſtruction.

'I need make no Excuſe for diſpencing with your Attendance in *April*; 'I am conſcious you all thank'd me for it: The Truth is, I deſire to put 'you to as little Trouble as I can; and I can tell you truly, I deſire to put 'you to as little Coſt as I can poſſibly. I wiſh with all my Heart that I 'cou'd bear the whole Charge of this War my ſelf, and that my Subjects 'ſhou'd reap the Benefit of it to themſelves. But you have two very 'great and powerful Enemies, who uſe all the Means they can, fair and 'foul, to make all the World concur with them; and the War is more 'chargeable by that Conjunction, than any Body thought it wou'd have 'been. I need not tell you the Succeſs of this Summer, in which God 'hath given us great Succeſs; and no Queſtion but the Enemy hath un'dergone great Loſſes; and if it had pleaſed God to have with-held his 'laſt Judgment by Fire, we had been in no ill Condition. You have 'given me very large Supplies for carrying on the War: And I muſt tell 'you, if I had not, by anticipating my Revenue, rais'd a very great Sum 'of Mony, I had not been able to have ſet out the Fleet this laſt Spring; 'and I have ſome Hope upon the ſame Credit to be able to pay off the 'great Ships as they come in. You will conſider what is to be done next, 'when you are well inform'd of the Expence; and I muſt leave it to 'your Wiſdoms to find out the beſt Expedients for the carrying on this 'War with as little Burthen to the People as is poſſible. I ſhall add no 'more, than to add, That our Enemies are very Inſolent; and if they

'were

'were able this laſt Year to perſwade this miſerable People, whom they 1666.
'ſo miſ-led, *That the Contagion had ſo waſted the Nation, and impove-* Car. 18
'*riſh'd us, that we cou'd not be able to ſet out any Fleet*, how will they Reſ. 7.
'be exalted with this laſt Impoveriſhment of this City, and contemn all
'reaſonable Conditions of Peace? And therefore I cannot doubt but
'you will provide accordingly.'

The Commons Reſolves.

Immediately upon this Speech the Commons unanimouſly reſolved, 'That the humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be returned to his 'Majeſty for his great Care in the Management of the preſent War, and 'that this Houſe will ſupply his Majeſty *proportionably* to his preſent Oc-'caſions; and that the Lords Concurrence be deſired to this Vote.' And ſoon after, to make good their Promiſe, they voted a Royal Aid of one Million and eight hundred Thouſand Pounds for carrying on the preſent War. And on the 25th of *September*, in the Afternoon, both Houſes of Parliament, being agreed, attended his Majeſty in a Body at the *Banquetting-houſe* in *Whitehall*, 'To manifeſt their hearty Concurrence in 'the Vote for ſupplying his Majeſty with whatſoever was neceſſary for the 'carrying on of the War;' which his Majeſty received with all the Satisfaction imaginable, and very graciouſly diſmiſs'd them. After this, on the 1ſt of *October*, the Commons were ſo ſenſible of the King's paternal Regard to his Subjects in the late Fire, that they particularly reſolved and voted, 'That the Thanks of this Houſe be given to his Majeſty for his 'great Care and Endeavour to prevent the burning of the City of '*London*.'

Both Houſes addreſs againſt Popery.

Notwithſtanding the Unanimity and Concurrence of both Houſes in ſerving both the King and the Publick, yet they were not ſo forward in coming into the exact Meaſures of the Court. They were ſenſible that Popery there met with no ſmall Encouragement from ſeveral Springs; and tho' many of the Members of each Houſe were themſelves a Part of the Court, Camp, and Miniſtry, yet they wou'd not be ſilent when they thought themſelves in Danger from the reſtleſs Spirits, and encreaſing Power of the Papiſts. Therefore they agreed in a particular and zealous Addreſs to his Majeſty, 'For executing the Laws againſt Popiſh Prieſts 'and Jeſuits, *who were labouring to pervert his Majeſty's Subjects*; and 'for maintaining the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*.' Upon this concurrent Senſe of the two Houſes, the King thought himſelf oblig'd to publiſh a Proclamation on the 10th of *November*, for the Baniſhment of all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, with ſome Exceptions, and putting the Laws in ſpeedy and due Execution againſt all other Popiſh Recuſants. His Majeſty therein declaring, 'That he had ſeriouſly conſi-'der'd of the late Addreſs and humble Deſire made to him by the Lords 'Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in the preſent Parliament aſſem-'bled, *for ſuppreſſing the Inſolencies of the Papiſts*; and accepting with 'much Contentment their great Care for the Preſervation of the true 'Religion eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom: And therefore he had thought fit 'to charge and require all *Popiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits to depart the King-'dom before the 10th of *December*, upon Pain of having the Laws of 'this Realm inflicted upon them; the Magiſtrates and Officers in all 'Ports having Order, upon their declaring themſelves, to aſſiſt them in 'ſeeing them ſhip'd and ſent away; and charging the Judges and all Ma-'giſtrates to put the Laws in Execution againſt all *Papiſt* Recuſants, and 'ſuch as are ſo ſuſpected, in order to their Conviction; and that in their 'reſpective Courts, Aſſizes, *&c.* they publickly give the Laws in charge 'againſt them; and that the Judges, in their Returns, give an Account 'of their Proceedings therein to the Chancellor for the Time being.'

The King's Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

How far the King was really pleas'd or ſatisfy'd with his own Proceed-

1666. Car. 18 Ref. 7. ings in this Affair, may be gueſs'd at by a Paſſage in a Letter from the Secretary the Lord *Arlington*, a conceal'd Papiſt, to the Earl of *Sandwich*, Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, ſent a few Weeks after, in which are theſe Words: *Your Excellency knows ſufficiently the Springs upon which the Animoſity to the Roman Catholicks riſes, and how hard it is for his Majeſty to forbear declaring againſt them, when the Complaint ariſeth from both Houſes of Parliament, and accordingly you can your ſelf frame your Anſwer to the Queen of* Spain.

A Rebellion in Scotland.

4. When the Parliament had ſate about two Months, the Nation was alarm'd with a ſudden Inſurrection and Rebellion in *Scotland*, fram'd and rais'd by the rigid *Presbyterians* in thoſe Parts, who were thought to have held too near a Correſpondence with thoſe in *England*. In the Month of *November* above fifteen hundred of them got into a Body, and by Degrees form'd themſelves into a regular Army, having their Foot commanded by one *Wallace*, and their Horſe by one *Lairmont*, formerly a Taylor: Moſt of the other Leaders of their Troops were caſhier'd Preachers, by whoſe Advice they all took the *Covenant* at *Lanrick*; and being then drawn up in Battalia on *Pentland* Hills, their Word was *The Covenant!* In the Heighth of their Power they were met by the King's Forces, whoſe Word was *God and the King!* and were entirely defeated and diſpers'd by them, who had on their Right Wing his Majeſty's two Troops of Guards, and the Major-General's Troop, making four Squadrons; and on the Left the Lieutenant-General Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Ayrly*, and many other Noblemen. Of the Rebels, who made great Reſiſtance, about five hundred were kill'd, and an hundred taken Priſoners, of whom moſt were executed. Upon the firſt News of this Defeat, the King immediately communicated the Matter to the Houſe of Commons, which was on the 3d of *December*, when Sir *Thomas Clifford*, his Comptroller, reported, 'That his Majeſty had been graci-
'ouſly pleas'd to command the Lord of *Bath* to deliver him the Letter
'from the Lord *Drummond* in *Scotland*, concerning the routing and
'diſperſing the Rebels there, to be communicated to the Houſe.' Which Letter being read, the Houſe, with great Satisfaction, reſolv'd, 'That
'the humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be return'd unto his Ma-
'jeſty, for his great Favour in imparting to this Houſe the good News
'out of *Scotland*.'

It is defeated.

Soon after the Houſe began to be employ'd in Enquiring into ſome Miſcarriages and Miſdemeanors, and deſign'd particularly to Impeach the Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Windſor*. Which Proceedings were thought too dilatory, and not ſo agreeable with the Exigencies of the Court. Therefore the King, on the 15th of *December*, ſent a particular Meſſage in Writing by Mr. Secretary *Morrice* to the Speaker, in theſe Words: 'His Majeſty is ſorry That the Difficulty his
'Houſe of Commons hath met with, hath detain'd them ſo long with-
'out Perfecting his Supply. His Majeſty cou'd wiſh, That the Poſture
'of his Affairs wou'd permit the giving of his two Houſes a ſhort Re-
'ceſs at *Chriſtmaſs*: But the Seaſon of the Year being conſider'd, and
'how much the neceſſary Preparations againſt the Spring depend upon
'the Diſpatch of the Supply, he aſſures himſelf is preparing for him, he
'cannot think it conſiſtent with his Service, and the Publick Safety, to
'permit any Adjournment, except for the Chief Feſtival Days, untill
'that, and the Other moſt Publick Bills, be diſpatcht, which he deſires
'may be haſtned; and which his Majeſty ſhou'd be glad, if poſſible,
'might be finiſh'd by *Chriſtmaſs*, as well for their Eaſe, as for his own
'Service.' Notwithſtanding this, the Commons, tho' highly reſpectful

The King's Meſſage to the Commons.

to

to his Majeſty, proceeded their own Way, and took their proper Time for finiſhing the Supply. 1666. Car. 18 Reſ. 7.

While the Commons proceeded in this Manner, there hapned ſome little Diſorders among the Lords, principally occaſion'd by the volatile and reſtleſs Duke of *Buckingham*. The Beginning was a Challenge between Him and the Earl of *Oſſory*, Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, and lately call'd by the King's Writ to the Houſe of Peers. Upon Examination before their Lordſhips both confeſs'd the ſending and receiving the Challenge; and tho' the Earl made it appear, that it was upon an old Quarrel, and not from any Words ſpoken in the Houſe, as the Duke pretended, the Earl was committed to the *Tower*, and the Duke to the Black-Rod. Being both brought before the Houſe and releas'd, not long after there hapned another Diſturbance between the ſame Duke and the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, for Room at a free Conference between the Lords and Commons in the *Painted-Chamber*. Here the Duke preſſing very hard upon the Marqueſs, the latter told him *He ought not to croud him ſo much, for he was as good a Man as He.* The Duke made ſome very ſmart Reply, to which the Marqueſs return'd him the *Lye*; upon which the Duke either gave him a Blow, or pull'd him by the Perriwigg; which occaſion'd ſuch a Noiſe and Diſturbance, that the Houſe of Lords commanded them both to the *Tower*. Shortly after, the Duke having got his Liberty, without begging the King's Pardon, preſum'd to appear in his Majeſty's Preſence on *Chriſtmaſs* Day; for which he was immediately forbidden the Court. In his Abſence, his inſolent Behaviour ſoon increas'd to that Height, that, tho' he had been both Caterer and Sharer in his Majeſty's Pleaſures, the King thought it neceſſary to iſſue out a Proclamation againſt him, importing, 'That the ſaid Duke, who was of 'his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and otherwiſe employ'd in great Truſt, re- 'lating to his Majeſty's Perſon and the Publick, and not only bound by 'common Duty and Allegiance, but farther oblig'd by ſpecial and extra- 'ordinary Ties of Gratitude and Fidelity to the Crown, had, notwith- 'ſtanding held and maintain'd Secret Correſpondencies by Let- 'ters and other Tranſactions, tending to raiſe Mutinies in ſome of his 'Majeſty's Forces, and ſtir up Sedition amongſt his People, and other 'Traiterous Deſigns and Practices. And that when to bring the ſaid 'Duke to anſwer what might be objected againſt him, his Majeſty had 'given Orders to one of his Serjeants at Arms to uſe all Diligence to ap- 'prehend him, his Majeſty's Miniſter was ill treated, and contemptuouſly 'reſiſted, not without the Knowledge of the ſaid Duke Himſelf, who, as 'conſcious of his Demerits, had now ſecretly eſcaped and withdrawn himſelf: 'Therefore his Majeſty commands the ſaid Duke to ſurrender Himſelf, '*&c.*' Notwithſtanding this high Diſpleaſure, the King ſtill found ſomething ſo agreeable and Captivating in the Duke's Perſon and Acquaintance, and his peculiar Services, that in no long Time he was admitted to the Court, and receiv'd into as great Favour as ever.

Diſturbances by the Duke of Buckingham.

The King's Proclamation againſt him.

Rot. Parl. *Philips. MSS. Wood. Calamy. Langbani.* &c.

V. 1. After a ſhort Receſs in *Chriſtmaſs*, the Parliament met again on the ſecond of *January*; and the Houſe of Commons proceeded to Buſineſs with Vigour; but ſtill reſolv'd upon the Impeachment of the Lord *Mordant*, and accordingly drew up Articles of High Crimes and Miſdemeanours with the uſual Formality, the Subſtance of which uncommon Accuſation was as follows: '1. That the ſaid Lord *Mordant*, be- 'ing Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and Commander of the Garri- 'ſon there, underſtanding That one *William Taleur* Eſq; a Loyal Per- 'ſon in Office in the ſaid Caſtle, and poſſeſs'd of certain Lodgings 'there appertaining to his Offices, did intend to ſtand for one of the 'Bur- 1666/7.

Articles of Impeachment againſt the Lord Mordant.

1667. Car. 18 Ref. 7.

'Burgeſſes of *Windſor* to ſerve in this preſent Parliament that met in 'the 1661; ſome Weeks before the Election, to diſparage and prevent the 'ſaid *William Taleur*, and to ſtrike a Terror into thoſe of the Borough, 'by Colour of a Warrant from his Majeſty, on the 17th of *March*, did 'by Soldiers forcibly eject the ſaid *William Taleur*, together with his 'big-belly'd Wife, Family and Goods out of the ſaid Lodgings and Caſtle; 'the rude Carriage of which Soldiers frighted a young Child out of its Wits, 'whereof it dy'd ſoon after. 2. On the 23d of the ſaid Month, the ſaid 'Lord *Mordant* did command *William Taleur* to be forcibly ſeiz'd up-'on by his Soldiers in the Priſon of the Borough, out of the Precincts 'of the Caſtle, where he was a Priſoner for Debt, carry'd him out of the 'Priſon to the Caſtle, without any Warrant, and detain'd him Priſoner eleven 'Hours in a cold low Room, notwithſtanding the offer of two Thouſand 'Pound Bail. 3. That the ſaid Lord *Mordant*, during the Time of Mr. '*Taleur*'s Impriſonment, being told *that he was the King's Servant, and 'had the great Seal for his Place as well as He*, in high Contempt of 'the King's Authority, reply'd, *He wou'd diſpoſe of his Places, and break 'the great Seal, and juſtify it when he had done.* 4. That the ſaid Lord '*Mordant*, in *March* 1664, by Letters and otherwiſe made ſundry un-'civil Addreſſes to a Daughter of Mr. *Taleur*'s; which ſhe rejecting, and 'threatning to acquaint his Lady with them, he ſwore a moſt dreadful 'Oath and Imprecation, *He wou'd proſecute Her and her Family to all 'Eternity.* 5. That on the 23d of *November* 1665, Mr. *Taleur* was by 'the Lord *Mordant*'s Command forcibly diſpoſſeſs'd of certain Rooms 'in the Timber Yard belonging to the Caſtle, without the Walls, belong-'ing to his Office of Paymaſter and Surveyor of the Caſtle. 6. That 'a Warrant ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd from his Majeſty, dated *November* '30th, 1665, but not produc'd till ſome Months after, for reſtraining 'Mr. *Taleur* from going out of the Caſtle, was directed to the ſaid Lord '*Mordant*; who, without mentioning the King's Warrant, caus'd him 'again forcibly to be apprehended in the Borough of *Windſor*, and car-'ry'd to the Caſtle, where he was detain'd Priſoner twenty Weeks, five 'of which in cloſe Durance, contrary to the King's Warrant, which on-'ly reſtrain'd him to the Caſtle. 7. That during this Impriſonment the 'ſaid Lord refus'd to obey a *Habeas Corpus* brought by Mr. *Taleur*, and 'when he was ſerv'd with another, he gave the Meſſenger reproachful 'Language, calling him *Rogue* for delivering the ſaid Writ, and ſaying '*That was all the Anſwer he wou'd give to it.* 8. That Mr. *Taleur*, 'when he was enlarg'd by an Order from the *King*'s *Bench*, fearing he 'ſhou'd be again illegally impriſon'd, did thereupon make Application to 'his Lordſhip by Friends for a Reconciliation, who anſwer'd *He wou'd 'never be reconcil'd to him*, and threatned to impriſon him again; *and if 'he brought another* Habeas Corpus, *he wou'd impriſon him again and again, 'and keep him Priſoner as long as he liv'd, and likewiſe turn him out of all 'his Offices.* By reaſon of which Menaces Mr. *Taleur* was forc'd to deſert 'his Wife, Family and Employments at *Windſor*, and to abſent himſelf 'till this preſent Seſſion of Parliament. For all which high Crimes and 'Miſdemeanors, the Commons of *England* demanded Juſtice, condign 'Puniſhment, *&c.*

The Proſecution of theſe Articles, tho' of a private Nature, caus'd particular Delays among the Commons, and ſome Diviſions between them and the Lords. The Matter of taking the Publick Accounts of Money, and the Poll-Bill, which was granted to compleat the great Supply, took up much Time; beſides another Bill againſt importing of Cattle out of *Ireland*, which was by no Means agreeable to the Court, as appears from the Lord *Arlington*'s Letters. As to the Firſt, the Taking the Publick Ac-

Accounts, having had a free Conference with the Lords upon that Occaſion, the following Report was made from the Conference: ‘ That ‘ the Lords had formerly agreed to a Committee of both Houſes, but ‘ found no Precedent for ſuch a Committee to be impower'd to take ‘ Oaths. But as to a Bill, which the Commons had prepared, they found ‘ that an extraordinary Way, and that there was no Neceſſity for it, but ‘ had thought on an *Expedient* which might conduce to the Buſineſs, ‘ and make it as effectual as a *Bill*, and had drawn a *Petition*, to which ‘ his Majeſty had ſent his Anſwer for a *Commiſſion* to iſſue, for *Taking the* ‘ *Accounts on Oath.*’ This Report, together with the Petition, and the King's Anſwer, being debated, the Houſe was rais'd into a Ferment, and reſolv'd, ‘ That this Proceeding of the Lords in going by *Petition* to ‘ the King for a *Commiſſion* for taking the Publick Accounts, while ‘ there was a *Bill* ſent up by this Houſe, and depending before them, for ‘ taking the Accounts another Way, is Unparliamentary, and of dangerous ‘ Conſequence.’ Within two or three Days they likewiſe declared, ‘ That ‘ according to the right and ſettled Courſe of Parliament upon Bills, nei- ‘ ther a Bill, nor any Part thereof, is to be communicated to his Maje- ‘ ſty by either Houſe, untill the whole be agreed unto by both Houſes.’ As to the Poll-Bill, the Lords in a free Conference inſiſted, among other Things, upon adding ſome Names to the Commiſſioners. To which the Commons diſagreed; but without the leaſt aſſerting their peculiar Rights as to Mony-Bills: They only gave this modeſt Reaſon for their Non-compliance, ‘ That it hath been obſerv'd, That in all Acts of Subſidies ‘ and of Poll-Mony, the greater the Number of Commiſſioners, the leſs ‘ Mony hath been rais'd; for many Commiſſioners incumber one ano- ‘ ther, and rather procure the Eaſe of themſelves, and their many Friends, ‘ than the Advance of the King's Service, and the Publick Benefit.

1656, 7. Car. 18 Reſ. 7.

The Lords and the Commons diſagree.

2. During theſe Diviſions between the Houſes, the King underſtanding the Poll-Bill, and ſome others, to have got through both, on the 18th of *January* came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd that and the reſt with the following gracious Speech: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, ‘ I have now paſs'd your Bills, and was in hopes to have had other Bills to ‘ paſs too: I cannot forget that within a few Days after your coming to- ‘ gether in *September*, both Houſes preſented me with their Vote and ‘ Declaration, *That they wou'd give me a Supply proportionable to my Oc-* ‘ *caſions*. And the Confidence of this made me anticipate that ſmall Part ‘ of my Revenue, which was unanticipated, for the Payment of the Sea- ‘ Men; and my Credit hath gone further than I had reaſon to think it ‘ wou'd, but it is now at an End. This is the firſt Day I have heard of ‘ any Supply, being the 18th of *January*; and what this will amount to, ‘ God knows; and what Time I have to make ſuch Preparations as are ‘ neceſſary to meet three ſuch Enemies as I have, you can well enough ‘ judge. And I muſt tell you what Diſcourſes are abroad; I am not in ‘ any Treaty; but by the Grace of God I will not give over my Self and ‘ You, but will do what is in my Power for the Defence of my ſelf and ‘ you. It is high Time for you to make good your Promiſe, and it is ‘ high Time for you to be in the Country, as well for raiſing of Mony, as ‘ that the Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants may watch the Se- ‘ ditious Spirits which are at work to diſturb the Publick Peace: And ‘ therefore I am reſolv'd to put an End to this Seſſion on *Monday* next ‘ come Seven-night; before which Time I pray let all Things be made ‘ ready that I am to diſpatch. I am not willing to complain that you have ‘ dealt unkindly with me in a Bill I have now paſs'd, in which you have ‘ manifeſted a greater Diſtruſt of me than I have deſerv'd. I do not pre-

The King paſſes ſome Bills with a Speech.

‘ tend

1667. Car. 19 Ref. 7.

'tend to be without Infirmities, but I have never broken my Word with 'you; and, if I do not flatter my ſelf, the Nation had never leſs Cauſe 'to complain of Grievances, or the leaſt Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, than it 'hath had in theſe ſeven Years it hath pleas'd God to reſtore Me to You: 'I wou'd be glad to be uſed accordingly.

It ſeems the King was a little diſpleas'd with the Commons for putting ſome Things out of his Power, with relation to the Commiſſioners in the Poll-Bill; nor did he ſeem to be well ſatisfy'd with their Impeaching the Lord *Mordant*, his own Servant, which not only ſtruck at his Prerogative, but protracted other Buſineſs. Notwithſtanding the Commons ſpent a conſiderable Part of the ſhort Remainder of their Time in the Proſecution of their Impeachment, and ſearch'd ſeveral Precedents to determine the Manner and Method of proceeding; and likewiſe appointed Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *Robert Atkins*, and Mr. *William Prynne*, *&c.* to manage the Evidence at the Hearing. On the 26th of *January* the Managers read the Articles before the Houſe of Lords; but with Diſſatisfaction obſerv'd, that during the Reading of them, the Lord *Mordant* was within the Bar of the Houſe. Of this the Commons complain'd, and mov'd 'That, according to former Precedents in ſuch Proceedings, 'his Lordſhip might ſtand without the Bar of the Houſe.' And when one appeared as Council for him, beginning to plead in this Matter, they thought fit to interrupt him, acquainting the Peers, 'That his Lordſhip 'ought not to have any Council aſſign'd him to plead for him in *Matter* '*of Fact* upon the Impeachment.' This caus'd a Conference, and indeed a Difference between the two Houſes: The Lords inſiſted upon their Rights and Priviledges, and on the 4th of *February* confirm'd their Order for the Lord *Mordant*'s ſitting within the Bar at his Tryal, produc'd two Precedents for it, and declar'd themſelves ready for the Tryal the next Morning. The Commons upon this were ſtill more diſſatisfy'd, and deſir'd a free Conference; in which Matters were carry'd ſo high, that the Lords declared, 'That they deſired this Conference to preſerve 'a right Underſtanding between both Houſes; but inſiſted upon it, that 'they might deny a free Conference with the Commons, citing a Pre'cedent, 12th *Jacobi*, where a Free Conference was deny'd the Com'mons in Point of one Impoſition; and that in *Point of Judicature* '(which the Lords inſiſted on to be only in the King and themſelves) 'they might deny the Commons a Free Conference.

Further Diſputes between the Lords and Commons.

3. But all theſe Diſputes were ended on the eighth of *February* by the Appearance of the King in the Houſe of Peers, who having his Robes and Crown on, ſent for the Houſe of Commons in order to a Prorogation. Their Speaker, Sir *Edward Turner*, having ſeveral Bills ready, preſented them, after his uſual graceful Manner, with this following Speech to his Majeſty, which is the laſt we find that he made upon the ſame Occaſion: '*May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty*, Nothing con'duceth more to the Happineſs of a Nation, than a right Underſtanding 'between the Prince and the People: And nothing more advanceth this 'Correſpondence, than frequent Meetings in Common Council. By the 'Wiſdom of our Fore-Fathers, the Security of our Lives, our Liber'ties, and our Properties, is lodg'd in our *Engliſh* Parliaments; and ſo 'gracious have your Majeſty's Predeceſſors been, That for the Satis'faction of their People, they have made ſeveral Laws, ſome for *Tri'ennial*, ſome for *Annual* Parliaments. Your Majeſty by their Example, 'upon the humble Suit of your Lords and Commons, hath in a former 'Seſſion of this Parliament paſs'd an Act *For Triennial Meetings in Par'liament:* But in this your Majeſty hath exceeded all your Predeceſſors,

The Speaker's Speech to the King at the Proroſation.

'*That*

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'*That as your happy Reſtoration was in a Convention of Parliament, ſo of your own Accord, for the Publick Good, and as a Demonſtration of your extraordinary Love to Parliaments, you have vouchſaf'd ever ſince your Return to converſe with your People in Parliament*; this being the ſixth Year, and ſixth Seſſion [ſeventh Meeting] of this preſent Parliament. The laſt Time your Majeſty was pleas'd to ſpeak to us, you commanded us to make ready all Things that you were to diſpatch this Seſſion: In Obedience thereunto, we have with all Induſtry imaginable endeavour'd, ſo to prepare thoſe Matters that were before us, That your Majeſty and the whole Nation may receive Satisfaction in our Diſpatches. Firſt it concern'd us to keep our Words with your Majeſty, in finiſhing that Supply which we promis'd you for the carrying on the War. In Order whereunto I do here preſent unto your Majeſty this Bill of *Eleven Months Aſſeſſments upon our Lands*, to take Place in a Poſt Charge after the *Additional Royal Aid* now current is expired. This Act, together with the *Poll-Bill* lately paſſed, we conceive will fully make good the Million eight hundred thouſand Pounds we promis'd to your Majeſty.

'We muſt for ever with Humility acknowledge the Juſtice of God in puniſhing this whole Nation by the late dreadful Conflagration of *London*: We know they were not the greateſt Sinners on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell; and doubtleſs all our Sins did contribute to the filling up that Meaſure, which being full, drew down the Wrath of God upon that City: But it very much reviveth us to behold the miraculous Bleſſing of God upon your Majeſty's Endeavours for the Preſervation of that Part of the City which is left: *Et fas eſt reſurgere Mœnia Trojæ!* We hope God will direct your Royal Heart, and fortunate Iſland in a few Days to lay a Foundation Stone in the Re-building that Royal City; the Beauty and Praiſe whereof ſhall fill the whole Earth. For the Encouragement of this Noble Work we have prepared ſeveral Bills: One, *for the Eſtabliſhing a Judicatory for the ſpeedy Determining all Actions and Cauſes of Action*, that have or may ariſe between Landlords and Tenants upon this ſad Accident. Though I perſwade my ſelf no *Engliſh-Man* wou'd be exempted from making ſome Offering to carry on this pious Undertaking; yet the exemplary Charity of your Majeſty's Twelve Reverend Judges is fit with Honour to be mention'd before your Majeſty: They are willing to ſpend all their Sand that doth not run out in your Majeſty's immediate Service of diſpenſing Juſtice in their ſeveral Courts to your People, in Hearing and Determining thoſe Controverſies that may ariſe upon *Old Agreements*, and making *New Rules* between Owners and Tenants, for their mutual Encouragement in this Glorious Action. We have likewiſe prepared a Bill *For the Regularity of the New Buildings*, that they may be rais'd with more *Conveniency*, *Beauty*, and *Security*, than they had before: Some Streets we have order'd to be open'd and enlarg'd, and many Obſtructions to be remov'd; but all with your Majeſty's Approbation. This we conceive cannot be done with Juſtice, unleſs a Compenſation be given to thoſe that ſhall be Loſers; we have therefore laid an Impoſition *of twelve Pence upon every Chaldron, and twelve Pence upon every Tun of Coals that ſhall be brought into the Port of* London *for ten Years*, the better to enable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to recompence thoſe Perſons whoſe Grounds ſhall be taken from them.

'*Rome* was not built in a Day: Nor can we in the Cloſe of this Seſſion finiſh the Rules for the dividing of Pariſhes, Re-building of the Churches, and the Ornamental Parts of the City that we intended; Theſe things muſt reſt till another Seſſion: But we know

'your

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'your Majeſty in the mean Time will take them into your Princely Conſideration, and make it your Care, *That the Houſes of God, and your Royal Chamber, be decently and conveniently reſtored.* And now, *Great Sir*, having thus happily finiſh'd the Buſineſs of this Seſſion, we beg your Majeſty's Leave that we may return to our own Houſes, there to put in Execution the good Laws which you have made, and to defend our ſeveral Countries againſt all Deſigns to diſturb the Peace of the Nation. And we beſeech Almighty God, who hath hitherto wonderfully preſerv'd your Majeſty's Perſon, and made you glorious in all your Atchievments, ſtill to proſper your Forces both at Sea and Land, till he hath made your Majeſty an *Aſylum* for all your Friends, and a Terror to your Enemies both at Home and Abroad.'

The King's Speech to the Houſes at the ſame Time.

Upon paſſing the Bills mention'd in this Speech, and ſome few others of leſs Moment, his Majeſty made the following Speech: 'My Lords and Gentlemen, I thank you for this other Bill of Supply which you have given me, and I aſſure you the Mony ſhall be laid out for the Ends it is given; I hope we ſhall live to have *Bills of this Nature* in the *Old Stile*, with fewer *Proviſoes*. I look'd to have had ſomewhat offer'd to me concerning *the Accounts of the Mony that hath been already rais'd ſince the War:* Which ſince you have not done, I will take Care (after ſo much Noiſe) that the ſame be not ſtifled, but will iſſue out my *Commiſſion* in the Manner I formerly promis'd the Houſe of Peers; and the Commiſſioners ſhall have very much to anſwer, if they do not diſcover all Matters of Fraud and Couſenage. The Seaſon of the Year is very far ſpent, in which our Enemies have got great Advantages over us; but by the Grace of God, I will make all the Preparations I can, and as faſt as I can: And yet I muſt tell you, That if any good Overtures be made for an honourable Peace, I will not reject them; and I believe all ſober Men will be glad to ſee it brought to paſs.'

'I ſhall now prorogue you till towards Winter, that you may, in your ſeveral Places, attend the Peace and Security of your ſeveral Countries, where there are unquiet Spirits enough working: And I do pray you, and I do expect it from you, That you will uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to remove all thoſe falſe Imaginations in the Hearts of the People (which the Malice of ill Men hath induſtriouſly infus'd into them) of I know not what *Jealouſies* and *Grievances*. For I muſt tell you again (and I am ſure I am in the Right) *That the People had never ſo little Cauſe to complain of Oppreſſion and Grievances, as they have had ſince my Return to you.* If the Taxes and Impoſitions are heavy upon them, you will put them in Mind, *That a War with ſuch powerful Enemies cannot be maintain'd without Taxes:* And I am ſure the Monies rais'd thereby come not into my Purſe. I ſhall add no more; but I promiſe my ſelf all good Effects from your Affections and Wiſdoms where-ever you are; and I hope we ſhall meet again of one Mind, for my Honour, and the Good of the Kingdom.' And now, my Lord Privy-Seal, do as I have directed you.' Accordingly the Lord *Roberts* declar'd the King's Pleaſure for proroguing the Parliament to the 10th Day of *October*; which put an End to the Seventh Seſſion, or rather Meeting, of the Second and Long Parliament, after a Continuance of four Months and about two Weeks. And it is obſervable, that the Parliament began now to act and proceed with ſomewhat leſs Unanimity, and more Uneaſineſs than before. For a chargeable War, and an old Miniſtry, will naturally create in a free Nation Suſpicions of new Grievances and Miſmanagements, with a numberleſs Train of troubleſome Suggeſtions and imaginary Oppreſſions; which gradually became more apparent in the next Seſſion of Parliament.

The End of the Seventh Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

4. For

1666/7. Car. 19 Ref. 7. *Places and Preferments.*

4. For a Concluſion of this memorable Year, we ſhall take Notice of ſome Changes, Deaths, and other inferior Matters, which ſhou'd not altogether be forgotten by an *Engliſh* Hiſtorian. The Lord *Hollis* had return'd from his Embaſſy in *France*, and the Lord *Bellaſis* from his Government of *Tangier* in the Beginning of *May*. *Henry Coventry* Eſquire arriv'd at *White-Hall* from his Embaſſy to *Sweden* on the latter End of *June*: About which Time Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, Ambaſſador in *Spain*, having near finiſh'd his Negotiation, dy'd at the City of *Madrid*. The Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of the *Caribbie* Iſlands, was unfortunately loſt in a Hurricane near *Martinico* at the latter End of *July*. The Earl of *Oſſory*, Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council; and being ſoon after call'd by the King's Writ to the Houſe of Peers, he took his Place in the Beginning of this laſt Seſſion. On the Death of Sir *Hugh Pollard*, the Place of Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold was in *November* conferr'd on Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was alſo ſworn of the Privy-Council, with this publick Character, that it was 'For the ſingular Zeal wherein he had on all Occaſions merited in his Majeſty's Service, and more eminently in the honourable Dangers of this War againſt the *Dutch* and *French*, where he has been all along a conſtant Actor; having been obſerv'd to have made it his Choice to take his Share in the warmeſt Part of thoſe Services.' In *December*, *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey* was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council; as was the Earl of *Bridgewater* in *February* following. As to the King's more private ordering his Family, in the Beginning of *October*, his Majeſty, to promote Frugality and Decency in Habit, and to diſcourage the Extravagancy of *French* Faſhions, made a ſolemn and peremptory Declaration of the Faſhion of his Apparel which he reſolv'd to wear for the future. 'It was a ſtraight '*Spaniſh* Breeches; inſtead of a Doublet, a long Veſt down to the Mid-'Leg; and above that a looſe Coat after the *Muſcovite* or *Poliſh* Way; 'the Sword girt over the Veſt; and inſtead of Shooes and Stockins, a 'Pair of Buskins or Brodekins.' Which Habit was found to be very decent and becoming to his Majeſty, and was for a conſiderable Time us'd and follow'd by the chief of his Courtiers.

The Rebuilding of London.

The Fire of *London* had exercis'd the Wits and Inventions of many Heads, and particularly put ſeveral ingenious Perſons on contriving and ſetting up an *Office for the Enſuring of Houſes from Fire*; ſo that for a ſmall Sum annually paid, any Man might enſure Houſes and Goods to a much greater Value. Dr. *Barbon*, one of the firſt and conſiderable Re-Builders of the City, was the principal Contriver of this Office; which was thought to be one of the greateſt Deſigns produc'd in this Age, and appear'd to be more univerſally advantagious than was at firſt believ'd; thoſe ſevere Strokes falling ſince more lightly on particular Perſons, than formerly, being by vertue of this Contrivance fully repaired by a publick Stock. All Perſons were indefatigably induſtrious in the great Work of Re-Building; and when all Proviſions were made for the City's Reſurrection, the famous Sir *Jonas Moor*, that general Projector, firſt of all produc'd the beautiful *Fleet-ſtreet*, according to the appointed Model; and from that Beginning the City grew ſo haſtily towards a general Perfection, that within the Compaſs of a few Years, it far tranſcended its former Splendor. In the mean Time the *Royal Society* having been driven out from *Greſham*-Colledge, *Henry Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, invited that noble Body to hold their weekly Meetings at *Arundel*-Houſe, where he aſſign'd them very convenient Rooms; and on *New-Year*'s Day, being a Member of that Society himſelf, he very

1667. Car. 19 Reſ. 7.

generouſly preſented that Society, and their Succeſſors, with a fair Library of excellent Books.

The Deaths of Biſhop Warner,

And now, for a Concluſion of all, we ſhall take Notice of the Deaths of ſome conſiderable Perſons, and begin with two noted Divines of a very different Way and Character. The firſt was Dr. *John Warner*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, an aged and beneficent Prelate, educated in *Magdalen* Colledge in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards rais'd through ſeveral ſmall Preferments to the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter* in the Year 1637, in which he ſhew'd himſelf a celebrated School Divine, and well read in the Fathers. In the Beginning of the late Troubles he appear'd a ſtrenuous Aſſertor of Epiſcopacy in the Houſe of Lords, and to the laſt very valiantly defended the Antiquity and Juſtice of the Biſhops Votes in Parliament; for which he did not only ſuffer with his Brethren in his Spiritual Revenues, but likewiſe in his Temporal Eſtate, which was conſiderable. Being reſtored to his Biſhoprick, he dy'd in Peace in the 86th Year of his Age, leaving Benefactions to Clergymens Widows, Colledges, poor Vicarages, *&c.* to the Value of no leſs than fifteen thouſand Pounds.

Mr. Calamy,

The next was that famous leading Presbyterian Divine, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, B. D. educated in *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, took into the Family of *Felton* Biſhop of *Ely*, remov'd to St. *Edmund*'s-*Bury* in *Suffolk*, from thence to *Rochford* in *Eſſex* under the Patronage of the Earl of *Warwick*, and laſtly to *Aldermanbury* in *London*, where he continu'd one of the Heads of the Party in all the Times of Confuſion. He was a Perſon of very great Induſtry and Activity, and of no ſmall Learning, Piety, and Devotion; but at the ſame Time he was ſo much an Incendiary, and Promoter of the grand Rebellion, that his Actions cannot be vindicated, but only palliated under the venerable Name of a Houſe of Commons, who either miſ-led him, or were miſ-led by him; he being a frequent Preacher before them. He was one of the Authors of the celebrated *Smectymnuus:* His Houſe was the general Receptacle for all Presbyterian Miniſters, and his Intereſt was ſo great in the City, that after the Reſtoration he had a Biſhoprick offer'd him, which he refus'd, becauſe he cou'd not have it upon the Terms of the King's Declaration; ſo ſuffering himſelf to be ejected by the *Act of Uniformity*, he dy'd almoſt broken hearted upon the late dreadful Fire; leaving a Son behind him as eminent for the Church of *England*, as he was againſt it.

Sir Richard Fanſhaw,

After theſe we ſhall mention four others, all of different Genius's and Employments; and firſt Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, lately mention'd, the King's Ambaſſador in *Spain*, a Gentleman educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he became ſuch a Proficient in *Latin*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *Portugueſe*, that he underſtood them as well as his Mother Tongue. He remov'd from the Univerſity to the Court, where he became equally acquainted with Buſineſs, as he had been with the Muſes, and acted in ſeveral Employments under the late King, as well as his preſent Majeſty, all which he diſcharg'd with great Wiſdom and Honeſty. Having juſt finiſh'd his great Work, he dy'd at *Madrid* in the 59th Year of his Age; leaving behind him the Character of an able Stateſman, a great Scholar, a ſincere, ſweet-natur'd, and pious Gentleman.

Mr. Howell,

The next was Mr. *James Howell*, Hiſtoriographer Royal, the firſt that had that Title and Place given by the Crown, a *Welſh*-man by Birth, an *Oxonian* by Education, of many Countries by his Travels, and of ſeveral Parties by his Practice: He was one who aroſe from nothing, and undertook every thing; became a various and voluminous Writer, having a ſingular Command of his Pen, whether in Verſe or Proſe; and after a remarkable Diverſity of Fortunes and Compliances, he dy'd at laſt in Priſon.

Mr. Hoole,

The third was Mr. *Charles Hoole*, a *Yorkſhire* Man, educated in

in *Oxford* Univerſity, and encourag'd by his Kinſman Biſhop *Sanderſon*, who gave him a Prebend of *Lincoln*, and deſign'd him greater Preferments, as being an excellent *Latiniſt*, *Grecian*, and *Hebrician*, and admirably skill'd in Claſſical Learning. Tho' his Profeſſion was Divinity, yet he moſt of all excell'd in teaching Youth, and became the moſt celebrated Schoolmaſter in the Kingdom, and publiſh'd ſeveral uſeful Books upon that Occaſion. After teaching ſeveral private Schools, and ſuffering much Trouble for his Loyalty, he liv'd ſome Years in Peace, and dy'd Rector of *Stock* near *Chelmsford* in *Eſſex*. The fourth was Mr. *James Shirley*, the moſt celebrated Dramatick Poet in his Time, who by ſome hath been accounted equal to *Fletcher* himſelf, a Perſon of pregnant Parts, who had his Education in both Univerſities, and became Servant in the late Reign to Queen *Henrietta Maria*; but his chief Employment ſeems to have been writing of Plays, of which he furniſh'd the Stage and the World with near forty, highly valu'd at that Time, and in ſome of which he joyn'd with *George Chapman*, of whom Mention is made in the Year 1634. After all theſe four, we may add a fifth, too remarkable to be omitted, which was Sir *John Glynne*, Serjeant at Law, and noted in his Profeſſion, a Perſon more than once mention'd in the laſt Volume, having been a violent Promoter of the late Miſeries of the Kingdom, by which he was a very particular Gainer. Being a Member of the long Parliament, he prov'd a mortal Enemy to the Earl of *Strafford* and to Biſhops, a zealous *Covenanter*, one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and a profeſs'd *Presbyterian*; but being expell'd the Houſe by the *Independent* Party, he afterwards wheel'd about, and became a Favourite with *Cromwell*, who made him a Serjeant, a Judge, a Lord, and a Tool: Yet ſtill after the Reſtoration, the King, by the too bountiful Meaſures of the Times, as the Cavaliers judg'd, was pleas'd to Knight him, and make him his eldeſt Serjeant at Law, in which Station he dy'd in Peace, and was bury'd with unuſual Solemnity at *Weſtminſter-Abby*.

1666, 7. Car. 19 Reſ. 7.

Mr. Shirley.

And Serjeant Glynne.

D'Eſtrades. Caſtlemain. MSS. Philips. Skinner. Ludlow. Coke. Tromp's Life. Temple.

VI. 1. The two great contending Nations, the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, this Year began both to be ſo weary of the expenſive War, as to be willing to hearken to an Accommodation. The *French*, the chief Supporters of the Latter, were, for particular Reaſons, inclin'd to a Peace; and for that End the Mediation of *Sweden* was propos'd, and their Ambaſſadors came over to *London* in order to effect ſo deſirable a Work. Matters being brought to ſome Forwardneſs, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors labour'd hard about the Place and the Manner of Treating. The King thought it reaſonable that the *States* of *Holland* ſhou'd ſend to him, and propos'd *London* it ſelf for the Place of Treaty; which they confeſs'd was but fitting: But the Kings of *France* and *Denmark* being by Leagues involv'd in the War with them, without whom they cou'd not Treat, they therefore propounded that ſome neutral Place might be choſen, where the King's and their Confederates Plenipotentiaries might appear. The *French* King thought it bore too much upon his Honour to ſend to *London*, and propos'd the Queen Mother's Lodgings at *Paris* for the Place of Treaty, looking upon it as a neutral Place, and without Exception. He alſo excepted againſt all Places within the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, for which he had his private Reaſons that ſoon after appear'd; and when ſame Places in *Germany* were mention'd, he alledg'd That they were too remote for daily Intelligence: So that for ſome Time this firſt Step towards a Treaty was held in Suſpence; each Party endeavouring to gain ſome particular Advantage only by means of the Place.

1667.

The Swede *mediates for a Peace.*

1667. Car. 19 Ref. 7.

The King of *England* had at this Time in his Court the Baron *l' Isola*, a Minister of the Emperor, and much in the *Spanish* Interest, a Man of considerable Abilities and Subtlety, who was more than ordinary vigilant against the Power of *France*. By his good Address he insinuated himself into the *English* Court and Ministry, tho' he was no Friend to the Chancellor himself, and for a while he had a great Influence on Affairs there. It is believ'd that it was by this Person's Advice, and to countermine the Intrigues of *France*, that the King made a civil and condescending Proposal to the *Dutch*, That to remove all Scruples and Difficulties, he was willing that the *Hague* it self shou'd be the Place for treating of an Accommodation; well knowing that the Insolencies of the People in a Common-wealth, and the Cries of a ruin'd Multitude, wou'd prove the best Mediators in this Affair. This Proposal was very shocking and affrightning to the great *De Wit* and all his Party, who soon perceiv'd that if it succeeded, it wou'd much hazard the Diminution of their Authority, and elevate the contrary Party. The *French* King was no less sensible of this Design; accordingly his Secretary *Lionne* wrote thus to the Ambassador *D' Estrades*: 'His Majesty is assured the King of 'England was advis'd to propose the *Hague* by one of the very *States* in 'the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*; and he is sensible that all is levell'd 'at Monsieur *De Wit*'s Credit and Authority, which his Majesty is re-'solv'd to maintain to the utmost.' Then proposing *Breda*, *Boisleduc*, &c. he added, 'If you can but perswade the *States* into the same Opinion, 'we shall not value *l' Isola*'s Brags to *Friquet* that he has levell'd against 'France.' However, the better to divert this Matter, and to countermine the *English*, the *French* King made a new Proposal to have *Dover* in *England* to be the Place of Treaty. This was on the other Side declin'd, as a Place unfit to receive so many Persons of Quality and their Trains; and so, after several Places nam'd, *Breda* was the Place fix'd on for all Parties to meet and bring about this great Affair, where they resolv'd to open the Treaty in the Beginning of *May*.

Difficulties about the Place of Treating.

Breda *agreed upon.*

2. Things thus settled, the Lord *Denzill Hollis* and Mr. *Henry Coventry* of the King's Bed-chamber, were appointed Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries for *England*. For the King of *France* were Monsieur *d' Estrades* and *Courtin*; for the King of *Denmark*, the Lord *Paul Clingenberge*, and *Peter Canisius*; for the *States-General*, *Beverning*, *Hubert*, and *Jongstall*, of *Holland*, *Zeeland*, and *Freesland*; and the Mediators from *Sweden* were the Lords *George Flemming* and *Julius Cojet*. These were all provided with the most commodious Houses in *Breda*, and for their publick Meetings was fitted up the great Hall in the Castle, being the usual Residence of the Prince of *Orange*. The *English* Ambassadors having their several Passports, arriv'd at *Flushing* on the 2d Day of *May* with three Frigates and four Baggage Ships, where they were solemnly receiv'd in the *States* Yatches, which brought them to *Tir-Heyde*, a Fort near *Breda*, where they tarry'd till their Houses were made fit for them. On the 14th of the same Month they made their publick Entry into *Breda*, which was very great and solemn: They were met a Mile from the Town by two hundred Horse, sent by the Governor; with whom went the Commander of the Town in the Governor's Coach. The Horse led the Van, then sixteen Pages on Horseback, and after them four Trumpets in the King of *England*'s rich Liveries: After them the Gentleman of the Horse to the Ambassadors, follow'd by the Mareschal of the Embassy, who perceded the Ambassador's Coach which was very stately, drawn with six Horses, besides three others of their own, and that of the Governor. And the Gentlemen which waited on the Ambassadors

The several Plenipotentiaries.

The English *Entry.*

baſſadors had put their Servants in the ſame Liveries, which made the Train very numerous and ſurprizing. They were met at the Gates by the Governor, who nobly treated them the firſt Day at their own Houſe; and they afterwards treated him in like manner, each keeping a moſt ſplendid Table: So that they were never without Spectators, who came from all Places to ſee the Grandeur, or partake of the Bounty of it. 1667. Car. 19 Reſ. 8.

The Proceedings in the Negotiation.

As to the Negotiations, which were carry'd on with great Formality as well as Regularity, there was this Advantage, that the Preliminaries were in ſome Meaſure agreed on before the Meeting; the *States-General* having offer'd his *Britannick* Majeſty his Choice of *Reſtoring to each other whatſoever had been taken before or during the War*; or otherwiſe, *That each ſhou'd keep what he had taken, without giving of any Satisfaction.* Of which the King had declar'd for the latter, to prevent all future Diſputes; but ſtill inſiſted upon Satisfaction to be made for the two great Ships the *Bonadventure* and the *Good Hope*, the taking of which by the *Dutch* had been a prime Occaſion of the War; but to this the *States* wou'd by no Means comply, alledging 'It ſhew'd more Submiſſion and 'Dependence than was agreeable to a free Eſtate.' The *Engliſh*, during the War, had taken from the *Dutch* the Iſlands *Euſtatius* and *Tabago* in the *Weſt Indies*, which the *French* had taken from the *Engliſh* again; of which the *States* inſiſted upon Reſtitution, and which the *French* did not much diſpute. As to the Iſland of *Poloron* in the *Eaſt Indies*, it was prov'd by a Receipt, That the *Eaſt India* Company of *Holland* had deliver'd it to the *Engliſh*; and having afterwards, during the War, taken it from them again, it was agreed that each Party ſhou'd keep all the Lands, Forts, *&c.* whereof they were poſſeſs'd on the 20th of *May* in the Year 1667, without making any Reſtitution whatſoever. At the ſame Time the *Daniſh* Plenipotentiaries demanded Reſtitution of the Iſlands *Schetland* and the *Orcades*, anciently mortgag'd to a King of *Scotland* for five thouſand Pounds Sterling, alledging 'That his *Britannick* 'Majeſty had receiv'd more out of the Profits than the Principal and 'Intereſt of the Mony amounted to:' But all the Plenipotentiaries in general concluded that the *Daniſh* King's Pretenſion was ungrounded; eſpecially ſince he had not offer'd the Repayment of the Mony lent and receiv'd by his own Confeſſion.

After a few Weeks Negotiation, the Lord *Cojet*, one of the *Swediſh* Plenipotentiaries and Mediators, ſicken'd at *Breda*, where he dy'd of a Feaver. This caus'd ſome Delay in the Proceedings; but the Count *de Doua*, Ambaſſador to the *States* at the *Hague*, was in a ſhort Time ſent to ſupply his Place as Mediator. In the mean Time the *States* warmly inſiſted upon the *Engliſh*'s recalling of all Proclamations, or Acts which were prejudicial to Commerce, and more particularly that call'd *The Act of Navigation*; which their Plenipotentiaries declar'd to be out of their Powers, it being an Act of Parliament, and conſequently not to be repeal'd without Conſent of Parliament. Tho' they were poſitive and tenacious in ſome Particulars, yet to comply with the *States* as much as cou'd be in this Matter, it was agreed by a ſecret Article, 'That it 'ſhou'd be lawful for all *Dutch* Ships to bring into *England*, or any of 'the King's Dominions, all Manufactures made of the Growth of the 'Netherlands and of *Germany*, which moſt uſually are convey'd down 'the great Rivers, or by Carts, and no otherways, unto the Sea-Ports, 'to be tranſported from thence beyond the Seas.' Thus they continu'd for a conſiderable Time without coming to a Concluſion; all Parties acting and proceeding with Caution and Reſerve, in a great Meaſure waiting for the Succeſs of their Fleets and Armies, of which it is Time to make mention.

3. The

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The Dutch *and* Engliſh *Preparations for this Year.*

3. The *Dutch*, both before and after the Treaty began, had made their uſual Preparations for War, as the moſt likely Way to obtain a better Peace, and accordingly with great Expence fitted out a Fleet of ſeventy Men of War; in which they were ſtill more vigorous when they perceiv'd that the *Engliſh* had taken contrary Meaſures. It ſeems, in the Beginning of the War it had often been propos'd to the King by ſeveral knowing Perſons, and eſpecially by Sir *John Lawſon*, That ſince the Life of the *Dutch* conſiſted in Trade, a Pyratical War wou'd prove much cheaper, and wou'd ſooner bring them to Submiſſion; for if they cou'd traffick, they wou'd not much value the Expence, but perhaps grow rich upon it, as they did in their long Conteſt with *Spain*. His Majeſty, at that Time, cou'd by no Means be ſatisfy'd with the Advice, conceiving it a Diſhonour to him, who was juſtly accounted the moſt powerful Maſter of the Seas, not to make it good by open Courage and Bravery; eſpecially ſince the Continuance of the War was ſo uncertain. But at laſt, after his ſeveral Victories were apparent, and that the Enemy wou'd in a ſhort Time conclude a Peace, he was now adviſ'd only to fit out a light Fleet, which dividing it ſelf into every Quarter, muſt certainly make great Spoil among the *Dutch* Merchant-Ships, and more nearly affect the Traders than before. So, without putting himſelf to the great Charge of a Fleet, he order'd ſeveral Frigates to cruiſe in the *Scottiſh* Seas, and others in the *Channel* about *Plymouth*, thereby to ſhut up the *Britiſh* Seas on all Sides. Beſides which, *Sheerneſs* and *Upnore*-Caſtle were order'd to be fortify'd, and a Chain to be drawn croſs the River of *Medway*, to ſecure the Royal Fleet at *Chatham*: All which were better adviſ'd than executed.

The Dutch *Expedition at* CHATHAM.

The *Dutch* took the Advantage of the too great Security of the *Engliſh*, and appearing with their great Fleet, under *De Ruyter* and *De Wit*'s Brother, they rod in Triumph upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and near the Mouth of the *Thames*. And finding no Oppoſition, being baſely pylotted by ſome *Engliſh* Fugitives, they made a bold Attempt, and ſail'd up the *Medway* on the 10th of *June*, and ſoon made themſelves Maſters of the Fort of *Sheerneſs*, tho' valiantly defended by Sir *Edward Spragg*. To put a ſtop to their farther Progreſs, ſeveral Veſſels were ſunk about *Muſcle-Bank*, the narroweſt Part of the River, and a ſtrong Chain was put croſs the Channel; and the Lord General, the Duke of *Albemarle*, was got down thither with a Land Force to oppoſe them. But having the Advantage of an Eaſterly Wind, and a ſtrong Tyde, they furiouſly preſs'd on and broke through the Chain, and fought and burnt the three Ships that lay to guard it, the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles the Fifth*, all three *Dutch* Ships taken in the preſent War, damaging many other Veſſels, and taking along with them the Hull of the *Royal Charles*, which was twice fired by the *Engliſh*, and as often extinguiſh'd by the Enemy. After which they advanc'd with ſix Men of War, and five Fire-ſhips, as far as *Upnore*-Caſtle, and burnt the *Royal-Oak*, and in Effect deſtroy'd the *Loyal London* and the *Great James*, which they left a great Part under Water. And after all this Inſult and Ravage, they fell down the River again with no great Damage to themſelves but the Loſs of their Fireſhips, and the running a-ground two of their Men of War, which they were forc'd to ſet on Fire. This ſudden and bold Attempt threw the Court and City of *London* into a vaſt Aſtoniſhment and Conſternation; and indeed Diſcontent and Confuſion appear'd in every Man's Looks, all dreading the infinite Danger of the Enemies coming up the *Thames* as far as *London-Bridge*. Whereupon all Hands were at Work, and beſides the Muſtering the Train'd-Bands, nine Ships were ſunk at *Woolwich*, and four

four at *Black-Wall*; and Platforms furniſh'd with Artillery and Works to defend them, were rais'd in divers Places to hinder the *Dutch* from coming up to the City. All Perſons took the liberty to exclaim againſt the preſent Counſellors, who had caus'd the King to be ſo amus'd with the Hopes of Peace, as to treat without Sword in Hand, and after ſuch Victories obtain'd againſt the *Dutch*, which by Avarice and Overſight were now obſcur'd and tarniſh'd to that Degeee, as they cou'd not eaſily recover their former Luſtre. 1667. Car. 19 Reſ. 8.

This Attempt having been ſo ſurprizing and diſgraceful to the *Engliſh* Nation, it may be very proper to give a more particular Account of it in the Narrative that the Duke of *Albemarle* Himſelf gave in to the Houſe of Commons in the next Seſſion of Parliament; which will be the more deſirable, becauſe we do not find that ever it was publiſh'd before; and this we ſhall do in the Duke's own Words: *A more particular Account given of it by the Duke of* Albemarle.

'I went early on 'Tueſday the 11th of *June* to *Chatham*, where I found ſcarce Twelve 'of eight hundred Men, which were then in the King's Pay, in his Ma- 'jeſty's Yards; and thoſe ſo diſtracted with Fear, that I cou'd have lit- 'tle or no Service from them. I had heard of thirty Boats which were 'provided by his *Royal Highneſs*; but they were all, except five or ſix, 'taken away by thoſe of the Yards, who went themſelves with them, and 'ſent and took them away by the Example of Commiſſioner *Pett*, who 'had the chief Command there, and ſent away his own Goods in ſome 'of them. I found no Ammunition there, but what was in the *Mon- 'mouth*; ſo that I preſently ſent to *Graveſend* for the Train to be ſent 'to me, which got thither about two of the Clock next Day. After 'I had diſpatcht this Order, I went to viſit the Chain, which was the 'next Thing to be fortify'd for the Security of the River; where I found 'no Works for the Defence of it. I then immediately ſet Soldiers to 'Work for the raiſing of two Batteries, for there were no other Men 'to be got; and when I employ'd them in it, I found it very difficult to 'get Tools; for Commiſſioner *Pett* wou'd not furniſh us with above 'Thirty, till by Breaking open the Stores we found more. I then dire- 'cted Timber and thick Planks to be ſent to the Batteries and Guns alſo, 'that they might be ready to be planted as ſoon as the Batteries 'were made; and in the next Place I ſent Captain *Wintour* with his Com- 'pany to *Upnore*-Caſtle, which I took to be a Place very fit to hinder 'the Enemy from coming forwards, if they ſhou'd force the Chain: 'And upon further Conſideration, tho' I had Horſe near the Fort, leſt 'the Enemy ſhou'd land there, I commanded Sir *Edward Scott* with his 'Company for a further Strength of the Place; and gave him the Charge 'of it, with Orders to let me know what he wanted for the Security 'thereof.

'Having thus provided for *Upnore*, I conſider'd where to ſink Ships 'without the Chain, next to the Enemy, as a further Security to it. I 'found five Fireſhips, and the *Unity*, upon the Place; and adviſing with 'Commiſſioner *Pett*, and the *Maſter of Attendance* and the Pylot, how 'to do it; *Pett* told me *It was their Opinion, That if three Ships were 'ſunk at the narrow Paſſage by the* Muſcle-Bank, *the* Dutch *Fleet cou'd 'not be able to come up:* And I relying upon their Experience who beſt 'knew the River, gave Orders accordingly for the doing of it. But 'when this was done, they ſaid *they wanted two Ships more*, which I 'directed them to take and Sink. After this, I order'd Sir *Edward 'Spragg* to take a Boat and Sound whether the Sinking of thoſe wou'd 'ſufficiently ſecure the Paſſage; which he did, and found another Paſ- 'ſage (which the Pylot and *Maſter of Attendance* had not before ob- 'ſerv'd) that was deep enough for great Ships to come in: I thereup-

'on

1667. Car. 19 Ref. 8.

'on resolv'd to sink some Ships within the Chain, and provide some 'against there shou'd be Occasion. I went then to look after the other 'Ships and Batteries, and to see the Men and all Things ready; but I 'found the Guns, which I had before order'd to be there, not yet come 'down; and instead of thick Oaken Planks (of which there was good 'Store in the Yards, as it afterwards appear'd) the Commissioner wou'd 'only send Planks of Deal, saying *He had no Other*; which prov'd very 'prejudicial in the Use of them: For they were so weak, That at eve-'ry Shot, the Wheels sunk through the Boards, which put us to a con-'tinual Trouble to get them out.

'About Noon, before the Batteries were quite rais'd, the Enemy came 'on to the Place where our first Ships were sunk: I went on Board the '*Monmouth* with fifty Volunteers, and appointed Soldiers in other Ships 'to make the best Defence we cou'd, if they had proceeded; but they 'were so incumber'd, before they cou'd clear the Way through the sunk 'Ships, and find another Passage, that the Tide was spent, and there-'fore they made no further Advance that Day; whereby we had Time 'to consider what to do against the next Attempt. There were two 'Ships order'd to lye within the Chain, to be ready to sink, if Occasion 'shou'd be: And wanting One Ship more to sink in the Middle between 'these two Ships, I that Night order'd the *Sancta Maria*, a great *Dutch* 'Prize, to be sunk in the deepest Place between the two foresaid Ships; 'and I judg'd it so necessary to be done, that I charg'd Commissioner '*Pett*, and the *Master of Attendance*, on peril of their Lives to do it by 'Morning; they having Time enough before the Tide serv'd to provide 'Things to carry her down. Commissioner *Pett*, who had receiv'd 'Orders from his Royal Highness on the 26th of *March* to remove the '*Royal Charles* above the Dock, had for about nine or ten Weeks neg-'lected those Orders: And when I was getting all the Boats I cou'd (for 'I wanted many) for carrying Materials for the Batteries, and Am-'munition and Soldiers for the Defence of all our Places, he came and 'told me *He wou'd carry her up that Tide, if he might have Boats*, which 'I cou'd not then spare: For if they were gone, all our Batteries must 'have been neglected, and I cou'd not transport the Timber, Powder 'and Shot, and Men to them, to resist the Enemy the next Day. And 'besides, it was thought adviseable at that Instant, if the *Dutch* shou'd 'have landed in the Marsh by the *Crane*, she might have been useful, 'and have hinder'd them, having Guns on Board. Nevertheless, having 'notice shortly after, That there was neither Sponge, Ladle, Powder 'nor Shot in her, I sent Captain *Millet*, Commander of the *Matthias*, 'about ten in the Morning, with Orders to Commissioner *Pett* to car-'ry her up, as he cou'd, the next Tide; who pretended *he cou'd not 'then do it, because there was but one Pylot that wou'd undertake it, and 'he was employ'd about sinking of Ships*. And seeing she was not remov'd 'in the Morning, I my self spoke to Commissioner *Pett* in the Even-'ing, in the presence of Colonel *Mac-Noughton* and Captain *Mansfield*, 'to fetch her off that Tide; but notwithstanding these Orders, the Ship 'was not remov'd, but lay there till the Enemy took her. On the same 'Morning, by Break of Day, I went to see what was done about the '*Sancta Maria*, and found Men towing her along to the Place intended, 'and they had Time enough to do their Business: But soon after I had 'dispers'd my Orders to the Ships, I look'd and saw the *Sancta Maria*, 'by the Carelessness of the Pylots and *Masters of Attendance*, was run on 'Ground, at which I was much troubled: For if that Ship had been 'sunk in the Place where I appointed, the *Dutch* Ships cou'd not have 'got beyond those of ours sunk within the Chain, and thereby none of

'the

'the King's Ships within cou'd have been deſtroyed, in regard that our 1667.
'Guard-Ships within our Batteries wou'd have hinder'd them from re- Car. 19
'moving our ſunk Ships. Ref. 8.

'About ten a Clock on *Wedneſday*, the Enemy came on with Part of 'their Fleet, and two Men of War, five or ſix Fireſhips, and ſome other 'Men of War ſeconding them. They firſt attempted the *Unity*, which 'was plac'd on the Right-Hand cloſe without the Chain to defend it; 'and they took Her; and one of their Fireſhips ſtrook upon the Chain, 'but it ſtop'd it. Then came another great Fireſhip, and with the Weight 'of them two the Chain gave way; and then the Ships came on in that 'very Paſſage where the *Sancta Maria* ſhou'd have been ſunk. They 'burnt the two Guard-Ships, and took off the *Royal Charles*, 'wherein the Gunners and Boat-Swain did not do their Duty in firing 'her, tho' they ſay they attempted it twice, but the Fire did not take. 'This was all that I obſerv'd of the Enemies Action on *Wedneſday*. Our 'next Care was to provide againſt the Tide ſerv'd the next Day: I enquir'd 'what had been done by Sir *Edward Scott* at *Upnore*, and ſent him as 'many of thoſe Things he needed as I cou'd get Boats to carry them to 'him, and ſent likewiſe a Company more than was formerly order'd, to 'reinforce the Place in caſe of Landing; and then directed three Batte-'ries to be made in the King's Yard; but cou'd not get a Carpenter, but 'two that were running away. I alſo planted that Night about fifty Can-'non in ſeveral Places, beſides thoſe that came with the Train of Artil-'lery, which were alſo planted. I ſtaid all Night in the Place with the 'Men, and having no Money to pay them, all I cou'd do or ſay was lit-'tle enough for their Encouragement: For I had no Aſſiſtance from Com-'miſſioner *Pett*, nor no Gunners or Men to draw on the Guns, except 'the two *Maſters of Attendance*.

'On *Thurſday* Morning betimes, *Upnore* was in a pretty Condition, 'and our Batteries ready: I got ſome Captains of Ships and other Offi-'cers, Sea Volunteers, and others that came to me to ply the Guns; and 'other Land Volunteers did aſſiſt them to draw them on the Batteries. 'About Noon the Enemy came on again with two Men of War, and 'two Fireſhips, and ſome more Men of War following them: The firſt 'two anchor'd before *Upnore*, and play'd upon it whilſt the Fireſhips 'paſs'd by to the *Great James*, the *Royal Oake*, and the *Loyal London*. 'The two firſt Fireſhips burnt without any effect; but the reſt went up 'and burnt the three Ships mention'd: And if we had had but five or 'ſix Boats to cut off the Boats of the Fireſhips, we had prevented the 'Burning of thoſe Ships; but thoſe being burnt, as ſoon as the Tide 'turn'd, they went back, and made no further Attempt. I had in the 'Morning before this Action receiv'd his Majeſty's Command to return 'to *London*; but I thought it moſt for his Service to ſtay till the 'Attempt was over: And then having left upon the Place the Earl of '*Carliſle*, and the Earl of *Middleton* to command there till further Or-'der, I came away about eight in the Evening, and by two in the Morn-'ing arriv'd at *London*.' Such was the Narrative of the Duke of *Albe-marle*; and tho' it was not given in till ſome Months after, yet the Neg-lects of Commiſſioner *Pett* appear'd ſo ſoon, to whom the Care of *Cha-tham* Yard and the Navy had been intruſted, that within a few Days af-ter he was committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*, as well as afterwards impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons.

The Proceedings of the Dutch *after it.*

But to proceed: The *Dutch* having, after this unexpected Advantage, got out to Sea again, made many other Attempts of Bravery, or rather of Revenge; which they continu'd even after the Peace was concluded at *Breda*. They ſail'd to *Portſmouth* with a Deſign upon the Ships in that

1667. Car. 19 Ref. 8. Harbour, but finding them too well ſecured by the Diligence of the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and Captain *Elliot*, ſent thither by the King for that purpoſe, they appear'd before *Plymouth* in the Middle of *July*, and ſoon after made an Attempt upon *Tor-Bay*, but were beaten off. Then they ſtood Eaſtward, and again enter'd the River *Thames*, and got about twenty five Sail into *Tilbury Hope*, where the *Engliſh* had about eighteen Men of War and Fireſhips. Sir *Edward Spragg*, who commanded that Squadron, was unfortunately abſent when the *Dutch* came firſt up with them; and therefore the *Dutch* with their Fireſhips did ſome conſiderable Miſchief: But Sir *Edward* returning on Ship-board, and being joyn'd with a ſmall Squadron from *Harwich* under Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, he ſo ply'd the *Dutch*, that they were glad to fall down the River again with as much Damage to themſelves as to their Oppoſers. After this they bid Defiance to the Town of *Harwich*, and landed Three thouſand Men near *Felſtone-Cliff*, and made two ſeveral Attacks upon *Landguard-Fort*, and made a ſtand againſt the Train'd-Bands, under the Command of the Earl of *Suffolk*; and without any great Loſs or Execution, they re-imbark'd and ſtood again for the *Thames*; and coming up as far as *Hull-Haven*, they engag'd the Squadron of Sir *Edward Spragg*, compos'd of the *Succeſs* and eighteen other Men of War; where the Encounter was ſo ſharp, that the *Engliſh* ſtood off for *Graveſend*, and left the *Dutch* at Anchor in the *Hope*: but they ſoon fell down to the *Buoy in the Nore*; and, leaving Sir *Edward Spragg* the Honour of ſeeming to purſue them, they got to Sea, and again made to the Weſtern Coaſts, and attempted to land firſt at *Wenbury* in *Devonſhire*, and then near *Cawland* in *Cornwall*. And thus they hover'd about with continual Allarms of Offers of Deſcent; till not being able any longer to diſſemble their Knowledge of a Peace, *de Ruyter* obligingly invited ſome of the *Corniſh* Gentlemen on Board him, and gave them a liberal Entertainment; and civilly excuſing ſome of his latter Acts of Hoſtility, he handſomly diſmiſs'd them, and ſail'd to his own Country.

4. The firſt Approach of the *Dutch* Fleet, and their Succeſs at *Chatham*, had ſo allarm'd the *Engliſh* Court, that at the firſt Meeting of the Council, a Propoſition was made to aſſemble the Parliament with all poſſible Expedition, tho' they had been already prorogu'd to the 10th of *October*. On the other Side, the Chancellor *Hyde*, finding the popular Diſcontents to riſe high againſt him, us'd all Diligence to oppoſe that Motion; and conceiving an Army more uſeful to the Court at this Juncture of Affairs, took this Occaſion to propoſe the Raiſing of twelve Thouſand Men. And tho' the major part of the Council carry'd it for the Aſſembling of the Parliament, and that a Proclamation ſhould be immediately publiſh'd for their meeting on the 25th of *July*, yet the Deſign of raiſing an Army was not laid aſide. At the cloſe of the laſt Seſſion, the King had promis'd his two Houſes of Parliament, that he wou'd conſtitute Commiſſioners for *Taking the Accounts of the ſeveral Sums of Monies which had been rais'd and aſſign'd to his Majeſty, during the great and important Wars, to the End that his Majeſty and his People might be ſatisfy'd in the faithful Application and Expence of them.* In diſcharge of this Royal Word and Promiſe, before this unexpected Meeting of the Parliament, the King granted a Commiſſion under the great Seal of *England* 'to *John* 'Earl of *Bridgewater*, *Oliver* Earl of *Bolingbroke*, *Robert* Earl of *Ailſ-* 'bury, *Edward* Viſcount *Conway*, *John* Lord *Lucas*, and *John* Lord 'Crew, Peers of this Realm, together with Sir *William Lowther*, Sir *Tho-* 'mas *Meers*, Sir *Humphry Winch*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Sir *William* 'Thompſon, Sir *Thomas Osborne*, Sir *Thomas Gower*, Col. *Samuel San-* 'dys, *Giles Strangeways*, *William Garway*, *Edward Boſcowen*, and 'John

Upon which the Parliament is Summon'd.

'*John Jones*, Eſquires, being Members of the Houſe of Commons, with 'full Power to examine and ſtate the ſaid Accounts,' which was accordingly put in Execution. By which Manner of Proceeding it appears, that the Enquiry into Publick Accounts was hitherto reſerv'd to the King himſelf; but now by him graciouſly promis'd to the People, and purſu'd in a Method that ſeem'd to ſignify, That the Lords were as much concern'd in this Matter as the Commons. 1667. Car. 19 Reſ. 8.

An intermediate SESSION.

In Obedience to the King's Proclamation, but contrary to uſual Cuſtom, the Parliament met on the 25th of *July*, making a ſort of an intermediate Seſſion, and of a very ſhort Continuance. The Commons immediately enter'd upon the Debate of the new-rais'd Army, which they reſolv'd to break as ſoon as might be, and ſpoke ſo clearly and freely in that Matter, that the Court reſolv'd to give them ſome little Interruption, either to mollify the warmeſt Oppoſers, or to make Way for new Meaſures. For this End a Meſſage was ſent from the Chancellor to the Speaker of the Commons 'To let them know, That his Maje-'ſty conceiving the Houſe might not be full at their firſt Meeting, he 'had deferr'd his coming to acquaint them with what he had to ſay, till '*Monday* the 29th of this Month; and that the Houſe ſhou'd be adjourn'd 'till that Day.' But before the Meſſage came to them, they had paſs'd a Reſolution, 'That his Majeſty ſhou'd be humbly deſired, that as ſoon 'as the Peace was concluded, the new-rais'd Forces might be Disbanded.' Upon the appointed Day, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers with the uſual Ceremonies, where he made a ſhort Speech to the two Houſes, 'Excuſing the Trouble of extraordinary Attendance, and telling them 'the Occaſions of their Meeting were now *leſs urgent*; and therefore 'he cou'd again diſmiſs them to the Day formerly prefix'd, and ſhou'd 'take an Opportunity, in the mean while, *to do ſome Things, which he 'hop'd wou'd not be unwelcome to them*:' And accordingly he prorogu'd them to the 10th Day of *October*.

A Prorogation.

5. And now to return and proceed to the Treaty of *Breda*; which for ſome Time had been carry'd on cautiouſly, and by ſlow Steps, but ſtill with ſome Advantage to the *Engliſh* Cauſe. But the unexpected Succeſſes of the *Dutch* ſoon made a great Change in the Negotiation for Peace; and the *States* Plenipotentiaries were not ſhy in declaring, 'That the Advantages their Arms had newly obtain'd, might probably 'make their Maſters alter their Minds; and tho' they had conſented to 'conclude a Peace upon ſome Conditions that had been preſented, yet 'they cou'd not anſwer for its Ratification: And that it was not to be 'imagin'd, the *States* and their Alleys ſhou'd ſtand to the Offers that 'had been made, if God continu'd to bleſs their Arms with new Con-'queſts.' The *Dutch* ſeem'd now reſolv'd to oblige the *Engliſh*, who ſhew'd a particular Unwillingneſs to come intirely into one or other of the Propoſitions that had been made them, *viz.* 'That each Party ſhou'd 'either reciprocally render back what they had taken, or elſe on both 'Sides keep what they had.' And the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries, being alſo further influenc'd by the Diſcontents at home, appear'd much more inclinable to Peace, and more yielding than before; and the Differences, as well with *Holland*, as with *France* and *Denmark*, were at laſt terminated on the 10th Day of *July*; excepting only, that Mr. *Coventry*, one of the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries, was oblig'd to return with all Speed to *London* to get ſome Points agreed to, which were not in their Power to decide. As to the Domeſtick Diſcontents that were ſo predominant, we may well take Notice of theſe Words in Sir *William Temple*'s Letter, written to the Lord *Arlington July* the 19th. 'Every Packet I receive

The Negotiation at Breda.

Domeſtick Diſcontents.

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'from *England* confirms me in the Belief, that a War abroad is not our 'preſent Buſineſs, till all at home be in better Order; no more than hard 'Exerciſe which ſtrengthens healthy Bodies, can be proper for thoſe that 'have a Feaver lurking in the Veins, or a Conſumption in the Fleſh, for 'which Reſt, and Order, and Diet are neceſſary, perhaps ſome Medi-'cine too, provided it comes from a careful and skilful Hand. This 'is all that I ſhall ſay upon that Subject, which I preſume has before this 'received ſome Reſolutions by my Lord Ambaſſador *Coventry*'s Arrival; 'for I confeſs my Stomach is come down, and I ſhou'd be glad to hear 'the Peace ended, and our Coaſts clear, ſince it will not be better; but 'all this while, *Multa gemens Ignominiam Plagaſque ſuperbi Hoſtis*, and 'I am ſure, wou'd not deſire to live, unleſs with Hopes of ſeeing our 'ſelves one Day in another Poſture, which God Almighty has made us 'capable of, whenever we pleaſe our ſelves.

The French *King invades* Flanders.

But there was another thing that very much haſtned, and was like to have precipitated the Peace, and that was the ſudden Progreſs of the *French* King, who this Year began really to exert himſelf, and to appear formidable to all his Neighbours. This aſpiring Monarch had for a conſiderable Time projected the Seizure of a great Part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and it was ſeveral Times ſecretly deſign'd to make a Diviſion of them between him and the *Dutch*; but upon the Death of the King of *Spain*, his Father-in-law, which happened in *September* 1665, he was furniſh'd with a new and plauſible Pretence, namely, that much of theſe Dominions in the *Netherlands*, together with the *Franche County* belong'd intirely and diſtinctly to his Queen by Right of Inheritance. And, tho' there had been ſolemn Renunciations made of thoſe Pretenſions at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and upon the Concluſion of the Marriage, yet he and his Dependants had invented new Pretexts to evade and invalidate them; namely 'That they were only *Conditional*, and had not been 'confirm'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, that the Queen's Dowry had not 'been paid according to the ſaid Agreement, *&c.*' therefore his Chriſtian Majeſty declared and repreſented to *Spain*, *Holland* and others, 'That 'he deſign'd nothing but Peace and Amity; but only he found it neceſ-'ſary to go and take quiet Poſſeſſion, and receive the Allegiance of his 'Subjects in thoſe Provinces that were the hereditary and unalienable 'Right of his Queen.' Accordingly, in the Month of *May*, he advanc'd with a powerful Army to the Frontiers, and ſoon made ſuch an Impreſſion as rais'd a Terror to all about him. Yet ſtill, to ſhew the Moderateneſs of his Demands, he pretended to be content with an Exchange that ſhou'd be ſomewhat leſs in Value, and conſiderably leſs formidable to his Friends, than thoſe Places to which he made his Claim. In order to which he made a ſecret Offer to the *Dutch*, 'That in lieu of all Rights 'due to his Wife, he wou'd be content to accept the *Franche County*, 'the Dutcy of *Luxemburg*, *Cambray*, *Cambreſis*, *Aire*, St. *Omer*, *Ber-'gues*, *Charleroy*, *Tournay* and *Doway*, with the Countries thereunto be-'longing. But theſe Offers not being clos'd withal, he proceeded in ſuch a rapid Manner, that both the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* became more pliable, and reſolv'd to conclude and compleat the Peace, the Ratifications of which were exchang'd on the 14th Day of *Auguſt*.

The PEACE *of* BREDA.

As to the Articles of this Treaty and Peace now concluded, they conſiſted of no leſs than thirty eight in Number, very much of which were Matters of uſual Form, tending to the better Eſtabliſhment of future Amity, good Neighbourhood, and a more civil Correſpondence, but not ſo neceſſary to be particulariz'd by a Hiſtorian: Only ſome Parts of them ought not to be omitted. In the third Article it was agreed, 'That 'each Party ſhou'd hold and poſſeſs for the Time to come, in full Right

'of

'of Sovereignty, Propriety and Poſſeſſion, all ſuch Countries, Iſles, 1667.
'Towns, Forts, Places and Colonies, as whether during this War, or be- Car. 19
'fore, have been taken and kept from the other by Force of Arms, and in Ref. 8.
'what other Manner ſoever, and that as they enjoy'd and poſſeſs'd them
'the 10th Day of *May* laſt.' The next Article imported 'That all Ships,
'Goods and Moveables, which at any time had come into the Power of
'either Party, ſhou'd remain in the preſent Poſſeſſors thereof, without any
'Compenſation or Reſtitution for the ſame.' In like Manner it was a-
greed by other Articles, 'That all Actions, Demands and Pretenſions
'whatſoever for the ſame, ſhou'd remain void, obliterated, and diſannul'd:
'And that under the foreſaid Renunciation and Stipulation, all Letters
'of Reprizal, general or particular, ought to be comprehended and re-
'voked, notwithſtanding any Grant to the contrary: And likewiſe all
'Priſoners on both Sides, of what State or Quality ſoever, ſhou'd be ſet
'at Liberty, without any Exception.' Some Articles related to a De-
nyal of protecting of Rebels and Traitors, and others to Freedom of
Trade, as well as Cuſtoms and Impoſitions. Beſides which there were
two that ought to be particularly remember'd; the one was, 'That all
'Ships and Veſſels of the *United Provinces*, as well Men of War, as Mer-
'chant Ships and others, which ſhou'd meet in the *Britannick* Seas any
'Ship of War belonging to the King of *Great Britain*, ſhou'd ſtrike the
'Flag, and lower the Sail, as it has formerly been practis'd.' The other
was, 'That if the former Differences ſhou'd be renew'd, and turn'd in-
'to an open War, the Ships, Merchandize, and all moveable Effects of
'both Parties, which ſhou'd be found in the Sea-Ports, and in the Do-
'minions of the adverſe Party, ſhou'd be by no Means confiſcated or da-
'mag'd; but there ſhou'd be granted to the Subjects of both Parties the
'Term of ſix whole Months, during which Time they might tranſport
'the ſaid Effects where they pleas'd.' Beſides all theſe, in a ſeparate Ar-
ticle there are theſe Words; 'If any Perſon is found guilty of the abo-
'minable Murther committed upon the Perſon of the deceaſed King
'*Charles* the Firſt of happy Memory, and are lawfully convicted and con-
'demn'd, and they are found under the Dominion of the *States General*,
'ſo that the ſaid *States*, or any of their Officers, ſhall have Knowledge
'of it; they ſhall be apprehended, put in Priſon, and ſent bound to *Eng-*
'*land*, *&c.*' This Article was highly exclaim'd againſt by the Republi-
can Party, and as much commended by the contrary Party, who look'd
upon it as very inſtrumental in the ſettling of Peace and Quiet in *Eng-*
land.

On the 24th of *Auguſt* the Peace was by the King's Command pro- *It is proclaim'd in* London.
claim'd by Heralds and other Officers in ſeveral Parts of *London*, with
great Solemnity and Triumph; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen aſſiſting
at the Ceremony, which was compleated with all the Marks of Joy and
Satisfaction imaginable. And thus ended the Firſt *Dutch* War; in which
the *Engliſh*, with all their Difficulties and Miſcarriages, gain'd much
Honour and Reputation abroad; but quite otherwiſe from the Peace,
by which they obtain'd little apparent Advantage, or publick Compenſati-
on. This War, from the publiſhing of the Declaration of it, till the pro-
claiming the Peace, continu'd two Years, and a little above five Months:
during which Space *England* was compell'd, with little or no Aſſiſtance,
to contend with two powerful Kings, beſides the Common Enemy, and
to ſtruggle with two of the greateſt Calamities of Peſtilence and Fire,
that ever befel that, or any other Northern Nation. And yet the War
coſt the *Dutch* four Millions Sterling, whereas that in 1652, *&c.* coſt
them not a Million and an half, as appear'd by the *States* Accounts.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the Concluſion of the Treaty of Breda, *and the End of the Firſt War, to the Proclaiming of the Second War againſt the* Dutch.

Containing the Space of 4 Years, 6 Months, and 3 Weeks.

1667. Car. 19 Reſ. 8.

I. 1. THE Peace, tho' inglorious upon ſome Accounts, was highly acceptable to the *Engliſh* Nation, which now again had a breathing Time after a formidable and expenſive War, attended with uncommon and direful Circumſtances. But tho' the War was at an End, yet like a violent Diſtemper ill cured, it left very bad Effects and Reliques behind it, moſt Perſons taking the Liberty to expoſe and condemn the real or ſeeming Miſcarriages of the late Proceedings and Tranſactions. Concerning which we may take Notice of a Letter from the Lord *Arlington* to the Earl of *Sandwich* in *Spain*, upon the Concluſion of the Peace, in which are theſe Words; 'The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here, and the Baron *d'Iſola* preſs his Majeſty 'very much to furniſh *Flanders* with a conſiderable Body of Foot; 'which his Majeſty only anſwers, *That, till he ſees himſelf in an intire 'Poſſeſſion of his Peace from* Breda, *he cannot enter into new Engage-'ments*; eſpecially ſeeing the Emperor and *States* of *Holland* ſo back-'ward, when they are more nearly concern'd. And the Truth is, my 'Lord, tho' the Peace be made with our Enemies abroad, there is ſuch 'a Fermentation of ill Humours at home, that no good Counſellor can 'adviſe his Majeſty to any new Hazards, or coſtly Deſigns, till he ſees 'his Affairs quieter at home.' The Murmurings of ſo many, upon the Pretence of the late Miſcarriages and Miſmanagements, made it in effect neceſſary to throw the Odium upon ſome prime Miniſter of State, who muſt be given up a Sacrifice upon this Occaſion. In purſuance of this common Policy, on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, his Majeſty thought fit to take the Seal from his old and faithful Miniſter, the Earl of *Clarendon*, and by that Mark of Diſgrace to give him up to the Malice of his Enemies, who ſhortly after hunted him into Impeachment and Baniſhment. The Great Seal was given to Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, with the Title of *Lord Keeper*; a Perſon of ſufficient Note and Eminency in his Profeſſion, who had been ſucceſſively Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, and Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, before he arriv'd at this high Station; and yet had ſome Diſadvantage in ſucceeding a Perſon of ſo great and extenſive Abilities.

Arlington. MSS. Ludlow. Rot. Parl. Clarendon's Life.

Diſcontents at home.

The Earl of Clarendon *remov'd.*

Sir O. Bridgeman *ſucceeds him.*

The Cauſes, and the Steps towards the Fall and Diſgrace of the great *Clarendon* have been partly taken Notice of before, and how boldly he had been ſtruck at by the Earl of *Briſtol* and others; but here ſomething more ought to be added. It has indeed been often admired, that ſuch a good-natur'd Prince as King *Charles*, ſhou'd not only conſent to diſcard, but ſoon after to baniſh a Friend, who had been as honeſt and faithful to him as the beſt, and perhaps more uſeful and ſerviceable than any that he had ever employ'd; which ſurely cou'd never have been brought to bear without numerous Envyers and Enemies. To ſhew how theſe were rais'd, we are to remember, as before, that during the Height of

Clarendon's Fall, and Cauſes of it.

of his Grandeur, which continu'd two Years without Rivalſhip, as well as the reſt of his Miniſtry, he manifeſted an inflexible Steadineſs to the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, in equal Oppoſition to the *Papiſts* on one Side, and the reſt of the Diſſenters on the other, ſo that none of theſe cou'd ever be reconcil'd to him, or his Proceedings. Yet he ſeem'd forward in the Beginning to do ſo much towards the making a Coalition of all Parties, that the Cavaliers, and ſtrict Churchmen, thought themſelves too groſsly neglected; and many of them, upon that Account, tho' unjuſtly, entertain'd inſuperable Prejudices againſt him, and join'd with the greateſt of his Enemies. His Authority was once ſo great and prevailing, that even when it was much diminiſh'd, the unpopular Acts, Miſcarriages or Misfortunes were generally charg'd upon him. Moreover his Perſonal Behaviour was attended with a Sort of a Gravity and Haughtineſs, that ſtruck a very diſagreeable Awe into a Court fill'd with comical and licentious Perſons of both Sexes. He often took Liberty to give ſuch Reproofs to theſe Perſons of Wit and Gallantry, as were very unacceptable to them; and ſometimes thought it his Duty to adviſe the King himſelf in ſuch a Manner, as they took Advantage of him, and as he paſs'd in the Court, wou'd often ſay to his Majeſty, *There goes your School-maſter!* The Chief of theſe was the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had a ſurprizing Talent of Ridicule and Buffoonery; and that he might make way to his Ruin, he often did act and mimick this great Man in the Preſence of the King, walking ſtately with a Pair of Bellows before him for the *Purſe*, and Colonel *Titus* carrying a Fire-ſhovel on his Shoulder for the *Mace*; with which ſort of Banter and Farce the King was too much delighted and captivated. Theſe, with ſome more ſerious of the *Popiſh* Party, aſſiſted by the Solicitations of the Ladies of Pleaſure, made ſuch daily Impreſſions upon the Mind of the King, that he at laſt gave way, and became pleas'd and willing to part both from his Perſon and Services. 1667. Car. 19 Reſ. 8.

It is generally believ'd that the King had ſome particular and private Reſentments againſt him, as his checking of thoſe who were too forward in loading the Crown with Prerogative and Revenue, and ſuch like Proceedings. And more particularly we are told, That he had beſides countermin'd the King in a grand Deſign he had to be divorc'd from his Queen, under theſe Pretences, 'That ſhe had been preingag'd to another Perſon; or that ſhe had made a Vow of Chaſtity before her Marriage, and that ſhe was uncapable of having Children.' The Perſon deſign'd to ſupply her Place was Mrs. *Stuart*, a beautiful young Lady, who was related to the King, and had ſome Office under the Queen. The Chancellor, to prevent this, ſent for the Duke of *Richmond*, who was of the ſame Name, and ſeeming to be ſorry that a Perſon of his Worth and his Relation to his Majeſty ſhou'd receive no Marks of his Favour, adviſ'd him to marry the ſaid Lady, as the moſt likely way to advance himſelf. The young Nobleman, liking the Perſon, unwarily follow'd the Advice, made immediate Application to her Ladyſhip, who was ignorant of the King's Intentions, and in a few Days marry'd her. The King thus diſappointed, and ſoon after inform'd how the Match was brought about, baniſh'd the Duke with his new Dutcheſs from the Court, and reſerv'd his Reſentment againſt the Chancellor to a more convenient Opportunity. However it was, in a Letter to the Earl of *Sandwich* from the Lord *Arlington*, who never was a Friend to the Chancellor, we find theſe Words: 'His Majeſty hath taken the Seals from the Lord 'Chancellor, and given them to my Lord *Bridgeman*, with a great deal 'of Satisfaction to the World, and to Himſelf; and he hopes, *that re-* '*ctifying ſome other important things before the Parliament*, he may ex-

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'pect they will deliver him out of the *Streights* he is ſo unhappily fallen 'into.' As to the private Reaſons of the King's abandoning the Chancellor, his Majeſty wrote an obliging Letter to the Duke of *Ormond*, then in *Ireland*, to give him Satisfaction in that Matter, as knowing him to be his intimate Friend. The Letter was never yet publiſh'd, nor wou'd a Copy of it be granted; but I have more than once been told the Subſtance of it by thoſe who have read it; and the principal Reaſon there given by the King was, *The Chancellor's Inſupportable Temper.*

One unpopular Act of his is not to be forgot, becauſe it had a great Influence in a ſhort Time; and this was the building a very ſtately large Houſe by the *Park*, call'd *Clarendon-Houſe*, which in a little Time obtain'd the Name of *Dunkirk-Houſe*, as tho' it had been built by the Mony taken for the Sale of that Place. This Houſe was built in the Chancellor's Abſence in the Plague Year, principally at the Charge of the *Vintners Company*, who deſigning to monopolize his Favour, made it abundantly more large and magnificent than ever he intended or deſired. And I have been aſſured by an unqueſtionable Hand, that when he came to ſee the Caſe of that Houſe, he rather ſubmitted than conſented, and with a Sigh ſaid, *This Houſe will one Day be my Ruin!* Whatever his Failings were, the King parted from this wiſe Counſellor when he had greateſt Need of him; for within three Months before, he had loſt his other chief Stateſman, the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*. That great and excellent Man had always teſtify'd an inviolable Friendſhip to the Chancellor, and no Man was more ſenſible of his real Worth; and the laſt Time he appear'd at the Council-board, when Age and Infirmities wou'd hardly permit him to ſpeak, he bravely exerted himſelf in the Chancellor's Behalf, ſtood up, and ſpoke with all his Power to this Effect: *This Man is a true Proteſtant, and an honeſt* Engliſhman; *and while he is in Place, we are ſecure of our Laws, Liberties, and Religion; but whenever he ſhall be remov'd,* England *will feel the ill Effects of it:* All which came from a Perſon then preſent. Upon his Death, the King not knowing where to find a ſingle Man of equal Capacity for ſo great a Truſt, conſtituted Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, namely, his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle*, Lord General, the Right Honourable the Lord *Aſhley Cooper*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, Sir *William Coventry*, and Sir *John Duncomb*, Knights and Privy-Counſellors.

The Earl of Southampton *ſtands up for him.*

The EIGHTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

2. In this Poſture of Affairs, on the 10th Day of *October*, after a double Prorogation, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, having in Effect had a Receſs of about nine Months, but from the laſt ſhort intermediate Meeting not above ten Weeks. This was properly the Eighth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament; at the Meeting of which there were great Expectations as to what ſhou'd be propos'd to them; and particularly it was not doubted but the King wou'd deſire Mony of them, after theſe extraordinary Charges and Expences: But his Majeſty very politickly declin'd that Motion at preſent, and only made this ſhort Speech to both Houſes: 'My *Lords and Gentlemen*, When we laſt met here, a-'bout eleven Weeks ago, I thought fit to prorogue the Parliament to 'this very Day, reſolving that there ſhou'd be a *Seſſion* now; and to give 'my ſelf Time to do ſome things I have ſince done, *which I hope will* 'not be unwelcome to you, but a Foundation for a greater Confidence be-'tween us for the future. The other Reaſons for that Prorogation, and 'ſome other Matters with which I wou'd acquaint you, I have com-'manded my Lord Keeper to declare unto you.'

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

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The Lord Keeper Bridgeman's *Speech.*

Hereupon the new Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* made this handſom following Speech, which ſeems not too long to be verbally inſerted: ‘ *My* ‘ *Lords, and you Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Com-* ‘ *mons,*’ This Parliament (after many good and wholeſome Laws made ‘ with your Advice in ſeveral Seſſions, many great Supplies and Aids ‘ given to his Majeſty, and for the Maintenance of the Wars, and many ‘ other ſignal Teſtimonies of your Affection and Duty to him, for which ‘ his Majeſty again and again renews unto you his moſt hearty Thanks) ‘ was, as you very well know, Prorogu'd from *February* laſt, till this ‘ tenth of *October*; his Majeſty having then Reaſon to believe, that there ‘ cou'd be no Cauſe of your Re-aſſembling in the mean Time. But in ‘ this Interval, the *Dutch* (who ſince the War began, were ſtrengthen'd ‘ by the Union of *France* and *Denmark*, having a great Fleet) actually ‘ invaded the Land; and the *French* at the ſame time had a Royal Army ‘ in the Field, not far from the Sea-Coaſt; the Conjunction of which ‘ with the others, in ſome Deſign againſt *England*, or ſome other of his ‘ Majeſty's Dominions, we had then Cauſe to ſuſpect. In this Streight, ‘ his Majeſty (who in leſſer Difficulties had frequent Recourſe unto his ‘ Parliament, as his great and faithful Council, and therefore hath eve- ‘ ry Year once, often twice, Reaſſembled you) thought it neceſſary to ‘ anticipate the Time, and iſſu'd out Proclamations for your Meeting ‘ on the 25th Day of *July* laſt. This, tho' unuſual, was done by the ‘ Advice of his Privy-Council; publick Neceſſity and Exigencies allow- ‘ ing, or at leaſt diſpenſing with many Things, which, except in ſuch ‘ Caſes, were not to be allow'd or diſpens'd withal. Before the 25th Day ‘ of *July*, there was a Proſpect and daily Expectation, and within three ‘ Days following, an Aſſurance of a Peace concluded with, and ratify'd ‘ by our three potent Adverſaries. The Storm which threatned us be- ‘ ing thus blown over, and ſucceeded by ſo great a Serenity, it was rais'd ‘ as a Doubt by grave and wiſe Men, *Whether or no, the Neceſſities and* ‘ *Difficulties which caus'd ſo early a Summons being remov'd, you cou'd ſit* ‘ *or Act as a Parliament before the* 10*th of* October; being the fix'd ‘ Time to which you were formerly Prorogu'd. For this Cauſe, toge- ‘ ther with thoſe others mention'd by his Majeſty, he in his Princely ‘ Wiſdom held it neceſſary, in a Matter of ſo great Conſequence, again ‘ to fix upon this Day for your Meeting in Parliament, about which ‘ there can be no Diſpute; which being thus twice prefixt, and you ‘ Meeting here upon a double Call, his Majeſty hopes it is a happy Omen, ‘ *That this Seſſion of Parliament* (which in Law is but this one Day, all ‘ Acts of this *Seſſion* referring to it, unleſs otherwiſe ſpecially provided) ‘ *will be happy and proſperous to his Majeſty, to You, and to the whole* ‘ *Kingdom.*

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen,* His Majeſty ſuppoſes, That no Man wou'd ‘ expect, that during your Receſs he ſhou'd have refuſed Overtures of ‘ Peace: The Vicinity as well as Potency of his united Enemies, the ‘ great Expences of the War, carry'd on with much Diſadvantage, by ‘ reaſon of the Plague and diſmal Fire in *London*, the Conſideration of ‘ the Poſture of Affairs abroad, beſides many other Motives obvious un- ‘ to you, induc'd him to embrace the Opportunity of concluding a Peace. ‘ But you well know, That tho' the War be at an End, all the Effects ‘ thereof are not yet ended. It will require Time and your good Ad- ‘ vice, to remove thoſe Obſtructions which hinder the Current of Trade ‘ both at home and abroad. And in this Particular, his Majeſty thinks ‘ fit to recommend it to your Wiſdom, to ſettle ſuch a Balance of Trade ‘ between his Subjects of this Kingdom and thoſe of *Scotland*, as that we ‘ may not be prejudic'd by the Import of their Commodities hither; nor

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'yet they be ſo diſcourag'd, as to leave off Trading here, and find out 'other Vent abroad more dangerous to us. This he finds too hard for 'him without your Aſſiſtance, tho' upon your recommending it to him, 'he has us'd ſome Endeavours therein. His Majeſty formerly promis'd, '*That you ſhou'd have an Account of the Monies given towards the War*, 'which his Majeſty has commanded his Officers to make ready: And 'ſince that way of *Commiſſion*, wherein he had put the Examination of 'them, hath been ineffectual, he is willing you ſhou'd follow your own 'Method, examine them in what way, and as ſtrictly as you pleaſe; he 'doth aſſure you, *He will leave every one concern'd to ſtand or fall, ac-'cording to his own Innocence or Guilt*. His Majeſty has Reaſon to be-'i eve, That ſome diſaffected Perſons, taking Advantage of the publick 'Neceſſities, have ſpread abroad Diſcourſes and Rumours reflecting up-'on the Government, intending thereby to beget a Diſaffection in his 'good Subjects: And it is an eaſy thing to take Exceptions, *Cum neque 'Culpam humana infirmitas, neque Calumniam regnandi Difficultas evi-'tet*. But his Majeſty promiſes himſelf from your good Affections, that 'every one of you in your ſeveral Places will endeavour to preſerve a 'good Underſtanding between Him and his People: And if any juſt 'Grievances ſhall have happen'd, his Majeſty will be as willing and ready 'to redreſs them for the future, as you to have them repreſented unto 'him. And his Majeſty doubts not but you will give healing and mode-'rate Counſels, and imprint that known Truth into the Hearts of his 'Subjects, *That there is no diſtinct Intereſt between the King and his 'People; but the Good of One, is the Good of Both.*'

Immediately after, the Houſe of Commons took into Conſideration what had been ſaid to them, and reſolv'd upon an Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty, in which they deſir'd and obtain'd the Concurrence of the Lords. Accordingly, on the 15th of *October*, the two Houſes in a Body, with their Speakers, attended the King in the *Banquetting-houſe* at *Whitehall*; where the Lord-Keeper, as Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, in the Name of both Houſes, repeated this following Addreſs to his Ma-

The Addreſs of both Houſes to the King.

jeſty: 'We your Majeſty's loyal and faithful Subjects, the Lords and 'Commons in Parliament aſſembled, having taken into our ſerious Con-'ſideration your Majeſty's gracious Speech, wherein you were pleas'd to 'let us know, That your Majeſty thought fit to prorogue this Parliament 'till the 10th of *October*, *That you might give your ſelf Time to do ſome-'thing which wou'd not be unwelcome, but a Foundation for a greater 'Confidence between your Majeſty and your People*; We find our ſelves 'bound in Duty to return your Majeſty our humble and hearty Thanks 'for the gracious Declaration of your Royal Intentions in that your Ma-'jeſty's gracious Speech, and in that deliver'd by your Majeſty's Com-'mand by the Lord Keeper. And particularly, "That your Majeſty has "been pleas'd to disband the late rais'd Forces; and to diſmiſs the Pa-"piſts from out your Guards, and other military Employments: For "your Majeſty's Care in quickning the Execution of the Act *for reſtrain-"ing the Importation of foreign Cattle:* For cauſing the *Canary Patent* "to be ſurrender'd and vacated: And more eſpecially, That your Maje-"ſty hath been pleas'd to diſplace the late Lord Chancellor, and remove "him from the Exerciſe of publick Truſt and Employment in Affairs of "State." To which Addreſs his Majeſty was pleas'd to make this Re-

His Anſwer.

turn; *I thank you for your Thanks; I am glad the things I have done have given you ſo good Satisfaction: And for the Earl of* Clarendon, *I aſſure you I will never employ him again in any publick Affairs whatſoever.*

3. The

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3. The King ſhewing himſelf ſo ready to give up the Earl of *Clarendon*, incourag'd the Houſe of Commons to be more forward and zealous in the Proſecution of that ſinking Stateſman. Every Man ſeem'd prepared to joyn in the general Cry againſt him; and beſides what has been related, the Count *D'Eſtrades*, in his Memoirs, tells us that Foreigners had a conſiderable Stroke in his Diſgrace, particularly the *Spaniſh* and Imperial Miniſters, the Count *de Molina*, and the Baron *d'Iſola*, who thought him not ſufficiently engag'd with the *Spaniſh* Party, which then, and for ſome Time after, prevail'd and govern'd in the Court of *England*. The Houſe of Commons being ſufficiently diſpos'd and prepar'd, on the 26th of *October*, Mr. *Edward*, ſince Sir *Edward Seymour*, was the firſt Man that charg'd the Earl *viva voce* with many great and heinous Crimes. Upon which there aroſe a Debate in the Houſe how they ſhou'd proceed upon it; ſome moving he *ſhou'd be Impeach'd in the Name of the Commons, till Articles ſhou'd be form'd againſt him*; others urg'd, *That Witneſſes ſhou'd be firſt examin'd to ſee how the Charge might be made good, leſt in Caſe of Failure it might reflect on the Honour of the Houſe.* After a long Debate a Committee was appointed to ſearch Records for Parliamentary Proceedings in the like Caſes; from which Sir *Thomas Littleton* making Report on the 30th, that they had found various Proceedings in ſeveral Parliaments, there aroſe another long Debate, which was maintain'd with great Warmth, and in which the Earl was loaded with many heavy Crimes and Miſdemeanors. The chief Speakers againſt his Lordſhip were Mr. *Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Thomas Osbourn*, Sir *Robert Howard*, Mr. *Garraway*, Lord *Saint John*, Sir *Charles Wheeler*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Marvel*, Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Mr. *Waller*, and Sir *John Vaughan*; which laſt having been formerly intimate with the Chancellor, upon the Reſtoration finding himſelf receiv'd with more Coolneſs than he expected, omitted no Opportunity of oppoſing him; and in theſe Debates none purſu'd him with greater Animoſity. The chief on the other Side, who ſtood up in Favour of the Earl, were Sir *Heneage Finch*, Sir *Francis Goodrick*, Mr. *Coventry*, Sir *Edward Thurland*, Sir *John Brampſton*, Sir *John Talbot*, Sir *John Shaw*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, and the Earl's own Son, Mr. *Laurence Hyde*; which laſt, being beſt ſatisfy'd of the Unreaſonableneſs of the Accuſation, and the Miſtakes in the Particulars, with no leſs Modeſty than filial Piety, declar'd, *He was ſenſible the Houſe might think him partial; but that he ſhou'd endeavour to ſhew himſelf not ſo much the Son of the Earl of* Clarendon, *as a Member of that Houſe: That if he ſhou'd be found guilty, no Man ſhou'd be more againſt him than he; otherwiſe he hop'd every one wou'd be for him as much as himſelf: That every one in his own Conſcience was to conſider what of that Charge was true; ſince he was aſſur'd, That if one Article was prov'd againſt the Earl, he and all his Friends wou'd own him guilty of all the reſt.*

The Commons Proceedings againſt the Earl of Clarendon.

His Son vindicates him.

This was a fair and noble Challenge; but however the Debate ended in a Vote, that the Committee ſhou'd reduce the Accuſation to Heads, and preſent them to the Houſe; all which was done on the 6th of *November*; when Sir *Thomas Littleton* reported and read the ſame as follows: 'I. That the Earl of *Clarendon* hath deſign'd a ſtanding Army to 'be rais'd, and to govern the Kingdom thereby; and advis'd the King to 'diſſolve this preſent Parliament, and to lay aſide all Thoughts of Par-'liaments for the future, to govern by a Military Power, and to main-'tain the ſame by Free-Quarter and Contribution. II. That he hath, 'in the hearing of the King's Subjects, falſly and ſeditiouſly ſaid, *That*

The Commons Articles againſt him.

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'*the King was in his Heart a Papiſt, or Popiſhly affected*; or Words 'to that Effect. III. That he hath receiv'd great Sums of Mony for the 'Procuring of the *Canary Patent*, and other illegal Patents; and grant-'ed illegal *Injunctions* to ſtop Proceedings at Law againſt them, and o-'ther illegal Patents formerly granted. IV. That he hath adviſed and 'procured divers of his Majeſty's Subjects to be impriſon'd againſt Law, 'in remote Iſlands, Garriſons, and other Places, thereby to prevent them 'from the Benefit of the Law, and to produce *Precedents* for the im-'priſoning any other of his Majeſty's Subjects in this Manner. V. That 'he procured his Majeſty's Cuſtoms to be Farmed at Under-Rates, know-'ing the ſame; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Majeſty, 'to the Payment of which his Majeſty was not ſtrictly bound; and af-'terwards receiv'd great Sums of Mony for procuring the ſame. VI. 'That he receiv'd great Sums of Mony from the *Company of Vintners*, 'or ſome of them, or their Agents, for inhanſing the Prices of Wines, 'and for freeing them from the Payment of legal Penalties, which they 'had incurr'd. VII. That he hath in a ſhort Time gain'd to himſelf a 'greater Eſtate than can be imagin'd to be gain'd lawfully in ſo ſhort a 'Time; and, contrary to his Oath, he hath procured ſeveral Grants 'under the Seal, from his Majeſty to himſelf and Relations, of ſeveral 'of his Majeſty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leaſes, to the Diſprofit of 'his Majeſty. VIII. That he hath introduc'd an Arbitrary Government 'in his Majeſty's Foreign Plantations, and hath caus'd ſuch as complain'd 'thereof before his Majeſty and Council, to be impriſon'd for ſo doing. 'IX. That he did reject and fruſtrate a Propoſal and Undertaking, ap-'prov'd by his Majeſty, for the Preſervation of *Nevis*, and *Saint Chri-'ſtopher's*, and reducing the *French* Plantations to his Majeſty's Obedi-'ence, after the Commiſſions were drawn for that Purpoſe; which was 'the Occaſion of our great Loſſes and Damages in thoſe Parts. X. That 'he held Correſpondence with *Cromwell* and his Complices, when he 'was in Parts beyond the Seas, attending his Majeſty, and thereby ad-'hered to the King's Enemies. XI. That he advis'd and effected the 'Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, being Part of his Majeſty's Domi-'nions; together with the Ammunition, Artillery, and all Sorts of Stores 'there, and for no greater Value than the ſaid Ammunition, Artillery 'and Stores were worth. XII. That the ſaid Earl did unduely cauſe 'his Majeſty's Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, to one 'Dr. *Crowther* to be alter'd, and the Enrollment thereof to be unduely 'raſed. XIII. That he hath in an Arbitrary Way examin'd and drawn 'into Queſtion divers of his Majeſty's Subjects concerning their Lands, 'Tenements, Goods, Chattels and Properties, determin'd thereof at 'the *Council Table*, and ſtopp'd Proceedings at Law by Order of the '*Council Table*, and threatned ſome that pleaded the Statute of the 17th '*Car.* I. XIV. That he hath cauſed *Quo Warranto's* to be iſſu'd out 'againſt moſt of the Corporations of *England*, immediately after their '*Charters* were confirm'd by an Act of Parliament, to the Intent he 'might require great Sums of Mony of them for renewing their *Char-'ters*; which when they comply'd withal, he caus'd the ſaid *Quo War-'ranto's* to be diſcharg'd, and Proſecution therein to ceaſe. XV. That 'he procur'd the Bills of Settlement of *Ireland*, and receiv'd great Sums 'of Mony for the ſame in a moſt corrupt and unlawful Manner. XVI. 'That he hath deluded and betrayed his Majeſty and the Nation in all 'Foreign Treaties, and Negotiations relating to the late War, and be-'tray'd and diſcover'd his Majeſty's ſecret Counſels to his Enemies. 'XVII. That he was the Principal Author of that Fatal Counſel of di-'viding the Fleet about *June* 1666.

After

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Their Examination of the Particulars.

After Reading theſe Heads of Accuſation, it was reaſonably mov'd, That *in regard the Articles were many, they might be referr'd to a Committee to ſee how far they were true, becauſe Fame was too ſlender a Ground to bring a Man upon the Stage.* But this was carry'd in the Negative; and ſo they proceeded to the Reading the Articles ſingly and ſeparately, and to ſpeak to the Truth or Probability of them. The Firſt Article being read, to ſee what cou'd induce the Houſe to Impeach, Sir *Robert Howard* and Sir *John Vaughan* ſaid, *They heard from Perſons of Quality, that it wou'd be prov'd.* As to the ſecond Article, the Lord *Saint John* ſaid, *Perſons of great Quality had aſſur'd him to make it good; and if they did not, he wou'd acquaint the Houſe who they were.* Mr. *Seymour*, as to the third Article, alledg'd *That ſufficient Perſons wou'd make it good*, with this additional Saying, *So long as the King is King, and I Lord Chancellor, the Patents will ſtand.* The fourth and fifth Articles, Sir *Richard Temple* ſaid, *Divers had undertaken to make good; if they did not, he wou'd name them:* And for the Receiving Money of the Vintners, Sir *Robert Car* ſaid *That he knew who wou'd prove it.* About his getting a great Eſtate ſo ſuddenly, Mr. *Seymour* ſaid *They need not prove that the Sun ſhone at Noon-Day*; and Sir *Thomas Littleton* added *That his Place as Chancellor cou'd not be worth above four or five Thouſand Pounds a Year.* Then, about introducing an Arbitrary Government in the Plantations, Sir *Thomas Littleton* and Sir *Thomas Osborn* alledg'd *That one* Farmer *and others came from* Barbadoes *to complain of it, and lodg'd their Petition in that Houſe, but were impriſon'd, that they might not be heard*: And, for fruſtrating Propoſals for preſerving *Nevis*, &c. Sir *Charles Wheeler* ſaid *My Lord Chancellor only oppos'd it.* As to the Sale of *Dunkirk*, Sir *Thomas Osborn* ſaid, *a great Lord told him, that he had made a Bargain for* Dunkirk *three quarters of a Year before it was known.* Then, for the Article of ſealing Dr. *Crowther*'s Patent, Mr. *Streeter* ſaid *the King gave a Living to* Crowther; *that in the Grant there was a Miſtake of a County*; Crowther *finding the Miſtake, petition'd the King to mend it: that the King call'd for the Chancellor and Seal, and in the King's Preſence it was amended and Seal'd.* Mr. *Thompſon* ſaid, *He ſhou'd be able to make good the Article of drawing Mens Lands into Queſtion:* And for *Quo Warranto*'s to Corporations, Sir *Thomas Littleton* ſaid, *it was ſo publick a Thing that it need not to be prov'd.* Sir *Robert Howard* doubted not *but the Buſineſs about the Settlement of* Ireland *wou'd be made out:* And, for Foreign Treaties *it wou'd*, according to Sir *Thomas Littleton*, *appear by the Treaties themſelves, putting them in Hopes of Peace, and ſo hindering the Fleets ſetting out.* Laſtly, Mr. *Thompſon* ſaid, *He did not want Perſons to make good the Article about the Miſcarriage of the War.*

Thus every Perſon declar'd his Opinion and Belief upon Matters of which they had but a very imperfect Knowledge; the Accuſation being chiefly founded upon common Reports, and ſtrong Prejudices, attended with weak Proofs and dubious Circumſtances. But one of the Articles, the Tenth in Number, concerning the Earl's Correſpondence with *Cromwell*, upon a Debate was found to be within the general Act of Indemnity, and therefore was drop'd and expung'd. Having gone over the reſt of the Articles, and a Member moving *that they ſhou'd know where and when ſuch and ſuch Words were ſpoken*, it was anſwer'd *That wou'd be a Way to ſuppreſs the Evidence*; and at laſt the Queſtion being put Whether the Houſe had ſufficient Inducement to Impeach, it was carry'd in the Affirmative. So on the 9th of *November* the firſt Article being read, a long and learned Debate aroſe whether to accuſe him of Treaſon upon it; but it was carry'd by a great Majority in the Negative. The ſecond Article was debated, but not voted: The

Third

1667. Car. 19 Reſ. 8. Third and Fourth were ſoon carry'd againſt the Earl: The Fifth had the ſame Fate with the Second: The Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth, were read and voted. But the Tenth, that of *Denmark*, admitted of a ſtrenuous Debate, and at laſt was paſſed by, without determining whether it was Treaſon or not. The Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth, were carry'd without Oppoſition. As to the Fifteenth, which was now the laſt but one, after a Debate it was carry'd to Impeach of Treaſon. Accordingly they reſolv'd that Impeachment of Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, ſhou'd be carry'd up to the Lords againſt him by Mr. *Edward Seymour*; who on *November* the 12th went up to the Houſe of Lords; and the Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman* being come to the Bar to meet him, he deliver'd Himſelf to this purpoſe: *My Lords, The Commons aſſembled in Parliament, having been informed of ſeveral Traiterous Practices, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors committed by* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon, *a Member of this Honourable Houſe, have commanded Me to Impeach him: And I do accordingly Impeach him of High-Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, in the Name of the ſaid* Commons, *and of all the* Commons of *England. And they have farther commanded me to deſire your Lordſhips to Sequeſter him from Parliament, and to Commit him to ſafe Cuſtody, and in convenient Time they will Exhibit Articles againſt him.*

They impeach him of High-Treaſon, &c.

Sir Stephen Fox *for him.*

It is to be remember'd, that in all the Proceedings of the Commons againſt this unfortunate Man, Sir *Stephen Fox*, who had a particular Place in the King's Houſehold, as well as in the Commons, always voted in Favour of the Earl. For which he was reprimanded by the King Himſelf, who ſeeing him one Day, ſaid, *How now*, Fox, *how came you to vote againſt my Inclinations?* Sir *Stephen* bravely anſwer'd to this Effect, *Sir, I have known this Gentleman many Years, and have liv'd under the ſame Roof with him; and I am ſure he is an honeſt Man, and can never be guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge.* Upon which the King reply'd with a Puff, *Ay*, Fox, *you will ſay any Thing*; and ſo turn'd away without any more Words, or future ſhow of Reſentment.

The Lords diſagree with the Commons,

4. Thus the Commons proceeded with an irreſiſtible Career, till they met with a Check from the Lords, which caus'd a Diviſion between both Houſes. For the Lords being not ſatisfy'd with a general Way of Impeaching the Earl, on the 15th of *November* ſent down to deſire a Conference in the *Painted-Chamber*. At which, without any Debate, the Earl of *Oxford* deliver'd a Paper to this Effect: 'That the Lords had 'not committed the Earl of *Clarendon*, becauſe the Accuſation was on-'ly of *Treaſon in General*, without Charging him with any Thing in '*Particular*.' Upon this there aroſe a warm Debate in the Houſe of Commons, in which Mr. *Garraway* ſaid, *I had rather the Houſe ſhou'd loſe the Puniſhment of this Man, tho' a great Offender, than that this Houſe ſhou'd loſe its Priviledge: For if this Houſe may at no Time Impeach a Lord without giving in Particular Articles, it may fall out at a Time (as in the Duke of* Buckingham's *Caſe) where a great Man by his Intereſt with the King procures the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and then the Accuſation falls.* The Debate ended in a Reſolution to appoint a Committee to draw up Reaſons to juſtify what they had done; and which were deliver'd in three Days after: Of which this ſeems to be the Principal; 'If before ſecuring the Perſons, the Special Matter of the 'Treaſon ſhou'd be alledg'd, it wou'd be a ready Courſe that Complices 'in the Treaſon might make their Eſcape, or quicken the Execution of 'the Treaſon intended, to ſecure themſelves the better thereby.' The

Who reſent it.

Reaſons

Reaſons, with divers Precedents to inforce them, were on the 28th communicated at a Free Conference: in which the Lords chiefly inſiſted upon the *Petition of Right*, where it was provided that none ſhou'd be committed without ſpecial Cauſe, whereby the Party might anſwer according to the Law; from whence they inferr'd 'That the Commons 'Proceedings were contrary to Law, becauſe a General Charge was 'againſt the *Petition of Right*. 1667. Car. 19 Reſ. 8.

On the 2d of *December* the Lords confirm'd their Proceedings, and ſent down a Meſſage to the Commons by two Judges, to this Effect, 'That upon the Report made to them of the laſt Free Conference, they 'were not ſatisfy'd to Commit or Sequeſter from Parliament the Earl of '*Clarendon*, without the particular Treaſon were mention'd or aſſign'd.' This threw the Houſe of Commons into a great Ferment, and occaſion'd ſeveral warm Speeches, particularly from Mr. *Waller* and Sir *John Vaughan*. The Former ſtood up and ſaid, *The Lords are a noble Eſtate,* *Warm Speeche in the Houſe* *but whatever the Matter is, they have of late ſome Advice given them, which makes them proceed as they never did yet; for ſcarce any Thing happens, but they encroach upon us. The* Militia *is now as burthenſom to the Fifty Pound Man in the Country, almoſt as all other Taxes, and the Lords have gotten this Advantage on us, that they touch not the Burthen of it with their Finger: So in the Time of the* Plague, *the Commons muſt be ſhut up, but not They; inſomuch that a good Act provided to that Purpoſe paſſed not. We Impeach'd the Lord* Mordant, *and cou'd not bring him to the Bar, tho' formerly I have known an* Earl *and a* Lord *brought thither; you deſired a Free Conference about it, but cou'd not obtain one to this Day.* Rome *was at firſt modeſt, and only meddled with* Spirituals, *but afterwards concern'd themſelves ſo much with other Matters, that every Thing almoſt was made to be* in Ordine ad Spiritualia, *and many Kingdoms thereupon broke from them. The Lords now inſiſt upon One Thing, becauſe they ſay* it is in Order to their Judicature, *perhaps hereafter they will tell us we muſt come to them on our Knees, becauſe it is* in Order to their Judgment. *Conſider therefore whether there be any hope of giving them Satisfaction.* Sir *John Vaughan* was long about Precedents and Law, upon the latter of which the Lords had inſiſted; and he ſaid That in the free Conference *there was much Diſcourſe about the* Great Charter, *and of the Statute of* 28 Edw. III. *but not apply'd: So that I thought Law in a Lord's Mouth was like a Sword in a Lady's Hand; the Sword might be there, but when it comes to cut, it wou'd be awkward and uſeleſs.— The Concluſion muſt be, that no Impeachment by the Commons muſt go on, unleſs it be by* Preſentment; *and ſo there is an End of all that for which the Parliament is principally call'd; unleſs we are Part of thoſe five Hundred contemptible Ones, who are only fit to give Money: That may be reſerv'd for us, but Nothing elſe.*

On the other Side Mr. *Colembine* ſtood up, and thus modeſtly argu'd in Favour of the Lords: *The Lords ſay,* That Committing upon a general Impeachment was againſt Law, *and he thought it wou'd appear ſo: He deny'd not, but a* Mittimus *without ſpecial Cauſe might be Legal, and grounded upon the* Petition of Right; *the Reaſon of which was to ſecure Men againſt Commitment by a ſpecial Warrant, and a Judge ought not to diſcharge where Treaſon was alledg'd: But in this Caſe it was different, the Judges could not diſcharge a Man committed after Examination, but the Lords ought not to Commit a Man, except there were particular Treaſon. That if he came before a Juſtice of Peace, and ſaid,* I accuſe this Man of Treaſon, *wou'd any wiſe Man commit him? He made his Warrant indeed, but he that accus'd muſt go farther, and make it more Particular, and*

the

1667. Car. 19 Ref. 8. *the Special Matter muſt appear before he Commits; and this was the preſent Caſe. The Common Law was,* That no Man ought to be Committed without particular Cauſe; *becauſe no Man cou'd commit in Capital Matters, without taking Examination before-hand, otherwiſe no Man cou'd juſtify a Commitment: Therefore he was not ſatisfy'd that the Lords had not Reaſon to deny it. That the Commons were in the Nature of a* Grand Jury *to preſent, but the Lords were the* Judges: *That* Commitment *was not the* Judgment, *but in order to it; and the Lords had a Diſcretionary Power in the Caſe: They ſaid not* that they wou'd not Commit, *but* that they were not ſatisfy'd to do it without Special Matter; *therefore the Commons ought to ſend it up.* After all the Debate, the Houſe came to this poſitive Reſolution, 'That the Lords, not having com-'ply'd with the Deſire of the Commons in Committing the Earl of *Cla-'rendon,* and Sequeſtring him from Parliament upon the Impeachment 'from that Houſe, was an Obſtruction to the Publick Juſtice of the 'Kingdom, and a Precedent of evil and dangerous Conſequence:' And upon this they appointed a Committee to draw up a Declaration to vindicate their Proceedings.

The Earl of Clarendon *withdraws, and leaves a remarkable* APOLOGY.

II. 1. During theſe Diviſions and Struggles, the Earl of *Clarendon,* finding the Storm to bear very hard upon him from all Quarters, eſpecially from the Court, thought it moſt adviſable to withdraw himſelf, and only to leave behind him ſome written Vindication of his Innocence and Honour; which he did in a Paper thus entituled, *To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled: The Humble Petition and Addreſs of* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon. Which Paper, tho' often before printed and publiſhed, is ſo informing and material, that it wou'd be a maiming this Hiſtory to omit any Part of it; therefore it is inſerted as follows: '*May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,* I can-'not expreſs the inſupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind I ſuſtain un-'der the Apprehenſion of being miſrepreſented to your Lordſhips: And 'when I hear how much of your Lordſhips Time hath been ſpent upon 'the Mention of me, as it is attended with more Publick Conſequence, 'and of the Difference in Opinion, which hath already, or may proba-'bly ariſe, betwixt your Lordſhips and the Honourable Houſe of Com-'mons, whereby the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be 'obſtructed, in a Time of ſo general Diſſatisfaction, I am very unfortu-'nate to find my ſelf to ſuffer ſo much under two very diſadvantagious 'Reflections, which are in no Degree applicable to me. The Firſt, '*From the Greatneſs of my Eſtate and Fortune, collected and made in ſo 'few Years*; which if it be proportionable to what is reported, may give 'reaſonable Cauſe for my Integrity to be ſuſpected. The Second, *That 'I have been the ſole Manager and chief Miniſter of all the Tranſactions 'of State, ſince the King's Return into* England *to* Auguſt *laſt*; and there-'fore that all Miſcarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, 'and to my Counſels.

Rot. Parl. *Clarendon's* Life. *Philips. Lloyd. Calamy. Wood. Langbain.* &c.

I. '*Concerning my Eſtate,* your Lordſhips will not believe, that after Ma-'lice and Envy have been ſo inquiſitive and ſharp-ſighted, I will offer any 'Thing to your Lordſhips, but what is exactly true: And I do aſſure 'your Lordſhips, in the firſt Place, that, excepting the King's Bounty, I 'have never receiv'd or taken one Penny, but what was generally under-'ſtood to be the juſt and lawful Perquiſites of my Office, by the con-'ſtant Practice of the beſt of Times; which I do, in my own Judgment, 'conceive to be that of my Lord *Coventry,* and my Lord *Elleſmere,* the 'Practice of which I conſtantly obſerv'd; altho' the Office in both theſe 'Times was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I do be-

'lieve

'lieve now is. That all the Courteſies and Favours which I have been 1667.
'able to obtain from the King, or other Perſons, in Church, State, or
'*Weſtminſter-Hall*, have been never worth to me five Pounds; ſo that Car. 19
'your Lordſhips may be confident I am as innocent from Corruption, as Reſ. 8.
'from any Diſloyal Thoughts; which after near thirty Years Service of
'the Crown, in ſome Difficulties and Diſtreſs, I did never expect
'wou'd be objected to me in my Age. And I do aſſure your Lordſhips,
'and will make it very manifeſt, That the ſeveral Sums of Mony, and
'ſome Parcels of Land, which his Majeſty hath bountifully beſtow'd
'upon me ſince his Return into *England*, are worth more than all I have
'amounts to; ſo far am I from advancing my Eſtate by *indirect Means*.
'And tho' this Bounty of his Majeſty hath very far exceeded my Merits,
'or my Expectations; yet ſome others have been as fortunate at leaſt
'in the ſame Bounty, who had as ſmall Pretences to it, and have no great
'Reaſon to envy my Condition.

'*Concerning the other Imputation of the Credit and Power of being* 2.
'*Chief Miniſter, and ſo cauſing all to be done that I had a mind to*; I have
'no more to ſay than that I had the good Fortune to ſerve a Maſter of
'very great Judgment and Underſtanding; and to be always join'd with
'Perſons of great Ability and Experience, without whoſe Advice and
'Concurrence, never any thing hath been done. Before his Majeſty's com-
'ing into *England*, he was conſtantly attended by the Marqueſs of *Or-*
'*mond*, the late Lord *Colepeper*, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who were
'equally truſted with my ſelf, and without whoſe joint Advice and Con-
'currence, when they were all preſent (as ſome of them always were)
'he never gave any Counſel. As ſoon as it pleaſed God to bring his
'Majeſty into *England* he eſtabliſh'd his Privy-Council, and ſhortly out
'of them a Number of honourable Perſons of great Reputation (who for
'the moſt Part are alive ſtill) as a *Committee for Foreign Affairs*, and Con-
'ſideration of ſuch Things, as the Nature of them require with Secrecy:
'And with theſe Perſons he vouchſaf'd to join me; and I am confident
'the *Committee* never tranſacted any Thing of Moment (his Majeſty be-
'ing always preſent) without preſenting the ſame to the Council-Board:
'And I muſt appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and whether we
'were not all of one Mind in all Matters of Importance. For more than
'two Years I never knew any Difference in the Council, or that there
'were any Complaints in the Kingdom; which I wholly impute to his
'Majeſty's great Wiſdom, and the entire Concurrence of his Coun-
'cil, without the Vanity of aſſuming any thing to my ſelf: *And therefore*
'*I hope I ſhall not be ſingly charged with any thing that hath ſince fallen*
'*out amiſs*. But from the Time that Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* was re-
'mov'd from his Place, there were great Alterations; and whoſoever
'knew any thing of the Court or Council, knew well how much my
'Credit ſince that Time hath been diminiſh'd, tho' his Majeſty graciouſ-
'ly vouchſaf'd ſtill to have my Advice in moſt of his Affairs: Nor hath
'there been, from that Time to this, above One or Two Perſons brought
'into the Council, or preferr'd to any conſiderable Office in the Court,
'who have been of my intimate Acquaintance, or ſuſpected to have any
'Kindneſs for me; and moſt of them notoriouſly known to have been
'very long my Enemies, and of different Judgment and Principles from
'me, both in *Church* and *State*; and have taken all Opportunities to
'leſſen my Credit with the King, and with all other Perſons, by miſre-
'preſenting and miſreporting all that I ſaid or did; and perſwading Men
'*That I had done them ſome Prejudices with his Majeſty, or croſs'd them*
'*in ſome of their Pretences*; tho' his Majeſty's Goodneſs and Juſtice was
'ſuch, that it made little Impreſſion upon him.

1667. Car. 19 Ref. 8. 3.

'In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have 'proceeded from the War, to which it was notoriously known that I 'was always most averse; and may without Vanity say, I did not only 'foresee, but I did declare the Mischiefs we shou'd run into, *by entering 'into a War before any Alliance made with Neighbour Princes:* And 'that it may not be imputed to his Majesty's Want of Care, or the Neg-'ligence of his Counsellors, that no such Alliances were enter'd into; I 'must take the Boldness to say, that his Majesty left nothing unattempted 'in order thereunto: And knowing very well that *France* resolv'd to 'begin a War upon *Spain*, as soon as his *Catholick* Majesty shou'd de-'part this World; which being much sooner expected by them, they 'had in the two Winters before been at great Charge in providing plen-'tiful Magazines of all Provisions upon the Frontiers, that they might be 'ready for the War; his Majesty us'd all possible Means to prepare and 'dispose the *Spaniards* with that Apprehension, offering his Friendship 'to that Degree, as might be for the Security and Benefit of both 'Crowns. But *Spain* flattering it self that *France* wou'd not break with 'them, at least that they wou'd not give them any Cause, by admini-'string Matter of Jealousie to them, never made any real Approach to-'wards Friendship with his Majesty; but both by their Ambassadors 'here, and to his Majesty's Ambassadors at *Madrid*, always insisted as 'Preliminaries, upon the giving up of *Dunkirk*, *Tangier* and *Jamaica*. 'Tho' *France* had an Ambassador here, to whom a Project for a Treaty 'was offer'd, and the Lord *Hollis*, his Majesty's Ambassador at *Paris*, 'us'd all Endeavours to promote and prosecute this Treaty; yet it was 'quickly discern'd, That the principal Design of *France* was to draw his 'Majesty into such a nearer Alliance, as might advance their Design, 'without which they had no Mind to enter into the Treaty propos'd. 'And this was the State of Affairs, when the War was enter'd into with 'the *Dutch*; from which Time neither Crown concern'd themselves 'with the making Alliance with *England*.

'As I did from my Soul abhor the Entering into this War, so I never 'presum'd to give any Advice or Counsel for the Way of managing it, 'but by opposing any Proposition which seem'd to the late Lord Trea-'surer and my self, to be unreasonable, as *the Payment of the Seamen 'with Tickets*, and many other Particulars which added to the Expence, 'my Enemies took all Occasions to inveigh against me; and making their 'Friendship with others out of the Council, of more licentious Principles, 'and who knew well enough how much I dislik'd and complain'd of the 'Liberty they took to themselves *of reviling all Counsels and Counsellors, 'and turning all things serious and sacred into Ridicule*; they took all 'Ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all Sorts of Men (whom 'I shall be compell'd to name in my Defence) perswading those that mis-'carry'd in any of their Designs, *That it was the Chancellor's Doing*; 'whereof I never knew any thing. However they cou'd not withdraw 'the King's Favour from me, who was still pleas'd to use my Service, 'with others; nor was there ever any thing done but upon the joint Ad-'vice of at least the Major Part of those that were consulted with. And 'as his Majesty commanded my Service in the late Treaties, so I never 'gave the least Advice in private, nor wrote one Letter to any one 'Person in either of those Negotiations, but upon the Advice of the 'Council, or at least by the King himself, and some others. And if I 'prepared any *Instructions* or *Memorials*, it was by the King's Comm and, 'and the Request of the Secretaries, who desired my Assistance: Nor 'was it any Wish of mine own, That any Ambassador shou'd give me 'any Account of their Transactions, but to the Secretaries, with whom

'I

'I was always ready to adviſe: Nor am I conſcious to my ſelf of ever 1667.
'having given Advice that hath proved miſchievous or inconvenient to
'his Majeſty: And I have been ſo far from being the ſole Manager of Car. 19
'Affairs, that I have not, in the whole laſt Year, been twice with his Reſ. 8.
'Majeſty in any Room alone, and very ſeldom in the two or three Years
'preceding. And ſince the Parliament at *Oxford*, it hath been very vi-
'ſible that my Credit hath been very little; and that very few things have
'been hearken'd unto, which have been propos'd by me, but contra-
'dicted, *eo Nomine*, becauſe propos'd by me.

'*I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to remember the Office and Truſt* 4.
'*I had for ſeven Years; in which, in Diſcharge of my Duty, I was ob-*
'*lig'd to ſtop and obſtruct many Mens Pretences, and to refuſe to ſet the*
'*Seal to many Mens Pardons, and other Grants, which wou'd have been*
'*profitable to thoſe who procured them; and many whereof, upon my Re-*
'*preſentation to his Majeſty, were for ever ſtop'd; which naturally have*
'*rais'd many Enemies to me.* And my frequent concurring with the late
'Lord Treaſurer, with whom I had the Honour to have a long and a
'faſt Friendſhip to his Death, in repreſenting ſeveral Exceſſes and Ex-
'orbitancies (the yearly Iſſue ſo far exceeding the Revenue) provok'd
'many Perſons concern'd, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the
'ill Offices they cou'd. And yet I may faithfully ſay, That I never med-
'dled with any Part of the Revenue, or the Adminiſtration of it, but
'when I was deſired by the late Lord Treaſurer to give him my Aſ-
'ſiſtance and Advice (having had the Honour to ſerve the Crown as
'*Chancellor of the Exchequer*) which was for the moſt part in his Maje-
'ſty's Preſence. Nor have I ever been in the leaſt Degree concern'd in
'Point of Profit in the letting any Part of his Majeſty's Revenue, nor
'have ever treated or debated it, but in his Majeſty's Preſence; in which,
'my Opinion concurr'd always with the major Part of the Counſellors
'who were preſent. All which, upon Examination, will be made mani-
'feſt to your Lordſhips, how much ſoever my Integrity is blaſted by the
'Malice of thoſe, who, I am confident, do not believe Themſelves. Nor
'have I in my Life, upon all the Treaties, or otherwiſe, receiv'd to
'the Value of one Shilling from all the Kings and Princes in the World
'(excepting the Books of the *Louvre* Print, ſent me by the Chancellor
'of *France* by that King's Direction) but from my own Maſter; to
'whoſe entire Service, and to the Good and Welfare of my Country,
'no Man's Heart was ever more devoted. This being my preſent Con-
'dition, I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to retain a favourable O-
'pinion of me, and to believe me to be innocent from thoſe foul Aſper-
'ſions, until the contrary ſhall be proved; which I am ſure can never be,
'by any Man worthy to be believ'd. And ſince the Diſtemper of the
'Times, and the Difference between the two Houſes in the preſent De-
'bate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, who give out, *That*
'*I ſhall prevail with his Majeſty to Prorogue or Diſſolve this Parlia-*
'*ment in Diſpleaſure*, and threaten to expoſe me to the Rage and Fury of
'the People, may make me be look'd upon as the Cauſe which obſtructs
'the King's Service, and the Unity and Peace of the Kingdom; I moſt
'humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that I may not forfeit your Lordſhips
'Favour and Protection, *by withdrawing my ſelf from ſo powerful a*
'*Perſecution*; in hopes I may be able, by ſuch Withdrawing, hereafter
'to appear, and make my Defence; when his Majeſty's Juſtice, to which
'I ſhall always ſubmit, may not be obſtructed nor controuled by the
'Power and Malice of thoſe who have ſworn my Deſtruction.'

Thus was this great Man, who had ſo often triumph'd in his Eloquence almoſt from the Throne, reduc'd to employ his Parts to plead, in

1667. Car. 19 Ref. 8. effect, at the Bar of the ſame Houſe; and had the farther Misfortune to have his noble Apology turn'd againſt himſelf, and made a particular Aggravation of the Crimes laid to his Charge. The Lords, upon receiving this Addreſs, on the 3d of *December* ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by two Judges, 'That they had receiv'd a large Petition from the 'Earl of *Clarendon*, which intimated that he was withdrawn;' and ſoon after deſir'd a preſent Conference with them. At which Conference the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was plainly aim'd at in the Petition, deliver'd it to the Commons, and with his uſual way of Inſult and Ridicule ſaid, *The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this ſcandalous and ſeditious Paper ſent from the Earl of* Clarendon: *They bid me to preſent it to you, and deſire you in convenient Time to ſend it to them again; for it has a Stile which they are in love with, and therefore deſire to keep it.*

The Earl leaves England, As to the Earl's Retreat and Departure, the Publick gave this following Advertiſement of it: '*Whitehall, December* the 4th. Yeſterday Morn-'ing became publick the firſt Notice of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s having 'withdrawn himſelf, but the Time when he retired is not certain. This 'Afternoon his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare his Pleaſure in Council, 'that the ſaid Earl be put out of the Council, and remain henceforth di-'veſted of the Place of a Counſellor.' The laſt Perſon of Note who took Leave of this unfortunate Gentleman in *England*, was his intimate Acquaintance Sir *Stephen Fox*, who had always been true and faithful to him: Being arriv'd at the melancholy Place, and embracing each other with all the Tenderneſs and the Meltings of parting Friends, the Earl ſpoke to this Effect; *Dear Sir* Stephen, *give my humble Service, and my hearty Thanks to all my Friends you meet with; and let them know from me, That if they can but forgive the Folly of the great Houſe, they ſhall never have Reaſon to be aſham'd, or repent of whatever they have done for me.*

And goes into France. So, taking his laſt Leave, he went over into *France*, where he continu'd an Exile to the Time of his Death, which happen'd juſt ſeven Years after.

2. When the Earl's Addreſs and Apology was read by the Commons, it occaſion'd a new Turn, and a new Warmth in the Debates of that Houſe. Lawyer *Vaughan* began with great Fury, and among other things

Warm Speeches among the Commons. ſaid, *It is the firſt Time that ever I heard an innocent Man run away under the greateſt Charge, with Hopes to return again and vindicate himſelf. Mark one Expreſſion; he ſays,* He is as far from Corruption, as he is from Diſloyalty: *If he ſaid, he was guilty of Neither, he had ſaid ſomething, but by that Expreſſion he may be guilty of Both. So inſolent a Paper I never met with in this Kingdom, nor have I ever heard the like in any other: So inconſiderable a Part of the Nation as he is, to lay it upon the Nation, who, if innocent, might defend himſelf; if guilty, why does he charge the Nation with Perſecuting? Therefore, without troubling our ſelves with it, do as the Lords have done, who deliver'd it to us as a* ſcandalous and ſeditious Paper; *it has Malice in it, and is the greateſt Reproach upon the King and the whole Nation, that ever was given by Man.* Therefore in Concluſion he put the Queſtion, *Whether the Paper ſhou'd be voted Scandalous and Malicious, and a Reproach to the Juſtice of the Nation?* Which was carry'd in the Affirmative. Sir *Robert Howard* mov'd that it ſhou'd be burnt by the Common Hangman; but that was oppos'd, becauſe the Lords deſir'd the Paper to be return'd; yet ſtill at laſt that was carry'd alſo in the Affirmative. In this Heat ſeveral other things were propos'd, but for a while kept in Suſpence; only they appeared reſolute in the Juſtification of their own Proceedings.

On

On the 13th of *December* they met with another Turn, which was a Bill ſent down from the Lords *For the Baniſhment of the Earl of* Clarendon. Upon the Reading of which, ſeveral Objections were made; and it being alledg'd That it was an Abuſe put upon the Commons by the Lords, and that a Bill of Attainder being propoſed, after ſome Debate the Houſe paſs'd this Vote; ‘ *Reſolved*, That this Houſe taking ‘ Notice of the Flight of the Earl of *Clarendon*, being under an Impeach- ‘ ment of High Treaſon by this Houſe, the King's Majeſty be humbly ‘ deſired to iſſue out his Proclamation for ſummoning the ſaid Earl to ‘ appear by a Day, and to apprehend him in order to his Tryal: And ‘ that the Lords be ſent to for their Concurrence in this Vote.’ But the Lords, who ſeem'd to have a more favourable Opinion of the Perſon accuſed, as well as a Concern for their own Rights, wou'd not concur; and on the following Day deliver'd their Reaſons, and particularly declared, ‘ That their Lordſhips, upon Conſideration of the whole ‘ State of Affairs, and of the Kingdom, have, upon Grounds of Pru- ‘ dence and Juſtice, thought fit, for Security of King and Kingdom, to ‘ proceed in a *Legiſlative Way* againſt the ſaid Earl; and have to that ‘ End paſs'd and ſent down a Bill of Baniſhment and Incapacity againſt ‘ him; with which their Vote was inconſiſtent.’ This brought on a Debate concerning the Bill of Baniſhment, which ſome thought too little for the Crimes alledg'd, and others too great for the Cauſe in Hand. Mr. *Swinford* ſpoke his Mind freely, and among other things ſaid, *The Lords will neither ſecure nor ſummon him, but will condemn him unheard; and this they put you upon, which is againſt Honour and Juſtice, eſpecially to do it upon Reaſon of State. The Power of Parliaments is indeed Great; it hath no Bounds, but the Integrity and Juſtice of Parliaments. If Reaſon of State be a Motive of Parliament to baniſh one Man, ſo it may be for many. If you go in this* Legiſlative Way, *you bring upon your ſelves all the Diſhonour of the Buſineſs; but the Lords will have ſome Excuſe, which you cannot; for they look'd upon the Charge ſo ſlight, as not to impriſon him. The Party is gone,* apprehending, *he ſays,* the Fear of the Multitude, not of his Tryal; *ſo the Lords not giving Credit to your Charge againſt him, he ſays,* He flies not from Juſtice. *Now if upon this Bill you ſhou'd baniſh him, it wou'd be ſaid, You cou'd not make good your Charge, and therefore laid this Sentence upon him. The Precedent is alſo dangerous, if having gone ſo far in a* Judicial Way, *you ſhou'd now go in a* Legiſlative. *If, upon Reaſon of State, Lords might be baniſh'd, it may be by Dozens: As you proceed juſtly, ſo you will be juſtify'd.* After ſeveral Speeches, on the 18th of *December* the Bill was read the Third time in a thin Houſe, and the Queſtion being put for paſſing it, ſixty five were for it, and forty two againſt it. It eaſily obtain'd the King's Aſſent, either becauſe he had entertain'd inſuperable Prejudices againſt the Earl, or, as in the Caſe of proſecuting the *Papiſts*, becauſe he cou'd deny nothing required by his two Houſes of Parliament: Yet this ſhort Method was thought the moſt politick Courſe to prevent a legal Anſwer, and to ſtop the Diſcovery of ſome Secrets that muſt have been otherwiſe expos'd.

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The Lords ſend down a Bill to baniſh the Earl.

Debates upon it.

The Bill paſs'd.

Such was the Fate and Fortune of this great and wiſe Stateſman, who by his ſignal Abilities and indefatigable Induſtry had rais'd himſelf from the Station of a common Gentleman to the greateſt Heights in the Kingdom, ſo as to be plac'd above the Level of Subjects, becoming accidentally the Grandfather of two glorious Queens: And now, in the 60th Year of his Age, burthen'd with Infirmities, he was ſent to paſs the reſt of his Life in perpetual Baniſhment, after he had ſpent the Vigour of it, and weather'd innumerable Storms, in the moſt difficult Services of two great

Reflections upon the Earl's Fate.

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great Kings. As has been before hinted, it muſt be acknowledg'd, That in his Station he carry'd himſelf with ſomewhat a greater Reſerve and Haughtineſs than became him, or was uſeful to him, which alone muſt neceſſarily create him Enemies; for tho' his other Virtues were above the reſt of his Kind, yet ſtill nothing is ſo diſagreeable to Human Nature as Neglect or Contempt. And of this a very prudent Check was once given to this great Man, according to the following Story we find in the anonymous Writer of his Life. Some Time after the Reſtoration, the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, then in the Heighth of his Grandeur, going down to his Seat of *Cornbury* in *Oxfordſhire*, all the Gentry round the Country flock'd thither to pay their Reſpects to his Lordſhip: Amongſt the reſt appear'd old *William Lenthal*, the Speaker of the Long Parliament, who coming pretty late into the Hall, and obſerving the Company ſcornfully ſmiling at him all along as he paſs'd up to the Chancellor; after he had made his Compliment, with a handſom Addreſs he took Notice to his Lordſhip, That he had obſerv'd the Gentlemen to ſmile and jeſt to ſee him come to attend his Lordſhip; then looking round, he added, *My Lord, pray obſerve, theſe very Gentlemen here preſent, that now come to pay their Reſpects to your Lordſhip, have formerly done the very ſame to me.* A juſt Reprimand to the Gentlemen, and a wiſe Caution to the Chancellor to be on his Guard, leſt it might come to his Turn to be as much deſpis'd, as he was then courted by them; which indeed his haſty Fate afterwards brought upon him.

Acts paſs'd, and the Parliament adjourn'd for ſeven Weeks.

On the 19th of *December*, the Day after the Commons had paſs'd the Bill againſt the Earl, the King by Commiſſion paſs'd that, and four other Bills, *viz.* 1. An Act *for taking the Accounts of the ſeveral Sums of Money herein mention'd.* 2. An Act *for aſſigning Orders in the Exchequer without Revocation.* 3. An Act *to make Prize-Ships free for Trade.* And, 4. An Act *for ſettling Freedom and Intercourſe of Trade between* England *and* Scotland. Immediately after, Mr. Secretary *Morrice* deliver'd this Meſſage from the King to the Houſe of Commons; 'His Ma'jeſty having by a former Meſſage acquainted you, That he intended an 'Adjournment to the Beginning of *February*; he doth now conceive, 'That *Thurſday* the 6th of *February* is a convenient Day to which ſuch 'an Adjournment may be made: And his Majeſty is willing to adjourn 'to that Time.' Accordingly the Parliament broke up, after it had ſate a little above two Months, and without any Prorogation, had now a Receſs of above ſeven Weeks.

Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

3. For a Concluſion of this Year, we ſhall take Notice of ſome few Matters of inferior Note, beſides the Deaths of ſome eminent Men. A little before the Meeting of the Parliament, his Majeſty having Notice of the vaſt Concourſe of many Perſons of the *Romiſh* Religion to the Chappels at St. *James*'s and *Somerſet-houſe*, he gave Order in Council, and by Proclamation, 'That if any of his Subjects, not being of the Fa'milies of the Queen, or Queen-Mother, or of foreign Ambaſſa'dors, ſhou'd repair to hear *Maſs*, or perform any Exerciſes of the *Ro'miſh* Religion, that they ſhou'd be ſeverely proſecuted, and have ſuch 'Puniſhments inflicted upon them as were provided by Law.' This was a very popular Act at this Time; and indeed the King took Delight in theſe and other leſſer Ways of ingratiating himſelf to the People, eſpecially where he met with little Trouble or Expence. Accordingly, on the 23d of *October*, he rode into the City with great Splendor, and laid the firſt Stone of the Foundation of the *Royal Exchange* in *London*; and was after that entertain'd on the Place by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and there conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon the

The King lays the Foundation of the Exchange.

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the two Sheriffs, Mr. *Dennis Gauden* and Mr. *Thomas Davis*. About ſeven Days after, the Duke of *York*, attended with ſeveral Noblemen, went into the City; and being honourably receiv'd by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and treated in a Tent on Purpoſe, with the uſual Ceremonies, laid the firſt Stone for a ſecond Pillar; which gave ſo great Encouragement to the Workmen, that ſo large a Structure was never carry'd on with greater Expedition.

The Deaths of the Earl of Southampton,

As to the Deaths of eminent Men, we ſhall begin with *Thomas Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton*, before mention'd in this Year, the laſt, and not the leaſt worthy of the famous *Quadrumvirate*, that had offer'd their Lives to ſave that of their Royal Maſter, the other three being the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, afterwards Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Lindſey*. His Character has been already given; therefore we ſhall only ſay that no Family cou'd produce a truer Patriot and *Engliſhman*, nor ſhew more Honour and Integrity, Judgment and Penetration, Humility and Charity, than what were to be found in this great Man; yet he cou'd not eſcape without ſuffering ſixty thouſand Pounds Loſs in the late Times of Diſtraction. After him we ſhall mention two great Prelates, Dr. *Matthew Wren*, Biſhop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*, Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor* in *Ireland*. The Former was educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall*; from whence he was remov'd through ſeveral Preferments, as the Deanery of *Windſor*, the Biſhopricks of *Hereford* and *Norwich*, to the See of *Ely*; in all which he ſhew'd himſelf a Perſon of great Learning, ſingular Gravity, and exemplary Piety, and of no little Severity, eſpecially againſt the Puritan Party, towards whom he us'd ſo high a Hand, that many of them, in his Dioceſe of *Norwich*, left the Nation, and ſettled in foreign Parts. For which, when the Times turn'd, he was grievouſly perſecuted and oppreſs'd by the Plunder of his Goods, Seizure of his Eſtate, and by a cloſe Impriſonment in the *Tower* of *London*, which he endur'd with great Magnanimity near eighteen Years: From whence he was reſtored to his Biſhoprick of *Ely*, in which, notwithſtanding his former Loſſes, he perform'd ſeveral Acts of Charity and Munificence, and particularly became a noble Benefactor to his own College of *Pembroke-Hall*, where he built and endow'd a very beautiful Chappel, which this Year was made his Burying-place, being eighty one Years of Age. The other Prelate, Biſhop *Taylor*, was born in *Cambridge*, and educated in *Gonvil* and *Caius* Colledge, from whence, by Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Means, he remov'd to *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, where he ſoon diſplay'd his wonderful Parts and Abilities. Being in the Way to great Preferment, and the Civil Wars breaking out, he attended the King's Army in the Condition of a Chaplain, and after that was compell'd to a mean Retreat in *Wales*; in which Solitude he compos'd many excellent Treatiſes, highly valu'd for the Exactneſs of Wit, Profoundneſs of Judgment, Richneſs of Fancy, Copiouſneſs of Invention, and general Uſefulneſs to all the Purpoſes of a Chriſtian. From thence he remov'd firſt to *London*, and then into *Ireland*, where, upon the Reſtoration, he was made Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*, and had the Adminiſtration of the See of *Dromore* granted to him by the King. Here he further diſplay'd his mighty Talents, and ſhew'd with an unbounded Imagination all the Eloquence of Orators, all the Flights of Poetry, together with all the Strictneſs and Regularity of the deepeſt Caſuiſts.

Biſhop Wren,

Biſhop Taylor,

Beſides theſe Three, we are to mention ſome others, all of different Characters, Profeſſions and Employments: And firſt Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, the Ornament of the *Engliſh* Nation, as well by the Candor of his Life as the Excellency of his Writings, a Perſon born in *London* and educated

Mr. Cowley,

1667. Car. 19 Ref. 8. cated in *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and afterwards in Foreign Countreys under the Earl of St. *Albans*. His incomparable Parts, and admirable Faculties in Poetry caus'd him to be call'd the *Pindar*, the *Maro*, and the *Flaccus* of the Age: He had a moſt towering Genius, a moſt pregnant Invention, and a moſt luxuriant Fancy, and all accompany'd with ſuch ſingular Modeſty and Sweetneſs of Temper, that upon the News of his Death at Court, the King was pleas'd to ſay, *That Mr.* Cowley *had not left a better Man behind him in* England. He dy'd in the 49th Year of his Age; and tho' his Life was retired and ſomewhat obſcure, yet his Funeral was ſolemniz'd at *Weſtminſter-Abby* with great Pomp, at the Charge of his Patron the Duke of *Buckingham*, who placing him near *Chaucer* and *Spenſer*, erected a noble Monument to his Memory. The next was Dr. *Stephen Skinner*, a celebrated Phyſician, educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, from whence he travell'd into many Countries, viſited the Courts of divers Princes, frequented ſeveral Univerſities, and obtain'd the Society and Friendſhip of the moſt learned Men of them: At *Heidelberg* he was honour'd with the Degree of Doctor of Phyſick; being not only eminent in that Faculty, but well vers'd in moſt Parts of Learning, moſt skillful in the Oriental Languages, an excellent *Grecian*, and in ſhort a living Library. Returning into *England*, he ſettled at the City of *Lincoln*, where he ſucceſsfully follow'd his Employment, and dy'd in great Reputation with all the Gentry in thoſe Parts. The Third was Mr. *George Hughs*, one of the moſt noted *Preſbyterian* Miniſters of this Time, eſpecially in the Weſt of *England*, where he made a greater Figure, and had a greater Intereſt and Influence than moſt of his Brethren. He was many Years Miniſter of St. *Andrews* in *Plymouth*, where he ſhew'd himſelf a Perſon of great Induſtry, celebrated Learning, ſtrict Morality, and of a very obliging Diſpoſition, which, after his Ejectment by the *Bartholomew* Act, caus'd him to be much belov'd and eſteem'd by many of the Epiſcopal Clergy, with whom, in the Time of his Proſperity, he had cultivated a fair and generous Correſpondence. In the laſt Place we ought not to forget *George Withers*, the Poet, Prophet, *&c.* the Reverſe of Mr. *Cowley*; who under the Name of Verſe and Prediction undertook to revile all Governments and Governors, and publiſh'd to the World no leſs than a Hundred ſeveral Pieces, many of which were much read and admir'd by young Perſons, eſpecially thoſe puritanically educated; while others of more Senſe and Judgment look'd upon them as the Fancies of a conceited, and confident, if not Enthuſiaſtical Brain. His Verſe and Rimes were wild and rambling; and the Titles of his Books will give the Reader ſome Idea of the Man, of which two are here mention'd. *Amygdala Britannica, Almonds for Parrots: A Diſh of Stone-Fruit, partly ſhell'd, and partly unſhell'd; which (if crack'd, pick'd, and digeſted) may be wholeſom againſt thoſe Epidemick Diſtempers of the Brain, now predominant*, &c. printed 1647. The other was, *The Dark Lanthorn, containing dim Diſcovery, in Riddles, Parables, and Semi-Riddles, intermix'd with Cautions, Remembrances, and Predictions*, &c. printed 1650. Yet this Man was a dangerous Incendiary, and able to do a great deal of Miſchief.

Dr. Skinner,

Mr. Hughs,

And George Withers.

1667/8. **III.** 1. Some Time before the Removal and Diſgrace of the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Meaſures of the *Engliſh* Court gradually became more variable and uncertain, Popery as well as Pleaſures became more open and uncontroul'd, and more deſperate and Quack Remedies were us'd in the State than before; and after his Removal, Parties were ſecretly excited and let looſe againſt each other, to the Advancing of the private Projects of the Court, but to the general Sickening of the Community. Only we muſt except

D'Iſola. Temple. D'Eſtrades. Philips.

except the Beginnings of the new Miniſtry, which did ſome Things much to the Honour and Advantage of the *Engliſh* Nation. For now *England*, as well as *Holland* and the Empire, became ſenſible of the Diſproportion between the two Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, of the Flowings of the One, and the Ebbings of the Other. The ſwift Progreſs of the *French* King was ſufficient to allarm all his Neighbours, tho' he pretended to Nothing but a peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Rights of his Queen: Upon which Account the Baron *d'Iſola*, formerly mention'd, wrote a very notable Treatiſe call'd *The Buckler of State and Juſtice*, in which he manifeſtly refuted the *French* Pretenſions, and prov'd the Validity of the Renunciations at the *Pyrenean* Treaty by ſuch ſtrong Arguments, that the Book being tranſlated into *Engliſh*, it made an extraordinary Impreſſion upon the Court and Country. The Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, and the Earl of *Arlington* himſelf, was forward in guarding againſt the new Danger; and the King was ſo ſatisfy'd in the Matter, that on the firſt of *January*, he came to a full Reſolution to enter into a ſtrict League with *Holland*, and to endeavour to extend it to a Triple Alliance, by Engaging *Sweden* in the ſame Meaſures, for the mutual Defence of the three Allies, the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and the Repoſe and Safety of *Chriſtendom*.

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The Engliſh *Court apprehenſive of the growing Power of* France.

For the Management of this great Work, Sir *William Temple* was appointed to repair with all Expedition into *Holland*, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary. The Steps and Progreſs of this whole Treaty are ſo curious, and the Management ſo dextrous, that we ought to omit no Part of the Account of them, which we have from Sir *William*'s own Writings, who beſt knew the Proceedings. The Particulars are the more to be obſerv'd, becauſe the *French* King had ſome Intimations or Suſpicion of ſome ſuch Treaty as was now ſet on foot, and yet was not ſo apprehenſive of the Effects of it, as to exert his utmoſt to prevent it; but ſeem'd rather to ſlight it, as we find in a Letter from his Secretary *de Lionne* to the Ambaſſador *d'Eſtrades* at the *Hague*, in *November* laſt, in which he ſays, 'The *States* muſt certainly 'think, that being engag'd by the Treaty of 1662, to be Guarantee of 'the King's Rights, and not only neglecting that, but Confederating to 'hinder his Majeſty from obliging his Enemies to do him Juſtice; that 'his Majeſty, after ſo direct a Contravention on their Part, has no great 'Reaſon to depend much on the Contents of that Treaty, from which 'yet the *United Provinces* have hitherto drawn many Advantages, and 'his Majeſty as many Prejudices by a War undertaken ſolely for their 'Intereſts, and againſt all thoſe of his Crown.—If, after the King has put 'into the Hands of the *States* the Certainty of Peace, provided they 'wou'd exert themſelves as they ought to the *Spaniards*, the ſaid *States*, 'inſtead of that, take up the Cards, and make Alliances contrary to the 'Intereſt of his Majeſty; we ſhall not be ſo much diſturb'd at it here as 'they think. I know what I ſay, and on what Foundation I ſay it: Thoſe 'who wou'd do us a Miſchief, wou'd do more to Themſelves, and 'perhaps better advance the Intereſt of his Majeſty; *therefore live merrily, whatever you ſee happen.*

To check which Sir William Temple *is ſent into* Holland.

The French *King not fearful of the Deſign.*

About a Month after *D'Eſtrades*, who had been very buſy in endeavouring to bring the *States* to joyn and force the *Spaniards* to a Compliance, wrot thus to Secretary *de Lionne*: 'We are now at the Criſis of 'Affairs; and what the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador has ſaid and written againſt 'Monſieur *de Wit*, will not a little help me to puſh on my ſide the tak-'ing of a good Reſolution. Since this Extravagance of that Ambaſſa-'dor, I ſee many which were cool for Monſieur *de Wit*, grow warm, 'and take his part. I cannot yet ſend you any Thing poſitive, but hope

The Opinion of his Ambaſſador.

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'that He will bring his Masters to a good Resolution. We must deal 'by Degrees with this People, and not think of bringing them all at once 'to a Rupture with *Spain*, but engage and bind them in a Treaty, so that 'at last they cannot help it.' Thus was this Minister very sanguine, and full of Hopes of a Compliance from the *States*, in the Month of *December*.

Sir William Temple *first conferrs with the Pensionary* de Wit.

2. But in the Beginning of *January* the Scale was soon turn'd by the Arrival and Management of Sir *William Temple*, who immediately and closely apply'd himself to Monsieur *de Wit*: At the first Conference with the Pensionary, he began with telling him; 'That he cou'd not but re-'member, that when he pass'd that Way the last Month into *England*, 'he told him, upon what Points the King his Master desir'd with all Se-'crecy to know his Opinion, and by that to guess at what might be the '*States*, upon the present Conjuncture of Affairs in *Flanders*; that his 'Majesty might accordingly take his own Measures. That the King 'guess'd by the general Carriage and Discourses of the *Dutch* Ambassa-'dors at *London*, the *States* were not willing to see *Flanders* over-run 'by *France*, but cou'd not find they had any Thing positive to say to 'him upon that Subject: That his Master had therefore sent him pri-'vately and plainly to tell him his Mind, as to a Man of Honour, and 'who he believ'd wou'd make no ill use of it; and, if he thought fit, to know 'his Sentiments upon that Affair. That for his Majesty, he neither 'thought it fit for his own Interest nor Safety, nor for that of the *States*, 'or of *Christendom* in General, that *Flanders* shou'd be lost; and there-'fore was resolv'd to do his utmost to preserve it, provided the *States* 'were of the same Mind, and that it might be done in Conjunction be-'tween them; and to that End, desir'd to know whether the *States* 'wou'd enter into an Alliance with him, both Defensive between Them-'selves, and Offensive against *France*, for the Preservation of *Flanders*. 'That Monsieur *de Wit* might remember his Answer was, *First, much* '*Applause of his Majesty's Resolution; great Acknowledgment of his* '*Confidence towards him by that Communication, and an Assurance that* '*the* States *wou'd be of the same Mind, as to the Preservation of* Flan-'ders; *which was their neares Interest next their own: That he found* '*both his Majesty and the* States *had the same Mind as well as Interest* '*in this Matter, but that the Distrust remaining upon the late Quarrel* '*between them, had kept either of them from beginning to enter frankly* '*upon it. But since his Majesty had been pleas'd to break it to him, in* '*a Manner so obliging, tho' he cou'd not pretend to tell Sir* William *his* '*Masters Mind, yet he wou'd his own; which was, That the Defence of* 'Flanders *was absolutely Necessary; but that it ought to be try'd first* '*rather by a joynt Mediation of a Peace between the two Crowns of* 'France *and* Spain, *than by a Declaration of War; but that if the First* '*wou'd not serve, it ought to come to the Other. That Sir* William '*knew,* France *had already offer'd a Peace to the Overtures made by the* States '*upon the* Alternative, *at the Choice of the* Spaniards: *That he thought the* '*Mediation of* England *and* Holland *ought to be offer'd to both Crowns* '*upon that Foot, to induce* France *to make good their own Offer, and* 'Spain *to accept it: and that to this Purpose, he thought it very Neces-'sary to make a strict Alliance between his* Britannick *Majesty and the* 'States. *That for making an* Offensive *Alliance, it cou'd not be; for it* '*was a* Maxim *observ'd by that* State, *never to make any, at least* '*when they were in Peace*: *That for* Defensive *Leagues, they had them* '*with many Princes, and he believ'd they wou'd be ready to enter into* '*one with his Majesty; at least, he wou'd use all his Endeavours to bring* '*the* States *to such Opinions and Resolutions.*

When

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When Sir *William Temple* had repeated all this, and obſerv'd by the Penſionary's Face and Action, that he aſſented to this Recital, he ask'd him, *Whether this was all right, that he might know whether he had miſtaken Nothing in repreſenting his Majeſty's Meaning to him, nor his to his Majeſty:* He fairly anſwer'd him, *That it was all right, and that he very well remember'd it*, and much commended a Method of Proceeding *ſo exact and ſincere.* Hereupon Sir *William* purſu'd his Diſcourſe, and let him know, 'That upon his faithful Repreſenting theſe Things 'to the King his Maſter, his Majeſty had taken ſo much Confidence in 'the Penſionary's Opinion and Judgment, as well as in his Credit with 'the *States*, that he had taken a firm and ſudden Reſolution upon it; 'Firſt, *to joyn with the* States *in the Offer of a Mediation between the 'two Crowns*, and upon ſuch Terms as They and He ſhou'd agree; 'but with a Deſire that they might be as advantagious as the *States* cou'd 'be induc'd to, for the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and Recovery of ſuch 'Places as ſhou'd be moſt neceſſary to it: In the next Place, *to conclude 'a Treaty, the ſtrongeſt that cou'd be, between* England *and* Holland, 'for *obliging* France *to accept the Peace upon thoſe Terms*, and in the 'mean Time for putting a ſtop to the Courſe of their Arms in *Flanders*. 'But that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to begin all this, with a ſtrict 'League between Him and the *States*, for their own mutual Defence, 'and to this purpoſe had ſent Him over as his Envoy to the *States* with 'full Powers, and the Draught of a *Defenſive League* between them; 'but referr'd the reſt, concerning *Flanders*, to what the *States* and He 'ſhou'd agree.

Monſieur *de Wit*, who had ſome Years before far engag'd himſelf in the Intereſt of *France*; but who, like a wiſe and dextrous Politician, made ſenſible of a falſe Step before committed, rather endeavour'd to retrieve it by Degrees, than by a quick Turn expoſe his former Conduct; receiv'd Sir *William*'s Diſcourſe with a Countenance pleas'd, but yet ſomewhat ſurpris'd, as if he expected not a Return from his Majeſty ſo ſudden and reſolute. He ſaid, *The* States *wou'd be very much pleas'd with the Honour his Majeſty did them, and the Overtures he made them; that Sir* William *ſhou'd chuſe his Time, whenever he deſir'd it, for his Audience; and he wou'd paſs the Forms of demanding it from the* Preſident of the Weeks: *That he was ſtill confident, the* States *wou'd enter with his Majeſty into the Mediation, tho'* France *gave them hopes of ſucceeding by their Own: That the* Provinces *differ'd in Opinion, upon what Terms the Peace ſhou'd be made: That* Utrecht *was ſo bold as to think*, Nothing but Juſtice ought to be conſider'd in the Caſe: *That all that* France *had conquer'd ſhou'd be reſtor'd to* Spain, *and their Pretenſions referr'd to Judgment or Arbitrage. But* Holland *and moſt of the other* Provinces *were of another Mind; and conſidering their own preſent Condition, as well as that of* France, *thought it beſt to keep the* French *to their own Offer; but he believ'd wou'd come to Means of more Force, if* France *ſhou'd recede from what they themſelves had advanc'd to the* States. *That for the* Defenſive League *between the King and the* States, *he did not know whether the late Sore were yet fit for ſuch an Application, but wou'd try the Minds of the* States. *That he doubted, they wou'd think it like to prove too ſudden a Change of all their Intereſts, and that which wou'd abſolutely break them off from ſo* Old *and* Conſtant *a Friend as* France, *to rely wholly upon ſo* New *and ſo* Uncertain *a Friend, as* England *had prov'd.*

De Wit's Anſwer.

To all which Sir *William Temple* anſwer'd, 'That the Doing what 'he ſaid, wou'd be the Effect of any Treaties of this Nature between the 'two Nations, let them be as tenderly handled and compos'd as they cou'd:

Sir William's Reply, &c.

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'cou'd: That *France* wou'd take it as ill of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, to 'be ſtopp'd in the remaining Conqueſt of *Flanders*, as to be forc'd out 'of all they had already gain'd: That he knew very well, it had been 'long their Deſign, at any Price, to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Spaniſh* '*Netherlands*; and he knew as well, that it was their Intereſt to do ſo, 'conſidering the Advantage it wou'd give them over the reſt of *Chri-* '*ſtendom*; that it was as much the Intereſt of *England* and *Holland* to 'hinder it, and that nothing cou'd do it but a firm Conjunction between 'them. That the *States* Part wou'd be next after *Flanders* was gone, 'and therefore they had now as much Need of being protected by *Eng-* '*land* againſt *France*, as they thought they had three or four Years ago 'of being protected by *France* againſt *England*; and that they had no 'other Choice, but to continue their Friendſhip with *France*, till they 'ſhou'd ſee both *Flanders* and themſelves ſwallow'd up by ſuch a Neigh- 'bour; or elſe change their whole Meaſures, and enter into the ſtricteſt 'Alliance with his *Britannick* Majeſty, for the Preſervation of both; 'and let *France* take it as they pleas'd.' Monſieur *De Wit* confeſs'd the Deſigns of *France* for the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, acknowledg'd the Treaties they had made with the *States* in Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Time, and lately offer'd again for *Partitioning* the Provinces between them; and further ſaid, 'He well underſtood the Danger of ſuch a Counſel and 'Neighbourhood, elſe he ſhou'd have fallen into them; But the 'Ventures were great on the other Side too: That the *States* were 'much more expos'd than the King; That the *Spaniards* were weak, 'and ill to be truſted by the *States*, between whom there never 'had yet been better Meaſures, than barely that of the *Munſter* Peace, 'after ſo great Rancors and long Hoſtilities. That tho' he believ'd the '*German* Princes wou'd be glad of what his Majeſty propos'd, yet he 'knew not how far *Sweden* might be engag'd in the Meaſures with *France*; 'who lay there at their Backs in the Dutchy of *Bremen*. And laſt of 'all, tho' this Reſolution ſeem'd now to be taken by his *Britannick* Ma- 'jeſty and his Miniſters, on the ſureſt and wiſeſt Foundations, which 'were thoſe of true *Intereſt* and *Safety*; yet no Man knew how long it 'might laſt. That if they ſhould break all other Meaſures with *France*, 'and throw themſelves wholly upon his Majeſty by ſuch a Conjunction, 'any Change of Counſels in *England* wou'd be their certain Ruin: That 'he knew not this preſent Miniſtry, and cou'd ſay nothing to them; *but* '*that he knew the Laſt too well.*' Upon which he began to expatiate upon the uncertain Conduct of *England*, ſince the King's Return, and concluded, that the Unſteadineſs of Counſels in *England*, ſeem'd a fatal Thing to its Conſtitution: That he wou'd not judge from what Grounds, *But from the Time of Queen* Elizabeth, *there had been a perpetual Fluctuation in the Conduct of* England, *with whom it was not poſſible to take Meaſures for two Years together.*

After this ended, with ſome Melancholy which look'd a little irreſolute, Sir *William* argued, 'That as to their own Intereſts, the Penſio- 'nary knew them, and cou'd weigh them better than himſelf: That after 'his Audience, and firſt Conference with Commiſſioners, he ſhou'd 'quickly ſee how the *States* wou'd underſtand them; in which he knew 'very well how great a Part the Penſionary wou'd have. That as for the 'Danger, he confeſs'd the *Dutch* wou'd be firſt expos'd to *France*, and '*England* the laſt; which made it reaſonable, they ſhou'd make the 'firſt Pace to their Safety. That for *Sweden*, he had no Orders to ne- 'gotiate with them; but being fully inſtructed in his Majeſty's general 'Intentions, he ſhou'd be glad to ſee them ſtrengthen'd all he cou'd: 'And to that Purpoſe, if he thought fit, he wou'd talk to the Count *de*

'*Dona*,

'*Dona*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, and ſee whether he had any Powers to engage that Crown in any common Meaſures for the Safety of *Chriſtendom*; that if by ſuch a Conjunction they cou'd extend it to a *Triple Alliance*, upon the ſame Foundation, he believ'd he muſt think it too ſtrong a Bar for *France* to venture on. That for the Unſteddineſs of the *Engliſh* Counſels, he wou'd rather bewail than defend it; but that he ſhou'd not have made this Journey, if he had not been confident *That* had been ended, and Things now bottom'd paſt any Change or Remove. That he cou'd not pretend to know any Body's Mind certainly, but his own; but upon this Matter, he was as confident of his Majeſty's, the Lord Keeper's, and the Lord *Arlington*'s, as he was of his own.' Upon this Occaſion he inlarg'd, not only upon the Intereſts, but Reſentments that engag'd the *Engliſh* King and his Miniſters in this Counſel; and concluded, 'He was confident it wou'd never break; if ever it did, it ſhou'd never be by his Hand; and was as confident, that he might anſwer, thoſe two Lords wou'd fall or ſtand upon this Bottom.' Monſieur *de Wit* ſeem'd very much ſatisfy'd with what Sir *William* had alledg'd; and aſſur'd him; 'For his Part, he wou'd give his Hands towards a good Concluſion of this Affair: That he wou'd truſt his *Britannick* Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt upon ſo great a Conjuncture, as well as the Sincerity and Conſtancy of his Miniſters; which he cou'd judge of by no other Lights, but what Sir *William* gave him.' Then he made him Compliments upon the great Confidence he had taken in him and his Manner of dealing, by what he had heard and ſeen of him, ſince the firſt Viſit Sir *William* had made him in his Paſſage through the *Hague*, after the End of the War: And concluded, that Sir *William* ſhou'd ſee Count *Dona*, and try how far *Sweden* was to be engag'd in this great Affair. 1667. Car. 20 Reſ. 8.

They come to ſome Iſſue.

3. Matters being thus prepared, that very Evening Sir *William Temple* went to Count *Dona*, and paſs'd over the Ceremonies of their reſpective Characters, by going directly into his Chamber, taking a Chair, and ſitting down by him, before he cou'd riſe off his; and freely told him, *He hop'd he wou'd excuſe this Liberty, upon an Errand wherein he thought both their Maſters were concern'd; that Ceremonies were intended to facilitate Buſineſs, and not to hinder it: That he knew nothing to make his ſeeing the other Ambaſſadors at the* Hague *neceſſary, and ſo was content with the Difficulties had been introduc'd between their Characters: But thinking it abſolutely neceſſary for his Maſter's Service, to enter into Confidence with his Excellency, he had reſolv'd to do it in this Manner; and if he gave him leave, to purſue it as if their Acquaintance and Commerce had been of never ſo long a Date.* The Count embrac'd him, gave him great Thanks for the Honour he did him, and the frank and confident Manner he us'd with him; and ſaid, *he was ready to return it upon any Thing he ſhou'd think fit to communicate to him.* Compliments being paſs'd, Sir *William* enter'd into the Detail of his whole Progreſs to that Time, both in *England* and at the *Hague*; 'Of his Maſter's Reaſons, of the common Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*, of the Reception his Overtures found from Monſieur *de Wit*, and the Hopes he had of ſucceeding: Of their Diſcourſes about engaging *Sweden* in the ſame Meaſures, and a Deſire of extending their League into a *Triple-Alliance*, for their mutual Defence, the Safety of *Flanders*, and thereby of *Chriſtendom*. That he knew how the Crown of *Sweden* had been treated of late Years by *France*; how cloſe they had kept to the Friendſhip with his Maſter, and how beneficial as well as honourable, ſuch a Part as this might prove to them, by the particular Uſe they might make of it

Sir William *applies to the* Swediſh *Ambaſſador.*

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‘ to the Crown of *Spain*; and that upon any good Occaſion they might ‘ be ſure of his Maſter's Offices and the *States*, who reſolv'd to enter ‘ into this Affair without any other Intereſt, than that of the Preſervati- ‘ on of *Flanders*, and thereby of their own Safety, and the Common ‘ Good.

His good Reception.

The Count *Dona* profeſs'd to applaud his *Britannick* Majeſty's Counſel, to be confident that *Sweden* wou'd be content to go his Pace in all the common Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, which he was aſſur'd of by his own Inſtructions in general; but that ſuch an Affair as this being not foreſeen, he cou'd have none upon it. He added, ‘ That if it ſucceeded, he wou'd ‘ make all the Paces he cou'd to engage his Maſter in it, as what he ‘ thought of Honour and Advantage to the common Safety: But that ‘ he wou'd return Sir *William*'s Frankneſs with the ſame to him, in tel- ‘ ling him, *That he doubted his bringing it to an Iſſue.* That he firſt ‘ doubted Monſieur *de Wit*'s Reſolution, to break upon any Terms with ‘ *France*, and cloſe with *England*; not only conſidering what had late- ‘ ly paſs'd between them, but the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Orange*, ‘ which he muſt ever believe, wou'd, at one Time or another, be ad- ‘ vanc'd by *England*; whereas he was ſure to be ſupported againſt them ‘ by *France*: Therefore he believ'd, that tho' the Penſionary wou'd not ‘ oppoſe it, becauſe the *States* and People might run into it; yet he ‘ wou'd find ſome Means to elude the Concluſion and Effect of it, ‘ without appearing himſelf in any ſuch Deſign. That in the next Place, ‘ ſince ſuch a Treaty cou'd not be made by the *States-General*, without ‘ firſt being ſent to all the Provinces and Towns for their Approbation, ‘ and Orders upon it to their Deputies; he did not ſee how it was poſ- ‘ ſible for the *French* Ambaſſador to fail of engaging ſome Towns or Pro- ‘ vinces againſt it, and the Oppoſition of any one of them wou'd loſe the ‘ Effect; ſince no new Treaty cou'd be made by the Conſtitution of that ‘ Republick, without the Univerſal Conſent. That however, he wou'd ‘ not diſcourage him, but wiſh'd him Succeſs with all his Heart, upon ‘ many Reaſons; and among others, his being ſo much a Servant to the ‘ Houſe of *Orange*, which cou'd not but profit by a Conjunction between ‘ *England* and *Holland*.' And ſo again promis'd, whenever Sir *William* brought it to a Period, *to uſe all his Endeavours, and ſtretch his Powers as far as he cou'd, towards engaging his Maſter in the ſame Meaſures.*

Sir William's *ſecond Conference with* de Wit.

In the ſecond Conference that Sir *William Temple* had with the Penſionary *de Wit*, he acquainted him with what had paſs'd with Count *Dona*, with which he ſeem'd much pleas'd, and ſaid, *Tho' we cou'd not expect he cou'd have Powers ſo general as to conclude ſuch an Affair; yet an Inſtrument might be drawn up between us, whereby Room may be left for* Sweden *to enter as* Principal *into our Alliance; and the Count* de Dona *has ſo much Credit at his Court, to recommend it there ſo as to ſucceed, eſpecially upon the Hopes we muſt give him of obtaining Subſidies from* Spain, *which may countervail what they may loſe from* France *upon this Occaſion.* In the next Place they diſcours'd of the Treaty it ſelf: And *de Wit* was of Opinion, ‘ That the Condition of forcing *Spain* to ‘ accept the *Alternative* offer'd by the *French* King, was neceſſary to ‘ the common End, and to clear the Means towards it from all Acci- ‘ dents that might ariſe.' And as for the *Defenſive League*, he contin- nu'd in his former Thoughts, ‘ That it ſhou'd be negotiated between ‘ *England* and *Holland*; tho' upon the Project offer'd his Majeſty at ‘ *Scheveling*; by which all Matters of Commerce might be ſo adjuſted, as ‘ to leave no Seeds of any Quarrels between the two Nations.' After this Sir *William* fell upon the Form of concluding the main Treaty, freely declar-

declaring, ‘ He cou'd eaſily foretel the Fate of it, if it muſt paſs the ‘ common Forms of being ſent by the ſeveral *Deputies* to all their *Prin-* ‘ *cipals* for their Reſult upon it: That he knew, this wou'd take up a ‘ Month or ſix Weeks Time; and that nothing wou'd be ſo eaſie as for ‘ the *French* Ambaſſador to meet with it in running that Circle, and by ‘ engaging ſome one Member, perhaps by Mony thrown among the ‘ chief Perſons in ſome of the ſmall Towns, to prevent and ruin a Coun- ‘ ſel of the greateſt Importance to *Chriſtendom*, as well as *England* and ‘ *Holland*, that had been on foot in many Ages. In ſum, he told him, *That unleſs the* States-General *wou'd conclude and ſign the Treaty immediately, and truſt to the Approbation of their ſeveral* Provinces *and* Towns *after it was done, he ſhou'd give it for gone, and think no more of it.* 1667/8. Car. 20 Reſ. 8.

This was a little ſurprizing to the Penſionary, who ſeem'd to believe it impoſſible; and alledg'd, ‘ That no ſuch Thing had ever been done ‘ ſince the firſt Inſtitution of their Common-Wealth; and that tho' it was ‘ true, the *States-General* might ſign a Treaty, yet they cou'd not ratify it without Recourſe to their *Principals*; and that they ſhou'd venture their Heads in ſigning it, if their *Principals*, not approving it, ‘ ſhou'd queſtion them for doing it without *Orders:* That he hop'd the ‘ *Forms* might be expedited in three Weeks Time, and that all Care ‘ that cou'd be, ſhou'd be taken to prevent the Addreſſes of the *French* ‘ Ambaſſador among the Provinces.' But here Sir *William* cut the Matter ſhort, and peremptorily told him, ‘ That he continu'd of his firſt ‘ Opinion, to ſee it immediately agreed between Himſelf and the Commiſſioners, and then ſign'd by the *States*, which might be done in four ‘ or five Days; and that the *Deputies* might ſafely truſt to the Approbation of their *Principals* in a Point of ſo great and evident publick ‘ Intereſt. That for his Part, he knew not how this Delay, and thereby ‘ Hazard of the Affair, might be interpreted in *England*, nor what ‘ Changes in his Orders it might produce.' In Concluſion he ſaid, *I have now Powers to conclude an Alliance of the laſt Conſequence to the Safety of* Flanders *and this Republick; that if it ſhou'd miſcarry by the too great Caution of the* Deputies *in Point of* Form, *for ought I know, they may venture their Heads that way, and more deſervedly, than by ſigning at preſent, what all of them believ'd wou'd not only be ratify'd, but applauded by their Principals:* And with this free Caution Sir *William Temple* left him.

4. The next Day, which was the 18th of *January*, Sir *William Temple* had his Audience, which paſs'd with all the Reſpect that cou'd be given to his Character; and the following Morning began his Conference with the eight Commiſſioners of ſecret Affairs. Having ſhewn his Powers, and ſeen theirs, he offer'd them the Project of the *Defenſive League*, ‘ as that which was to be the Foundation of all further Negotiation; and ‘ without which, perhaps, neither of the Parties ſhou'd be forward to ‘ ſpeak their Minds with Confidence and Freedom, in what concern'd ‘ their Neighbours, being likely therein to ſhock ſo great Powers a- ‘ broad: Adding, That his Maſter having reſolv'd, as far as he cou'd in Honour, to comply with the Senſe of the *States* in the Offices of *Media-* ‘ *tion* between *France* and *Spain*, he expected from them the Knowledge ‘ of the *States* Reſolution, in caſe they were already agreed.' Sir *William* took this Courſe in his firſt Propoſals, becauſe upon his firſt Arrival he found, That the Provinces were divided in their Opinions, five of them only having come into that of Monſieur *de Wit*; *Zealand* being for agreeing with *France* in dividing *Flanders*, and *Utrecht* for ſuffering *France*

Sir William's *Audience and Conference with the* States *Commiſſioners.*

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France only to retain the laſt Year's Conqueſt, by way of *Compromiſe*, 'till their Pretenſions were adjudg'd before competent Arbiters, or joynt Mediators. Upon theſe Propoſals Monſieur *de Wit*, who ſpoke for all the Commiſſioners, after a Preamble of the uſual Forms and Compliments on the King's happy Diſpoſitions to enter into a nearer Alliance with the *States*, declar'd the ſame Reſolution to their High Mightineſſes; and allowing a mutual Confidence by a *Defenſive League* for the Baſis of the reſt, ſaid, *The States were willing to have Clauſes for their common Safety inſerted in the Articles of the Mediation*; and was large upon that Argument, 'That the laſt being of preſſing Haſte, as well as 'Neceſſity; and they having already Order from their Provinces to pro-'ceed upon it, they cou'd not have the ſame Powers upon the *Defenſive*, 'being a new Matter, under ſix Weeks or two Months Time; But as 'ſoon as they receiv'd them, wou'd ſend their Ambaſſadors in *England* 'Inſtructions to go upon that Treaty; which muſt, for a Baſis, have at 'the ſame Time an Adjuſtment of Matters of Commerce.' To cut this Matter ſhort, Sir *William* told the Commiſſioners directly, 'He had no 'Orders to proceed upon any other Points but in Conſequence or Con-'junction of the *Defenſive League*; in which he thought his Maſter had 'all the Reaſon that cou'd be, both becauſe he wou'd not venture a War's 'ending in *Flanders* to begin upon *England*; and on the other Side 'knew, the *States*, whoſe Danger was nearer, wou'd never be capable 'of taking any vigorous Reſolutions in their Neighbours Affairs, till they 'were ſecure at home by his *Britannick* Majeſty's Defence. That his 'Maſter thought the moſt generous and friendly Advance that cou'd be, 'was made on his Side by his Propoſition, being Himſelf ſo much more 'out of Danger than They were, and ſo much courted to a Conjuncti-'on with *France* to their Prejudice, as well as that of *Flanders:* That 'they had not made a Difficulty of ſuch Alliances with Princes who had 'lately Quarrels with them as well as *England*; and that, God be thank-'ed, *his Maſter was not in a Condition to have ſuch an Offer refus'd by 'any Prince or State in Chriſtendom.*

After ſome other Diſcourſes, and the Commiſſioners withdrawing three Times, it was reſolv'd that two of them, Monſieur *de Wit* and Monſieur *Isbrant*, ſhou'd ſpend that Afternoon with Sir *William Temple*, at his Excellency's Lodgings, to endeavour the adjuſting of Circumſtances, ſince they ſeem'd to agree in Subſtance: Which accordingly they did, and advanc'd to this Point, That inſtead of former Projects, the *States* wou'd proceed upon that of a *Defenſive League*, in Caſe the proviſional Articles in the *Breda* Treaty might be inſerted and perpetuated in this; and that thereupon they wou'd expect the King's Anſwer to what Sir *William* ſhou'd write that Night. The next Day in the Afternoon he had another Conference with the two Commiſſioners, who acquainted him with the *States* Reſolution, conformable to *De Wit*'s Opinion, *That it was neceſſary the Articles Proviſional ſhou'd be inſerted in the Treaty*; ſo as Sir *William* began to doubt a Stop of every thing, till the King's Anſwer, which ſubjected all to Uncertainties: He knew that Count *d'Eſtrades*, the *French* Ambaſſador, was grown into very ill Humour upon his Arrival, and had fallen into Complaints and Expoſtulations with ſeveral of the *States*; and the more becauſe he cou'd not ſee *de Wit* from Sir *William*'s coming over till that Time, tho' he had often endeavour'd it. He knew likewiſe that vigilant Miniſter had diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Paris* upon this Occaſion; and therefore he reſolv'd to fall upon all poſſible Inſtances and Expedients to draw up a ſudden Concluſion. Hereupon he told the Commiſſioners, 'He deſir'd it extreamly before 'he cou'd hear again from *England*, becauſe he left Monſieur *Rovigny*, 'the

Another Conference.

'the *French* Ambaſſador in *London*, very buſy at his coming away, and 'not unbefriended: That he fear'd the ſame Artifices of *France* to di- 'ſturb their Meaſures at the *Hague*, and perhaps Monſieur *d'Eſtrades* 'might at his next Meeting infuſe ſome Jealouſies into the *States*, by the 'Relation of what had paſs'd between the Earl of *Arlington* and Monſi- 'eur *Rovigny*, three or four Days before the Date of his Inſtructions:' Upon which he told them frankly (as the King had given him Leave) what had paſs'd, in relation to a Scheme propos'd by *France* to the King of *England* for dividing the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. Monſieur *de Wit*, ſtartled by this Diſcovery, ask'd Sir *William*, *Whether he cou'd ſhew him the Paper drawn up between thoſe two Miniſters?* And Sir *William* anſwering, *He had it not*, the other earneſtly deſired he wou'd procure it him, aſſuring him, *No Uſe ſhou'd be made of it but by joynt Conſent*; adding, *Nothing cou'd ſerve ſo far to juſtify the States, in Caſe of a Breach growing neceſſary between Them and* France.

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Sir *William Temple* promis'd to write to the Earl of *Arlington* about it; and the better to engage the Penſionary, inform'd him, 'What Con- 'fidence he had given his Maſter of his ſincere Proceedings; and how 'he had been ſupported by the Earl of *Arlington* in thoſe Suggeſtions, 'againſt the Opinion of ſome other great Men: What Advantage theſe 'wou'd take, if they ſaw the whole Negotiation was ſtopp'd upon a thing 'that look'd like *Chicanery*; ſince *Articles Proviſional* till new Agree- 'ments, were as ſtrong as *Perpetual*, which might even be chang'd by 'new Agreements: That this wou'd be eſteemed an Artifice of Mon- 'ſieur *de Wit*, eſpecially ſince he had declared, *That it was his Opinion* 'not to conclude without inſerting thoſe *Articles*, which yet he cou'd 'not deny to be of preſent Force.' Monſieur *Isbrant* was ſatisfy'd with Sir *William*'s Reaſons, and ſaid, *He wou'd undertake his Province ſhou'd be ſo too:* But the Penſionary alledg'd That *Holland* and *Zealand* wou'd not. Hereupon Sir *William* told them, 'He was ſure the *States* wou'd 'not think fit to loſe the Effect of the League propos'd upon ſuch a 'Point, as the ſeeing the King's Reſolution in Anſwer to his Letter, be- 'fore they concluded, that this ſhou'd not hinder at laſt: That he fore- 'ſaw that many things might happen in ten Days Time to break all their 'good Intentions, and ſome more than he had told them, or cou'd at 'preſent: That if they knew him, and how far he was to be truſted, 'where he gave his Word, he wou'd propoſe an Expedient to them; but 'it being new among them, he thought it was to no Purpoſe.' Here he pauſed; and they deſiring he wou'd however propoſe the Expedient: He did ſo; which was, 'That they ſhou'd proceed to draw up the whole 'Project, and ſign as ſoon as was poſſible; and that in Caſe he afterwards 'receiv'd his Maſter's Leave to inſert thoſe *Proviſional Articles*, he 'wou'd freely declare it, and inſert them in a *ſeparate Article*, to be a 'Part of the *Defenſive League*.' They both look'd a while upon each other, and after a Pauſe, Monſieur *de Wit* gave Sir *William* his Hand, and complimenting him in the Confidence he had taken in his Face, and the reſt of his Dealing ſince their firſt Meeting, he told him, 'That if 'he wou'd promiſe him, *upon the Word of an honeſt Man*, what he 'ſaid, they wou'd ask no further Aſſurance of him: And provided the 'Treaty of *Breda* might be confirm'd in the Preamble of this, for his 'Part, tho' he cou'd promiſe nothing what the *States* wou'd reſolve, 'yet he wou'd promiſe that Himſelf and Monſieur *Isbrant* wou'd uſe their 'utmoſt Endeavours to induce them to proceed upon his Propoſition.'

Sir *William Temple* knowing that new Treaties uſe to begin by Confirmation of the old, made no Difficulty about it; and ſo they proceeded immediately to digeſt the Project of the whole Treaty in three ſeveral

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The Substance of the Treaties.

Inſtruments. The Firſt contain'd a *League Defenſive and Perpetual, between the King of* Great Britain *and the* States-General, 'againſt all 'Perſons, without Exception, that ſhou'd invade either of them; with '*Agreement* to furniſh each other, upon Occaſion, with forty Ships of 'War, of which fourteen betwixt ſixty and eighty Guns, and four hun-'dred Men one with another; fourteen more between forty and ſixty 'Guns, and three hundred Men each; and of the other twelve, none 'under thirty ſix Guns, and a hundred and ſixty Men: Beſides theſe, 'ſix thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe, or Mony inſtead of them, 'at the Choice of the Invaded; and to be repaid within three Years af-'ter the End of the War; the Proportions of Mony to the ſeveral Parts 'of the ſaid Aid, being aſcertain'd in the ſaid Treaty.' The ſecond In-ſtrument contain'd *The joynt Obligations of* England *and the* United Provinces, 'to diſpoſe *France* to make Peace in *Flanders* upon one of 'the Alternatives already propos'd; and likewiſe to diſpoſe *Spain* to ac-'cept it before the End of *May* next; but in Caſe of Difficulty made 'by them, to diſpoſe *France* however to ſtop all further Progreſs of its 'own Arms there, and leave it wholly to the Allies to procure the Ends 'propos'd in the League.' The third Inſtrument contain'd *four ſeparate Articles, of the ſame Force with the Treaty,* in Subſtance as follows. '1. If in the procuring the Peace between *France* and *Spain*, any Difficulty 'ſhou'd ariſe about the *Renunciation*, the Form ſhou'd be contriv'd in 'ſuch Words, that no Prejudice ſhou'd be created to either of them in 'Point of Right: But if either of the two Kings ſhou'd not conſent to 'this Expedient, the King of *Great Britain* and the *States-General* 'ſhould proceed againſt the Refuſer, in the Manner agreed in the ſecond 'Inſtrument. 2. That the King of *Great Britain* and the *States-General* 'ſhou'd uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh Peace between the 'Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and tho' the *French* King might be al-'low'd to aſſiſt the Latter in ſome Caſes; yet with this Proviſo, that 'he ſhou'd alſo oblige himſelf not to make War in the *Low-Countries*. '3. In Caſe the *French* King ſhou'd reject the Cautions and Proviſions ex-'preſs'd in the ſecond Inſtrument, and make a further Progreſs in *Flan-'ders*, then *England* and the *United Provinces* ſhou'd joyn with the 'King of *Spain*, and make War againſt *France*, till they compel him to 'comply with the Terms of the *Pyrenean* Treaty. 4. That theſe *ſepa-'rate Articles* ſhould be confirm'd and ratify'd, and the mutual Inſtruments 'of Ratification exchang'd on both Sides, within four Weeks.' Hav-ing ſat up all *Saturday* Night, till *Sunday* Morning, they agreed upon the Project in *French*, and gave Order for the tranſlating it into *Latin*; which was done and perus'd by Sir *William Temple* and the Commiſſio-ners, and agreed to between twelve and one that Night, and laſtly en-groſs'd and got ready for ſigning by eleven next *Monday* Morning.

The happy Concluſion of them.

5. The Whole being got to this ſurprizing Forwardneſs, on *Monday* in the Afternoon, *January* the 23d, all the *Dutch* Commiſſioners met, and, together with Sir *William Temple*, ſign'd, ſeal'd, and deliver'd the three Inſtruments. Upon this they all embrac'd with much Kindneſs, and Applauſe of Sir *William*'s particular Saying upon this Occaſion, *At* Bre-da *like Friends, here like Brothers!* And Monſieur *de Wit* made him a moſt obliging Compliment, *of having the Honour which never any other Miniſter had before him, of drawing the* States *to a Reſolution and Concluſion in five Days, upon a Matter of the greateſt Importance, and an Aſſiſtance of the greateſt Expence they had ever been engag'd in; and all directly againſt the Nature of their Conſtitutions, which enjoyn'd them Recourſe to their Provinces:* Adding, *That now it was done, it look'd like a* MIRACLE. It is hard to imagine the Joy and Wonder con-

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ceiv'd in *Holland* upon the Concluſion of this Treaty, brought to an Iſſue in five Days; nor the Applauſe given to his *Britannick* Majeſty's Reſolutions, as the wiſeſt and happieſt that cou'd in this Conjuncture be taken by a Prince, both for his own and his Neighbours Affairs. Nor were the Counſels and Conduct, either of the preſent Miniſtry in *England*, or of Sir *William Temple*, leſs commended; the Treaty being almoſt finiſh'd at the *Hague*, as ſoon as his Journey was known in *London*, and before his Errand was ſuſpected by any publick Miniſter in *England*. To this Purpoſe Sir *William Temple* wrote with no leſs Wit than Modeſty to Monſieur *Gourville*, a Miniſter of *France*, then reſiding at *Lunenburgh*; *They will needs have me paſs here for one of great Abilities, for having finiſh'd and ſign'd in five Days a Treaty of ſuch Importance to* Chriſtendom: *But I will tell you the* Secret *of it: To draw things out of their Center, requires Labour and Addreſs to put them into Motion; but to make them return thither, Nature helps ſo far, that there needs no more than juſt to ſet them a going. Now I think a* ſtrict Alliance *is the true* Center *of our two Nations.— In ſhort, the two Nations are cloſer united, than if there never had been a War. Our common Deſign is to give Peace to all* Chriſtendom: *So that if* France *pleaſes, they may have it this Spring; if not (as Monſieur* d'Eſtrades *ſays, at leaſt not after our Faſhion) they may have their Fill of the War.* 1667/8. Car. 20 Reſ. 8.

The *French* Ambaſſador *d' Eſtrades*, who fondly imagin'd that the *States* wou'd never have ventur'd upon ſuch a large Step, was now much ſurpriz'd at the Concluſion of the Treaty. For upon Sir *William*'s firſt Conference with the *Dutch* Commiſſioners he ſaid, *All wou'd fly into Smoak, and the King his Maſter wou'd laugh at it.* And the Day before their Signing, being told they advanc'd very faſt, he unconcernedly reply'd, *Very well, ſix Weeks hence we'll talk on't*; relying upon the Forms of the *States*, to run the Circle of their Towns. But when *de Wit* and Sir *William* ſhew'd him the whole Treaty, except the *ſeparate Articles*, he ſaid coldly, *That he doubted they had not taken a right Way to their End: That the fourth Article of the ſecond Inſtrument, was not in Terms very proper to be digeſted by a King of twenty nine Years old, and at the Head of eighty thouſand Men: That if* England *and* Holland *had joyn'd both, to deſire his Maſter to prolong the Offer he had made, of a Ceſſation of Arms till the Time they propos'd; and withal, not to move his Arms further in* Flanders, *tho'* Spain *ſhou'd refuſe, they might have hop'd to ſucceed: But if they thought to preſcribe him Laws, and force him to a Compliance, by Leagues between themſelves, or with* Spain, *tho'* Sweden *and the* German *Princes ſhou'd joyn with them, he knew his Maſter wou'd not yield, and that it wou'd come to a War of forty Years.* From this he fell a little warmly upon the Proceedings of the *States*, ſaying, *They knew his Maſter's Reſolutions upon thoſe two Points, neither to prolong the Ceſſation propos'd beyond the End of* March, *nor to deſiſt the Purſuit of his Conqueſts with his own Arms, in Caſe* Spain *conſented not to his Demands within that Term.* He added, *His* Britannick *Majeſty not being an Ally, might treat and conclude what he pleas'd, without their Offence; but for the* States, *who were their neareſt Ally, to conclude ſo much to his Maſter's Diſreſpect at leaſt, and without communicating with him the Ambaſſador at all during the whole Treaty, he muſt leave it to his Maſter to interpret as he thought fit.* Monſieur *de Wit* defended their Cauſe, and the common Intentions of both with great Phlegm, but great Steddineſs; and told Sir *William*, after the other was gone, *That this was the leaſt they cou'd expect at firſt from a* Frenchman; *and that he ſhou'd do well however to give his Maſter an Account of it by the firſt; that they ſhou'd put their ſelves early in Poſture to make good what they had*

The French *Ambaſſador contemns,*

And reſents the Proceedings.

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had ſaid: And that as to the Time and Degree of their Arming, he wou'd conſult with the States, *and let him know their Thoughts, to be communicated to his Maſter.*

The next Day Sir *William Temple* and Monſieur *de Wit* made the like Communication of their Treaty to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who receiv'd it with ſome Deſcants upon the Hardſhip of it, but, in Sir *William*'s Opinion, with Satisfaction at Heart. On the 26th Count *Dona*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, with whom Sir *William* had gone along in the whole Buſineſs with perfect Confidence and Concert, ſign'd a ſeparate Inſtrument, jointly with Sir *William* and the *States* Commiſſioners, obliging his Maſter to enter as a *Principal* into the ſame Alliance: *ſo that the ſaid* League *might acquire the Subſtance, as well as the Form of a* Triple Agreement; *to which all the reſpective Parties ſhou'd make it their Buſineſs to invite their Friends and Alleys, if any of them ſhou'd deſire, to be admitted.* For the finiſhing of which Count *Dona* ſet out the next Day for *England*, in Company of Mr. *Henry Temple*, Brother to Sir *William*, with the whole Account of the Buſineſs, and the Treaties ſign'd in order to their Ratification. Their Arrival was very acceptable to the *Engliſh* Court and City; and within ten Days the Ratifications from *England* were receiv'd at the *Hague*, with the ſame Joy that the Treaty was concluded; and not long after, all was compleated by the King of *Sweden*, to the general Satisfaction of all who dreaded the Power of *France*. And thus happily was compleated that famous Alliance, generally call'd the TRIPLE LEAGUE; in Relating of which we have been the more particular, not only becauſe it has been accounted the ſafeſt and wiſeſt Step King *Charles* made in the whole Courſe of his Reign, both in reſpect to his Neighbours and his own Subjects; but alſo becauſe it diſcover'd the true Sentiments and Opinions of both Nations, in Relation to the then growing Power of *France*. As Sir *William Temple* had ſo great a Share in this Affair, ſo he ought to loſe no Part of the Honour; therefore we ſhall juſt mention what is ſaid of him in two Letters, the firſt from Monſieur *de Wit* to the Earl of *Arlington*, and the other from the *States-General* to the King of *Great Britain*. The former ſays, *as it was impoſſible to ſend a Miniſter of greater Capacity, or more proper for the Temper and Genius of this Nation, than Sir* William Temple; *ſo I believe, no other Perſon, either will or can more equitably judge of the Diſpoſition wherein he has found the* States, *to anſwer the good Intentions of the King of* Great Britain. In the *States* Letter, they tell the King, *As it is a Thing without Example, that in ſo few Days, three ſuch important Treaties have been concluded, ſo we can ſay, That the Addreſs, the Vigilance, and the Sincerity of Sir* William Temple, *are alſo without Example.— If your Majeſty continues to make uſe of ſuch Miniſters, the Knot will grow too faſt, ever to be unty'd.*

They produce the TRIPLE LEAGUE.

The Praiſes of Sir William Temple.

Other Leagues.

About the Time of the Ratification of this, Sir *William Temple* concluded another League with the *States-General*, of a more private Nature, relating only to Navigation and Commerce, and ſo remov'd to *Bruſſels* with his former Character of Reſident. And near the ſame Time, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Sandwich*, the King's Ambaſſador at *Spain*, and Sir *Robert Southwell* his Envoy in *Portugal*, a Peace was concluded between thoſe two Crowns, and the King of *Great Britain* declared the Mediator and Guarantee of it. So that all Things ſeem'd to be put into a Condition of reducing the encreaſing Power of the *French* King, and eſtabliſhing the Ballance of *Europe*.

Rot. Parl. *D'Eſtrades. Temple. Coke. MSS. Philips. Wood. Langbain.* &c.

The Continuation of the EIGHTH SESSION *of Parliament.*

V. 1. During theſe Foreign Tranſactions, the Parliament of *England*, having had a Receſs of near eight Weeks, met at *Weſtminſter* on the

the 10th Day of *February*; which was the ninth Meeting, but more properly call'd the Continuation of the eighth Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament. On the Firſt Day of this Meeting, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and having on his Crown and Robes, with the uſual Solemnity took his Seat, where the Houſe of Commons with their Speaker appearing, his Majeſty was pleas'd to expreſs himſelf to both Houſes in this following Speech: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am glad to ſee you here again, to ‘ tell you what I have done in this Interval, which I am confident you ‘ will be pleas'd with, ſince it is ſo much for the Honour and Security ‘ of this Nation. I have made a *League Defenſive* with the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, and likewiſe a League for an efficacious ‘ Mediation of Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*; ‘ into which League, that of *Sweden* by its Ambaſſador hath offer'd to ‘ enter as a *Principal*. 1667/8. Car. 20 Reſ. 8.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

‘ I did not at our laſt Meeting move you for any Aid, tho' I lye under ‘ great Debts contracted in the laſt War; but now the Poſture of our ‘ Neighbours abroad, and the Conſequence of the new Alliance, will oblige me, for our Security, to ſet out a conſiderable Fleet to Sea this ‘ Summer. And becauſe I muſt build more great Ships, and it is as neceſſary that I do ſomething in order to the fortifying ſome of ‘ our Ports; I have begun ſomething my ſelf in order to theſe Ends; but ‘ if I have not your ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, I ſhall not be able to go through ‘ with it. Wherefore I do earneſtly deſire you to take it into your ſpeedy Conſideration; for the Loſs of a little Time now may beget a Prejudice not to be repaired. And for the ſettling a firm Peace, as well ‘ at home as abroad, one thing more I hold my ſelf oblig'd to recommend to you at this preſent; which is, That you wou'd ſeriouſly think ‘ of ſome Courſe to beget a better Union and Compoſure in the Minds ‘ of my *Proteſtant* Subjects in Matters of Religion; whereby they may ‘ be induced not only to ſubmit quietly to the Government, but alſo ‘ chearfully give their Aſſiſtance for the Support of it.

The Houſe of Commons were highly pleas'd with the new Alliances, and were now better diſpos'd for good-humour'd Proceedings; but ſtill being a little ruffled with the Thoughts of the late Miſmanagements, they thought fit to defer the Conſideration of his Majeſty's Speech for a few Days, till after the Report made by the Committee, appointed to enquire into the Miſcarriages of the late War. In order to which Enquiry, Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* had both given into the Houſe their particular Narratives and Accounts of their ſeveral Expeditions, and more particularly of the Miſcarriages at *Chatham*, which have been already remember'd; after which the Duke of *York* himſelf deliver'd to them an Account of the Fort of *Sheerneſs*. From all which, and from other Examinations, the Commons diſcover'd and voted ſeveral Miſcarriages in the late War, and ‘ particularly in the Expedition at ‘ *Berghen*; in the plundering the *Eaſt-India* Ships while the *Dutch* ‘ paſs'd by; in the not ſetting out a ſufficient Fleet laſt Year; in the Separation of thoſe that were out, ſo that they became uſeleſs; in the ‘ Want of Proviſion and Ammunition in the Fleet, and in the Forts; in ‘ Payment of the Sea-Men by Tickets; in the Want of Intelligence, and ‘ dividing the Fleets in the ſecond Year of the War; in the Buſineſs of ‘ *Chatham*, *&c.*' And they particularly reſolved, ‘ That notwithſtanding ‘ his Majeſty had eighteen thouſand Men in Pay, in diſperſed Ships in ‘ the Year 1667, there was not a ſufficient Number of Ships left to ſecure ‘ the Rivers *Medway* and *Thames*. They ſtrictly examin'd into one Miſcarriage as to the firſt Battel againſt the *Dutch*, in which it appear'd, ‘ That if the Orders of the Duke of *York* had been ſtrictly obſerv'd, as

The Commons enquire into Miſcarriages.

‘ they

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'they ought, in that Engagement, the whole Fleet of the Enemy had probably been deſtroy'd.' For this, Mr. *Brunkard*, a Member of the 'Houſe, was accus'd of giving falſe Orders to Sir *John Harman* to ſlacken Sail, while the Duke was repoſing himſelf, and when they were purſuing the Enemy with the utmoſt Advantage; for which Mr. *Brunkard* was both expell'd the Houſe, and order'd to be impeach'd.

They impeach Commiſſioner Pett,

The Miſcarriage at *Chatham* was ſo conſpicuous, that they thought they cou'd do no leſs than Impeach Commiſſioner *Pett* for ſo great a Delinquency in that Affair: Accordingly they drew up Articles againſt him to this Effect: 'I. That the ſaid *Peter Pett*, being a Commiſſioner 'eſpecially authoriz'd and entruſted with the Care of his Majeſty's Yards, 'Stores and Proviſions of the Royal Navy at *Chatham*; and having re-'ceiv'd Orders from the Duke of *York* about the 26th of *March* laſt, 'requiring him to bring up and mere his Majeſty's Ship, the *Royal Charles*, 'and other Ships, did wilfully neglect and refuſe ſo to do; whereby the 'ſaid Ships were loſt, and became a Prey to the Enemy. II. That his 'Majeſty having upon the 11th of *June* laſt appointed the Duke of *Al-'bemarle* to repair to *Chatham*, to ſecure all Things againſt the Invaſion 'of the *Dutch*; he the ſaid Duke found the *Royal Charles* not brought 'up, but lying below in a Place of Danger; and having given Orders to 'the ſaid *Pett* to cauſe the ſaid Ship to be brought up as high as cou'd 'be into a Place of Safety, the ſaid *Pett* neglected the doing thereof. 'III. That Captain *Brooks*, one of his Majeſty's Attendants at *Chatham*, 'knowing that the Duke had given expreſs Orders to cauſe the *Royal 'Charles* to be brought up, did prepare Anchors and other Tackling 'ready for the ſame; and deſir'd the ſaid *Pett* to give Orders for his ſo 'doing, which he refus'd to do. IV. That the Duke of *York* having 'given Orders to the ſaid *Pett* to provide thirty Boats for the Defence 'of the River and Navy, He did not only himſelf miſemploy ſome of 'the ſaid Boats for the removing ſome of his particular Goods, but ſuf-'fer'd the reſt to be likewiſe miſemploy'd, and did alſo ſeize a Boat be-'longing to Sir *Edward Spragg*; ſo for want of theſe Boats, many of 'his Majeſty's Ships were loſt, and the Security of the reſt hinder'd. 'V. That the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Navy, having ſignify'd to 'him on the 4th of *June*, That the *Dutch* were out, and given him ſpe-'cial Charge to command all Captains on Land to their Ships, and to be 'vigilant in the reſt of the Charge committed to him; He was ſo neg-'ligent, that of eight hundred Perſons, which were under his Care and 'Command, when the Duke of *Albemarle* repaired thither, there were 'not above ten ready upon the Invaſion of the Enemy. VI. That the 'ſaid Duke having appointed Soldiers to raiſe Batteries for the Defence 'of the Navy; He, to obſtruct the Service, refus'd to give them the 'Number of Tools required, notwithſtanding he had a ſufficient Quan-'tity in his Majeſty's Stores, as it appear'd when thoſe Stores were broke 'open. VII. That the ſaid Duke having ſent Orders to him to ſend out 'of his Majeſty's Yards ſome Oaken Planks for his Platforms and Batte-'ries, he ſent only Deal Boards, which were prejudicial to the Service; 'notwithſtanding that there were in his Majeſty's Yard ſeveral Oaken 'Planks fit for that Service.' For all which Crimes and Miſdemeanors they demanded Juſtice and condign Puniſhment, *&c.* at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords.

And likewiſe Sir William Penn.

Not ſatisfy'd with this Impeachment, by means of ſome Diſcoveries and Informations, the Commons found and ſingled out Sir *William Penn*, another of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, and drew up Articles againſt him to this Purpoſe. 'I. Whereas in *September* 1665, the *Golden Phœnix*, 'and the *Slothany*, two *Dutch* Ships were taken at Sea as Prize, by his Majeſty's

'Majeſty's Fleet under the Earl of *Sandwich*, in which the ſaid Sir *William Penn* was then Vice-Admiral; He the ſaid Sir *William*, contrary to his Duty, &c. did conſpire with ſeveral Perſons to open the Holds of the ſaid Ships, before Judgment paſs'd in the Admiralty Court, and from thence imbezell'd great Quantities of rich Goods, whereby his Majeſty was defrauded of above an hundred and fifteen Thouſand Pounds. II. The ſaid Sir *William*, in purſuance of the Conſpiracy, did about the ſame Time repair on board the Prize-Ship the *Lothany*, with Sir *William Berkley*, Vice-Admiral under his Command, and did there give Orders to Captain *Waerden*, to whoſe Charge the ſaid Ship was committed, to follow the Directions of Sir *William Berkley*; who thereupon broke open the Hold of the ſaid Ship, and took out ſeveral rich Goods of great Value, after it was cloſed and ſeal'd up, and by the Aſſiſtance of Sir *William Penn*, who ſent ſeveral Men on board for that Purpoſe. III. He the ſaid Sir *William* got a conſiderable Part of the Goods into his Poſſeſſion, and ſhortly after did ſell divers Parcels of the ſaid Goods, and further warranted the Sale thereof. IV. The better to colour the ſaid Fraud and Imbezelment, Orders were obtain'd from the Earl of *Sandwich* for diſtributing ſome Part of the ſaid Goods among ſeveral Officers (whereof Sir *William* was Chief) ſubmitted, as was pretended, to his Majeſty's further Pleaſure, tho' Sir *William* well knew the Orders of the Earl of *Sandwich* were void in every reſpect. And afterwards a Warrant for diſtributing the Goods was duly procured from his Majeſty, whereas the ſaid Sir *William* had, before that, poſſeſs'd himſelf of divers of the Goods; and over and above, did diſpoſe of a further Quantity of Goods than was contain'd in the Orders of the Earl of *Sandwich*, or his Majeſty's Warrant, to the Value of above two Thouſand Pounds.' For all which Crimes and Miſdemeanors the Commons likewiſe demanded Judgment, &c. of the Lords. 1668. Car. 20 Reſ. 8.

2. Theſe Proceedings and Impeachments were never compleated ſo as to anſwer the Ends of them; they chiefly ſerving to retard other Buſineſs and the Supplies to be granted to the King: Upon which Account he ſent three ſeveral Meſſages to the Houſe of Commons; the Firſt in theſe Words, 'His Majeſty hath been unwilling hitherto to interrupt you in your Proceedings; But conſidering the Poſture in which his Neighbours now are; and that the Spring is already ſo far advanc'd, and that his Allies (as they have great Cauſe) preſs his Majeſty to haſten his Preparations, he holds it abſolutely neceſſary, in reſpect of the Safety as well as the Honour of the Nation, that a Fleet be ſet forth with all Speed, and that Courſe be taken for fortifying his Ports, and Building more Ships: And therefore he doth again earneſtly recommend it to you forthwith to provide for ſuch a Supply as theſe Occaſions ſhall require: And becauſe you have not yet had Satisfaction upon the Bill of Accounts of the former Supply, his Majeſty is very willing That this be collected and iſſu'd for thoſe Purpoſes by ſuch Perſons only as you ſhall think fit.' The ſecond and the third Meſſage were only to inforce this, only in the laſt he let them know that he deſign'd to put a Period to this Seſſion on the 4th of *May*. But finding this Deſign not ſo well reliſh'd, he ſent a fourth Meſſage to them on the 24th of *April* in theſe Words, 'His Majeſty by his former Meſſage thought fit to acquaint you *That he intended the preſent Seſſion of Parliament ſhou'd determine on the 4th of* May; But finding the Proceedings in many important Buſineſſes, now under Agitation, wou'd be loſt, if there ſhou'd be a *Seſſion*; and that many Things not yet foreſeen may happen to induce him to call *The King's Meſſages to the Commons.*

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'call you together again before Winter, hath now thought fit to acquaint 'you, That he intends only an *Adjournment* for three Months; and de- 'ſires you therefore to perfect the Bills for Supplies, and ſuch others as 'may be made ready by the ſaid 4th of *May*, ſo that he may then give 'his Royal Aſſent to them before the Adjournment.

In the mean Time the Commons were employ'd in other Matters, as well as the Supplies; and took into conſideration 'the Informations they 'receiv'd from ſome Counties, particularly *Staffordſhire*, of the inſolent 'Carriage and Abuſes committed by Perſons in ſeveral Places, in inter- 'rupting and diſturbing of Miniſters in their Churches, and holding 'Meetings contrary to Law.' This Houſe that had ſo effectually over-thrown the Earl of *Clarendon*, had ſtill a Majority of the ſame Judgment with his Lordſhip, That *Popery* had its Growth under the Cover of indulging *Proteſtant* Diſſenters; and were ſenſible the King's Motion in his Speech concerning the *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, made them too preſuming in their Liberty, and the *Papiſts* too inſolent in their Expectations: Therefore, upon a ſolemn Debate and Reſolution, they made and preſented an humble Petition to his Majeſty, 'That he wou'd iſſue out his 'Proclamation for Enforcing the Laws againſt *Conventicles*; and that 'Care might be taken for the Preſervation of the Peace againſt all unlaw- 'ful Aſſemblies of *Papiſts* and *Nonconformiſts*.' The King thought himſelf oblig'd to comply with his Commons, and accordingly gave this Anſwer; *I will iſſue forth my Proclamation according to your Deſire*; adding withal, *And I do not doubt but you will take the ſecond Part of my Speech into Conſideration, according to the Vote.* Accordingly he iſſu'd out his Proclamation, while the Parliament was ſitting, declaring, 'That 'upon the Conſideration of the late humble Petition of his Loyal Sub- 'jects the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, and upon Informati- 'on *That divers Perſons, in ſeveral Parts of this Realm, abuſing the 'Clemency which had been us'd towards Perſons not conforming to the 'Worſhip and Government eſtabliſh'd in the Church of* England (even 'whilſt it was under Conſideration to find out a Way for the better Uni- 'on of his Proteſtant Subjects) *have of late frequently and openly, in 'great Numbers, and to the great Diſturbance of the Peace, held unlawful 'Aſſemblies and Conventicles*; Therefore his Majeſty had been pleas'd 'in Council to declare, *That he will by no means permit ſuch notorious 'Contempts of Himſelf and his Laws to go unpuniſh'd*; but does by this 'Proclamation require and charge all Magiſtrates, *&c.* that they be circumſpect and vigilant in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, and put in Executi- 'on all the Laws againſt unlawful *Conventicles*; and that they take care 'of the Peace of his Kingdom, againſt the unlawful Aſſemblies of *Pa- 'piſts* and *Nonconformiſts*.

The King's Proclamation againſt all Diſſenters.

There was a third Thing hapned which very much obſtructed Buſineſs, which was a Difference between the Lords and Commons, occaſion'd by Mr. *Skinner* a conſiderable Merchant of *London*, who having receiv'd great Damages from the *Eaſt-India* Company, had brought the Matter by Petition into the Houſe of Lords originally, by whom he was reliev'd in 5000 Pound Coſts. The Commons hearing of this, after a Debate came to theſe Votes and Reſolves on the 2d of *May*: '1. That the Lords tak- 'ing cognizance of the Matter ſet forth and contain'd in the Petition of 'Thomas *Skinner* Merchant, againſt the Governor and Company of Mer- 'chants trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, concerning the taking away the Pe- 'titioner's Ship and Goods, and aſſaulting his Perſon, and their Lordſhips 'over-ruling the Plea of the ſaid Governor and Company, the ſaid Cauſe 'coming before their Houſe *Originally*, only upon the Complaint of the 'ſaid *Skinner*, being a *Common Plea*, is not agreeable to the Law of the 'Land;

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'Land; and tending to deprive the Subject of his Right, Eaſe and Be-
'nefit due to him by the ſaid Laws. 2. That the Lords taking Cogni-
'zance of the Right and Title of the Iſland in the Petition mention'd,
'and giving Damages thereupon againſt the ſaid Governor and Company,
'is not warranted by the Laws of this Kingdom. 3. That the ſaid *Tho-*
'*mas Skinner*, in commencing and proſecuting a Suit by Petition in the
'Houſe of Lords againſt the Company of Merchants trading to the *Eaſt-*
'*Indies* (wherein ſeveral Members of this Houſe are Parties concern'd
'with the ſaid Company in particular Intereſts and Eſtates) and in pro-
'curing Judgment therein, with Directions to be ſerv'd upon the Gover-
'nor, being a Member of this Houſe; or upon the Deputy Governor of
'the ſaid Company, is a Breach of the Priviledge of this Houſe.' In Concluſion they Order'd the ſaid Mr. *Skinner*, for ſo acting, to be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms.

The *Eaſt-India* Company having petition'd the Commons, as well as Mr. *Skinner* had the Lords, the Commons after their three Votes, further Reſolved, 'That the Petition of the Merchants trading to the *Eaſt-In-*
'*dies*, and the two firſt Votes of this Houſe now paſſed, relating to the
'Juriſdiction of the Lords, be deliver'd by a Meſſage to the Lords Barr,
'with Reaſons for Enforcing the ſaid Votes.' This occaſion'd two or three Conferences with the Peers; in which their Lordſhips were very ſtrict and tenacious as to their Rights of Judicature, and made ſome Reflections upon the Company's Petition to the Houſe of Commons, declaring it *Scandalous*, &c. This rais'd the Ferment, and caus'd the Commons to come to new Votes and Reſolves, as, '1. That the Petition of *The Votes of the Commons upon it.*
'the *Eaſt-India* Company to this Houſe, touching the Proceedings of
'the Houſe of Lords, in the Caſe of *Thomas Skinner*, is not *Scandalous*.
'2. That the Delivery of the ſaid Petition of the *Eaſt-India* Company
'to the Houſe, and the Entertainment thereof, and the Proceedings
'and Votes of this Houſe thereupon, *was no Breach of the Priviledge,*
'*or Encroachment upon the Juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords*; but ve-
'ry proper and fit for this Houſe, *without Breach of the fair Correſpon-*
'*dence*, which ought to be between the two Houſes. 3. That a Meſſage
'be ſent to the Lords to acquaint them, That this Houſe doth take No-
'tice of the Deſire of the Lords at the laſt Conference, *For a good Uni-*
'*on to be kept between both Houſes*: And it is the Opinion of this Houſe,
'That the beſt Expedient to preſerve *ſuch an Union*, is, That all Pro-
'ceedings be forborn upon the Sentence and Judgment of the Lords, in
'the Caſe of *Thomas Skinner* againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company; and that
'Sir *Andrew Riccard*, Sir *Samuel Barnadiſton*, Mr. *Rowland Guywn*, and
'Mr. *Chriſtopher Boone* be ſet at Liberty; this Houſe being unſatisfy'd
'with their Lordſhips Reaſons offer'd at the laſt Conference.' Laſt of all, after a long Debate, they Reſolv'd, 'That whoſoever ſhall be aiding
'or aſſiſting in putting in Execution the Order or Sentence of the Houſe
'of Lords, in the Caſe of *Thomas Skinner* againſt the *Eaſt-India* Com-
'pany, ſhall be deem'd a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the
'Commons of *England*, and an Infringer of the Priviledges of this
'Houſe.

They had no ſooner finiſh'd this Vote, which was on the 8th Day of *May*, but the King by the Uſher of the black Rod, ſent for them to the Houſe of Peers, where he paſs'd theſe following publick Bills, 1. An *Acts paſs'd.*
Act *for raiſing three hundred and ten Thouſand Pounds by an Impoſition on Wines and other Liquors.* 2. An additional Act *againſt the Importation of Foreign Cattle.* 3. An Act *for Proceeding to Judgment on Writs of* Error *brought in the Exchequer.* 4. An Act *for giving Liberty to buy and Export Leather, and Skins tanned or dreſſed.* 5. An Act *for the*

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better Payment of Monies received for the Uſe of the Crown. 6. An Act *for the Encreaſe and Preſervation of Timber within the Foreſt of* Dean. 7. An Act *to regulate the Trade of Silk-Throwing.* Having paſs'd theſe, and ſome private Bills, his Majeſty declar'd 'That it was his Pleaſure, 'that the two Houſes be adjourn'd till the 11th of *Auguſt*; That if he 'cou'd ſo order his Affairs, that they might forbear their aſſembling at 'that Time, when their being in the Country wou'd be ſo neceſſary for 'their private Occaſions, he wou'd give timely Notice, that they might 'ſpare Attendance.' Thus, without any other Speech from the King, and without any at all from the Speaker, the Parliament broke up, having ſate ſince the laſt Meeting in *February*, near three Months, and ſo concluded the Eighth Seſſion, or rather Ninth Meeting of the Second and Long Parliament; and tho' it was only adjourn'd at preſent, and again a ſecond Time, yet it was at laſt Prorogu'd till the 19th of *October* 1669. So that it had a Receſs and Intermiſſion of no leſs than a Year and above five Months. Of the breaking up of this Parliament, and of another Affair at the ſame Time, we ſhall mention the Words of the Earl of *Arlington*, who in a Letter to Sir *William Temple* abroad, dated *May* the 8th, ſays, 'His Majeſty had reſolv'd the Parliament ſhou'd adjourn 'on *Monday* laſt the 4th, but an unhappy Difference falling out betwixt 'the Lords and Commons upon a great Point of their Priviledges, their 'Sitting has been ſpun on to this Day, tho' not without Hopes of our 'finally riſing to Morrow. Our long talk'd of Miſcarriages have this 'Week been finiſh'd with a very unhappy one in the Queen; after twenty 'Weeks going, and raiſing the dejected Hopes of the whole Nation, which 'even this Misfortune hath ſomewhat reviv'd.

The End of the Eighth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

The Queen's ſecond Miſcarriage.

The Progreſs of the French *King.*

3. During the ſitting of the Parliament, *England* as well as other Places, was not a little concern'd at the Deſigns and Progreſs of the *French* King. The *Triple League* concluded, and ready to be compleated between *England*, *Sweden* and *Holland*, had given a manifeſt Check to his Attempts in *Flanders*. Therefore he reſolv'd to turn his Arms another Way, and poſſeſs himſelf of the *Franche County*, which then belong'd to *Spain*. But to make the Thing more plauſible, he thought fit to communicate the Deſign in a Letter to the *States-General*, wherein he told them, 'That the two principal Motives that prompted him to 'this Expedition, were, *Firſt*, the giving their High Mightineſſes more 'effectual Means to diſpoſe the *Spaniards* to Peace. *Secondly*, his own 'Security, upon advice that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Vienna* endeavour'd to engage the Emperor to ſend an Army into *Burgundy*: But 'declaring withal, that how proſperous ſoever this Expedition might be, 'he wou'd not, upon that Account, expect higher or more advantagious Conditions of Peace, than ſuch as he had offer'd with Relation to 'the Equivalent or Alternative, formerly mention'd.' Accordingly he proceeded with a rapid Courſe, and made an entire Conqueſt of the *Franche-County* in a Fortnight, and in the worſt Seaſon of the Year. After which, flush'd with theſe Succeſſes, his Miniſters began to alter their Language, and to expreſs their Reſentment of the Meaſures lately concerted between *England* and *Holland*; and talk'd as if the inſiſting upon their Maſter's former Promiſe was *Preſcribing him Laws*. In one of the Letters from the *French* Secretary *Lionne* to Ambaſſador *D'Eſtrades*, he ſays upon this Occaſion, *I do not believe the King to be of a Temper to ſuffer himſelf to be ſhav'd againſt the Grain, by any Body.* In another he pretends, *That the King his Maſter was entirely diſengag'd of his Offer of a Truce, by the Refuſal of the* Spaniſh *Governor* de Caſtel-Rodrigo. He adds, that he told the *Dutch* Ambaſſador *Van Beuningen*, in

in his first Conference with him, *That the Peace wou'd infallibly have been made upon either of the Alternatives, if the League of the* Hague *had not been concluded: But that League having given a Prospect to the World, which might induce People to think, that whatever the King wou'd have done of his own Motion, and to gain the Glory of MODERATION, which now was the only Thing he wanted, wou'd now be the Effect of COMPULSION for fear of the League; This appear'd to him of so hard Digestion for a Prince of the King's Temper, who preferr'd his Reputation before any other Consideration, that he knew not what to say to it.* 1668. Car. 20 Ref. 9.

This last Expedition was an Allarm to the *Imperialists* and *Switzers*, as well as the *Spaniards*, which caus'd them a little to consider their own Safety. *England* and *Holland* were more nearly concern'd for the saving of the *Spanish Netherlands*; and, besides the forming of the *Triple League*, they us'd all Endeavours to bring *France* and *Spain* to an Accommodation. In order to effect so great a Work, Sir *William Temple*, who had been so fortunate in the last League, was again employ'd, who us'd all Instances with the Marquess *de Castel-Rodrigo*, the *Spanish* Governor at *Brussels*, to submit to one of the Alternatives propos'd by the *French* King, as the surest Means to preserve the rest of the *Netherlands*, and of giving Peace to *Europe*. In this Sir *William* met with several Difficulties; for the Governor and the *Spaniards* were at first very obstinate and out of Humour, and full of Exclamations against the unjust Invasions of the *French*, insisted upon the Equity of the Renunciations, and expected that, by Vertue of the *Triple Alliance*, *England* and *Holland* shou'd immediately force the *French* King to quit all his Conquests. Sir *William* soon satisfy'd them in several Points, and by his Penetration, discover'd the Matter in general to stand thus, as he wrote to the Earl of *Arlington*; 'It seems plain that *France* desired to pursue the War, but 'feared *England* engaging in it; and to hinder that, wou'd use all the 'Address that cou'd be, to lay the Obstruction of the Peace upon the '*Spaniards:* That the latter, on the other Side, desir'd to continue the 'War, provided they might be sure of the Assistance of *England* and '*Holland*; and that, to that End, if they play'd their Game well, they 'wou'd be sure to retort the Address of *France* upon them, and lay 'the Blame of the War at their Doors; without which they had no 'Hopes of *Holland*'s falling into their Party: Who whether they were 'partial to the *French* or no in the Quarrel, were partial to the Peace, 'and wou'd not be drawn to share in the War, *but upon the last Neces-* 'sity.' However Sir *William* took incessant Pains to remove all Difficulties and Impediments with the *Spanish* Governor *de Castel-Rodrigo*, who was once so much out of Humour with the *Dutch* Proceedings, that he told Sir *William* freely, *That if he were, at this Juncture, in the Council of* Spain, *he wou'd without delay give his Advice, for making Peace with* France, *by delivering up all* Flanders *to them, rather than suffer such a Treatment from all their Neighbours, who were more interested in the Loss of it, than the* Spaniards. It seems there was some Design of quitting the *Netherlands*, and receiving an Equivalent on the other Side of *France*, which must have been fatal to *Holland*, and most shocking to *England*. At length the Governor was prevail'd upon to accept of one of the Alternatives offer'd by the *French*, which prov'd to be that which was least eligible to the *English* and *Dutch*, namely the yielding up all those Places the *French* had already conquer'd in *Flanders*, of which Mention will be presently made.

Sir William Temple *employ'd to endeavour a Peace.*

This main Point obtain'd, a Treaty was soon set on foot between the two contending Monarchs of *France* and *Spain*, and *Aix-la-Chapelle* was

The Treaty of Aix.

1668. Car. 20 Ref. 9. was the Place agreed on and appointed for the Meeting of the ſeveral Commiſſioners and Plenipotentiaries. Upon which Occaſion, Sir *William Temple* remov'd from *Bruſſels*, and arriv'd at that Place on the 27th of *April*, with the Character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary from his *Britannick* Majeſty, and with a very pompous and ſplendid Appearance. Not to enter into the Mazes of this Treaty, as in the laſt, by the Diligence of Sir *William* and others it was brought to a Head within leſs than a Fortnight. By this Treaty 'the *French* were to keep Poſſeſſion, 'in full Soveraignty, of the Towns, Places, and Forts they had taken 'during the laſt Campaign, namely, *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Doway*, '*Fort-de-Scarpe*, *Tournay*, *Oudenard*, *Lille*, *Armentiers*, *Courtray*, '*Bergues*, and *Furnes*, with their Dependencies; on Condition, that '*France* ſhou'd reſtore to *Spain* the *Franche-County*, and all other Places 'which the Arms of *France* might have ſeiz'd on to the Day of the pro-'claiming of the Peace, after the exchanging of the Ratifications; which 'was to be done by the laſt Day of *May:* Provided alſo that the King 'of *England* and the *States-General* did withal oblige themſelves by a 'Treaty to warrant the King of *Spain* from all future Pretences, or In-'vaſion to be made by the King of *France* in any of his Territories, for 'ever hereafter:' Which they accordingly perform'd. And as to this Treaty, 'all Kings, Princes, and Potentates might give to their moſt '*Chriſtian* and *Catholick* Majeſties their Promiſes and Aſſurances of Gua-'ranty.'

The Concluſion of it.

At the Concluſion of the Treaty, Sir *William Temple* takes Notice of ſome things to the Earl of *Arlington* which ought not to be forgotten; declaring his Opinion to him, 'That ſince no Supplies were arriv'd 'from *Spain*, nor hardly expected in any Time; ſince *Holland* was ſo 'deſperately bent upon the Peace, without any Reſpect to the *Spaniſh* 'Honour or Intereſt, further than joyn'd immediately with their own; 'ſince *Spain* had not been able to find Means to engage *England* or *Swe-'den* in their Quarrels, by Supplies neceſſary to both Crowns; ſince the 'King of *England* was not in any Condition of entering into the Buſi-'neſs ſingle, upon Conſiderations of Honour, Juſtice, or remote Dan-'ger; and conſequently, ſince upon the Projects made at *Paris*, it grew 'evident to *Spain*, *that they muſt ſign the firſt Project of Peace, or do 'worſe:* Upon all theſe Conſiderations it was his Opinion that the *Spa-'niard*'s Buſineſs was to end frankly, and as ſoon as poſſible.' Afterwards he ſays to his Lordſhip in the ſame Letter, 'I have been the more 'earneſt in bringing this Matter to an Iſſue here, (which the *Holland* Am-'baſſador ſays had never been done without me) becauſe I conceiv'd that 'not only you deſir'd it in *England*, but *that the Peace was neceſſary 'for the Conſtitution of his Majeſty's preſent Affairs:* And ſince he has 'had the Glory of making two Peaces ſo important, we have now no-'thing to wiſh but to ſee him in a Condition to make War as well as 'Peace, whenever the Honour and Intereſt of his Crowns ſhall make it 'neceſſary: For that Neceſſity can, I ſuppoſe, be no ways long avoided, 'but by our being in a Poſture to welcome it whenever it comes, and 'to make Advantage of it. And I think the beſt Time to fall into 'Counſels tending to this great End, will be after the Concluſion of this 'general Peace, when no Engagement abroad forces his Majeſty to have 'ſo much Need of Mony from his People: For the Time to repair the 'Harms that Storms have done in a Houſe, is in fair Weather; and to 'mend a leaky Ship, ſhe muſt be brought aſhore. God grant we may take 'Warning by the poor *Spaniard*'s Example, whoſe ill Conduct of late in 'the Government has ſo far ſubjected them to their Neighbours Diſeſteem, 'Inſolence, and Humour, as well as to their Conqueſts, Violence, and

Sir W. Temple's *Letter to the* E. *of* Arlington.

'Oppreſ-

'Oppreſſion; which I confeſs have been enough to put them upon ſuch 1668.
'deſperate Counſels as your Lordſhip mentions, *of giving up all to the*
'French *in theſe Countries, rather than be bare Guardians of other's* Car. 20
'*Frontiers.* And yet all theſe Misfortunes are the natural Conſequences Reſ. 9.
'of their Conduct, and will never fail befalling any Prince that follows
'their Example. I wiſh *That* might befall the *French*, to temper a little
'ſuch an *over-grown Greatneſs*; but I doubt it much from the preſent
'King's Diſpoſition, among whoſe Qualities thoſe of *Careleſſneſs*, or *la-*
'*viſhing his Treaſures*, I am afraid are none. Therefore I wiſh him en-
'gag'd in ſome very charming Pleaſures, or elſe in ſome more difficult
'Enterprizes than his laſt, and where we may not have ſo great a Share.'

4. Sir *William Temple* having brought the Negotiation at *Aix* to a happy Concluſion, remov'd from thence to *Bruſſels*, where he compleated the Ratifications, and purſu'd the Directions he had receiv'd from the Earl of *Arlington*, about the Subſidies promis'd by *England* and *Holland*, on the Part of *Spain*, to the Crown of *Sweden*, in order to engage the latter in the *Triple Alliance*. Upon the Confidence of theſe Promiſes, Count *Dona*, as was formerly hinted, went into *England*; where, upon the Exchange of the Treaty, the *Engliſh* Miniſter and *Dutch* Ambaſſador then in *London* gave him an Act, in which, in Concert with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, they undertook to get thoſe Subſidies made good by the Marqueſs *de Caſtel-Rodrigo*, the *Spaniſh* Governor of *Flanders*. But when Sir *William* demanded of the Marqueſs the Performance of that Engagement, he declin'd the Matter, and privately told Sir *William*, *That the* Dutch *had croſs'd him in an Alliance he was making laſt Year with* Sweden, *becauſe they wou'd make themſelves Maſters of the Affair; and now wou'd buy the* Swedes *Dependence at the Coſt of* Spain. *That he had all the Reaſon in the World to be ſatisfy'd with the King of* England's *Conduct of this Affair, but little in the* Dutch: *That he knew no Reaſon why they ſhou'd not pay what they had promis'd to* Sweden *after the Treaty of* Breda; *nor why all the Mony* Spain *cou'd ſpare ſhou'd not be given to his* Britannick *Majeſty, upon a nearer League, who was the only Prince that had proceeded affectionately and generouſly in the* Spaniſh *Affairs; and who was the beſt able to ſupport them, in caſe he were in a Condition to make War without his Peoples Purſes: And that at laſt, if it muſt be paid by* Spain, *it ſhou'd be all laid in the King of* England's *Hands to diſpoſe of as he pleas'd.* Sir *William* return'd the Marqueſs Thanks for his obliging Expreſſions in what concern'd his Maſter; but deſired him *to take it as a Ground in all the Superſtructures to be made upon the preſent Foundations,* " *That* Spain *muſt not diſoblige* Holland, *even to oblige* " England;' *but diſſemble any Reſentments they had given him, and ſacrifice them to the Advantage both* England *and* Spain *received by their Separation from* France.

His Diſcourſe with the Governor of Flanders.

Sir *William* having ſatisfy'd the Governor in all Points, he not long after left *Bruſſels*, and return'd through *Holland* into *England:* Upon his Arrival at *London*, he was receiv'd with all the Demonſtrations of Favour and Reſpect, both by the King and Court; the People ſeeming generally pleas'd with the late Counſels and Negotiations, in which he had ſo great a Share. And if he had been as forward to puſh his Fortune, as he was to deſerve it, he wou'd not have loſt the Advantage of coming home with the common Opinion of great Merits. Upon this Occaſion he modeſtly wrote thus to his Father, 'I cannot imagine why I ſhou'd 'pretend to have deſerv'd more than my *Pay* of the King, for which I 'ſerv'd him in my late Employments; and if I got *Honour* by them, 'twas ſo much more than I had to reckon upon. Beſides, I ſhou'd be 'ſorry

His Arrival London.

His Letter to his Father.

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'ſorry to ask Mony of him, *at a Time when*, for ought I can judge by 'the Cry of the Court, *He wants it more than I do.*' In another Part of the ſame Letter, he lets his Father know, 'After the Concluſion of 'the *Triple Alliance* and the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, I was at an End 'of my Ambition; having ſeen *Flanders* ſaved, as if it had been by one 'of the Miracles the Houſe of *Auſtria*, they ſay, has been us'd to; and 'the general Intereſts of *Chriſtendom* ſecured againſt the Power and At-'tempts of *France*; and at the ſame Time the Conſideration and Ho-'nour of his Majeſty and his Crown abroad, rais'd to a Degree it has 'not been in for ſome Ages paſt, and we had no Reaſon to expect it ſhou'd be 'in ſome Ages to come, upon the Decline it felt after the Buſineſs of 'Chatham, and the Peace of *Breda* that ſucceeded it.' And here it may be ſaid, that from this Time *England* had the beſt Opportunity of holding the Ballance of *Europe*, which if it had immovably obſerv'd, and with reaſonable Vigour, it might have ſav'd the ſpending of thoſe Millions of Treaſure, and Oceans of Blood, that have ſince happen'd. And for a Concluſion of this Period, we may take Notice of another Thing; That whatever the *Spaniards* loſt by the late *French* Ravages, the *Engliſh* gain'd a very great private Benefit by it: For one *Brewer*, ſaid to be of *Engliſh* Parents, with about fifty *Walloons*, who wrought and dy'd fine Woollen Cloths, thereupon came into *England*; and the King, after the Example of King *Edward* III. and Queen *Elizabeth*, entertain'd them, and gave them the Benefit of natural-born Subjects: And by them the *Engliſh* were in a few Years Time inſtructed to make and dye fine Woollen Cloths cheaper by Forty *per Cent.* than they cou'd before; not only to the Advantage of the *Engliſh* at home, but in Foreign Vent abroad, which before had been enjoy'd by the *Dutch*.

Improvement of the Engliſh *Wooll Trade.*

5. All Wars, and Rumours of Wars being at an End, the King had now full Leiſure and Opportunity to cultivate the Arts of Peace, which he did by promoting and improving hopeful Projects, Inventions and Diſcoveries, as well as the Variety of Exerciſes, Pleaſures and Diverſions. The latter he now enjoy'd after a more uninterrupted Manner than before the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was ſucceeded, tho' not in Place, yet in Favour, by a more eaſie Maſter the Duke of *Buckingham*; a Man ſo addicted and abandon'd, as well as active and fertile in the moſt criminal Pleaſures, that he, and his true Aſſociate the Earl of *Rocheſter*, ſeem'd capable of corrupting any Court in the World. The Nature of the Court, and the Politicks of theſe Times, are handſomly glanc'd at by Sir *William Temple*, who well knew both: For tho' he was ſenſible that the Meaſures taken as to Foreign Potentates were very right and honourable, yet he was not ignorant that the Spirit and Vigour of the great Men began much to be enervated, and the Court to be overrun with Luxury and Extravagancy. And as to the late Eſtabliſhments abroad, he had reaſon to ſuſpect the Duration of them; declaring that Sir *Thomas Clifford* confidently ſaid to a Friend of his, upon all the Joy that appear'd at the Concluſion of the *Triple-Alliance*; *Well, for all this Noiſe, we muſt yet have another War with the* Dutch *before it be long.* As to the Government, what he writes to the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, *Oct* 2. is worthy of Remembrance: 'If Men ſee the Way to riſe, is 'by Worth and virtuous Qualities, the Genius of a Nation will run 'that Way, and produce great Subjects: If they can hope to do it by vi-'cious Humours, by little Arts, by warm Purſuits every Man of his 'own Intereſt; the whole Spirit runs into thoſe Courſes, and perhaps 'the faſter, from the Propenſion of our Natures rather to Ill than to 'Good.' In another Place in the ſame Letter, he ſays; 'Without great 'Virtue

The Nature of the Court of England.

'Virtue and Steadineſs in the Government, and Reſolution of going 1668.
'through with whatſoever is thought fit and juſt, whereby Men may
'ſee, that the only Way to riſe is to deſerve it; all Tempering of Fa- Car. 20
'ctions, taking off Perſons, and Soothing of Parties, is but Patching up Reſ. 9.
'an Ill Houſe: I mean not *Virtue*, in a peaking, formal, *Presbyterian*
'Senſe, but that which the greateſt Nations of Old ſo politickly favour'd
'and renown'd, which conſiſted in thoſe Qualities, that made Men fit
'for the Service of their Princes and Country, by ſtrong and healthful
'Diſpoſitions both of Bodies and Minds.

The King's Progreſſes.

This Summer the King, the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, &c. made ſeveral Progreſſes into the Country, to *Newmarket*, to *Bagſhot*, to *Portſmouth*, again to *Newmarket* and *Audley-Inn*, to *Ipſwich*, *Harwich* and other Places, partly for the Diverſion of Hunting, *&c.* and partly for Service in viewing of Ports and the Strengths of the Nation. The Navy was the King's particular Delight, and was ſingularly well known and underſtood by him; and tho' it was in the Time of a profound Peace, yet he thought it for the Honour of the Nation to ſet out a conſiderable Part of it this Summer, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Allen*. Having, with his Royal Highneſs, viſited and view'd the Fleet in the *Downs*, on the 23d of *June* he order'd Sir *Thomas* to ſail through the *Channel* to the *Mediterranean* Sea, where he arriv'd at the City and Port of *Algiers*. Here threatning the Place, they ſoon made an Offer of Releaſing all the *Engliſh* Captives, and renew'd their former Peace with *England*, upon good Additional Articles to this Effect,

A Fleet ſent into the Mediterranean.

'1. That all their Captains ſhou'd be commanded to let all *Engliſh* Veſſels
'paſs without Damage or Moleſtation, upon their ſhewing *Engliſh* Co-
'lours: If in any Veſſel the *Engliſh* were equal to the Strangers, they
'ſhou'd then be free; if the Strangers exceeded the *Engliſh*, then law-
'ful Prize; yet, if they cou'd ſhew an *Engliſh* Paſs, to be let go. 2. That
'none of their little Frigates with Oars ſhou'd ſtop any Veſſel laden with
'Proviſions or Ammunition for *Tangier*. 3. That they ſhall not deliver
'any of their little Frigates with Oars to any of the *Sally* Men to
'make uſe of. 4. That if any of the little Veſſels intended to go to
'*Tangier*, they ſhou'd take a Paſs from the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Algiers*.'
From thence Sir *Thomas Allen* ſail'd for *Tripoli*, at whoſe Appearance the King of the Place ſent out a Brigantine, and Favourite of his, to bid him welcome; aſſuring him of his Readineſs to keep and maintain the ancient Friendſhip, and obſerve and continue the Articles already agreed on.

Several Promotions, &c.

We have but little more to add in this Year but an Account of ſome Promotions, Removals, and Deaths of particular Perſons. After the general Peace of *Europe*, to maintain an amicable Correſpondence, the King ſent over Sir *William Godolphin*, lately Knighted by him, to reſide as his Ambaſſador in the Court of *Spain*; and ſent Sir *Edward Spragg* as Envoy to the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, upon his late Entry on the Government of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. Sir *Daniel Harvey* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; the Earl of *Carliſle* Ambaſſador to the Crown of *Sweden*, with Sir *Samuel Moreland* as Envoy; and Mr. *Ralph Mountague*, Maſter of the Horſe to the Queen, was ſent firſt Envoy, and ſhortly after Ambaſſador to the King of *France*. After theſe, Sir *William Temple* was again ſent Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the *States-General*, where he was preſented by them with a Gold Chain and Medal of Six Hundred Pounds Value, and his Brother with another Chain and Medal worth two Hundred Pounds, in Conſideration of the good and acceptable Services done to the *States* in the late Conjuncture of Time. About the ſame Time the famous Monſieur *Colbert*, late Plenipotentiary at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, came over as Ambaſſador from the *French* King; and made

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made his publick Entry into *London* in *Auguſt*; as did, not long after, Signiour *Pietro Morcenigo*, Ambaſſador from the State of *Venice*. As to Promotions, on the 22d of *May* Sir *John Vaughan*, who was ſo zealous againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*, was made a Serjeant at Law, and the next Day Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*. Upon the Death of the Lord Viſcount *Fitz-Harding*, Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold, his Office was in *June* conferr'd upon Sir *Thomas Clifford*, formerly Comptroller of the Houſhold, and the Office of Comptroller given to *Francis* Lord *Newport*, who was likewiſe ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. In *September*, the Duke of *Monmouth* in *Hyde* Park was plac'd by his Majeſty in the Command of Captain of his Life-Guard of Horſe, void by the Reſignation of the Lord *Gerard* of *Brandon*. Sir *John Trevor*, who had return'd from his Employment as Envoy Extraordinary to the *French* King, and had given his Majeſty a ſatisfactory Account of his Negotiation in that Court, was on the 29th of *September* ſworn one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, upon the Reſignation of Sir *William Morrice*, who had ten Thouſand Pounds given him, and continu'd one of the King's Privy-Council.

The Deaths of the Earl of Northumberland,

As to the Deaths of conſiderable and eminent Men this Year, we ſhall take notice of Four; and Firſt *Algernoon Percy*, the noted Earl of *Northumberland*, formerly much honour'd, and highly in Favour with the late pious King, but afterwards ſo open a Deſerter, that his Memory has been branded with Ingratitude, as well as Diſloyalty. The Lord *Clarendon* ſays of him, *If he had thought the King as much above Him, as he thought Himſelf above other conſiderable Men, he wou'd have been a good Subject.* His high Temper caus'd him to be a great Inſtrument in the late Miſeries; notwithſtanding which he was receiv'd into Favour with the preſent King, and dy'd in Peace, being within two Years of the laſt of that famous and ancient Family of the *Percys*. The next was Sir *William Waller*, a Gentleman who had ſtill a deeper Hand in the late Civil Wars, who having been diſguſted at the Court, joyn'd with the Long Parliament, and perform'd ſuch martial Exploits for them, that for ſome Time be gain'd the Name of *William the Conqueror*. Yet he was afterwards both laid aſide, and impriſon'd by the *Independent* Party, ſo that at the King's Reſtoration he was look'd upon as a Sort of Royaliſt, and had laſt of all a ſolemn Funeral in *Weſtminſter*-Abby; but all his Atchievements that were hung over his Tomb, were ſhortly after taken down by the *Colledge of Arms*, and thrown aſide as falſe Things. The other Two were both eminent and celebrated Poets, Sir *William Davenant*, and Sir *John Denham*: The former was born in the City of *Oxford*, and educated in that Univerſity; and tho' he wanted much of Academical Learning, yet he made as high and noble Flights in the Poetical Faculty as Fancy cou'd advance without it: For which, upon the Death of *Ben Johnſon*, he was made Poet Laureat to the late King, to whom he was often ſerviceable both in a Military and a Civil Way, and receiv'd the Honour of Knigthood. After the preſent King's Return, he became the chief Reſtorer of the Stage both by his Dramatick Writings, and his active Contrivances; yet he was further diſtinguiſh'd by that famous Heroick Poem of his call'd *Gondibert*, which was particularly celebrated by thoſe admiral Poets, *Cowley* and *Waller*: He dy'd in the 63d Year of his Age, and was bury'd in *Weſtminſter*, and near that other Poet, now to be mention'd, Sir *John Denham*, a Gentleman of a good Family, who likewiſe had his Education in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards became well known to the late and preſent King; by the laſt of whom he was made Surveyor-General of all his Majeſty's Buildings, in the Room of Mr. *Inigo Jones*, deceaſed, and afterwards Knight of the *Bath*

Sir William Waller,

Sir William Davenant.

And Sir John Denham.

at

at the Solemnity of the Coronation. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and a fine Genius, tho' he wrote not much; and was highly applauded and admired for one particular Poem call'd *Coopers Hill*; of which Mr. *Dryden*, who ſucceeded Sir *William Davenant* in the Laurel, ſays, *That for the Majeſty of Stile, it is, and ever will be, the exact Standard of good Writing.*

Philips. Temple. Gazettes. Calamy. &c.

VI. 1. The following Year was a Time of Peace, Pleaſure and Enjoyment, a Year in which there cou'd be nothing more calm and quiet than the Surface of the *Engliſh* Affairs, had not the future Effects of its ſilent Motions made it appear, that tho' Action fail'd, Counſel ſufficiently prevail'd: Upon which Account Envoys and Ambaſſadors were frequently employ'd, a common Forerunner of active Deſigns. About the Beginning of the Year, the Earl of *Carliſle*, who was ſent Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Sweden*, for a while repos'd himſelf at *Copenhagen*, in which Court he was well known: Here he receiv'd a Letter ſent after him by the King of *England*, in Return to a very obliging Letter from his Majeſty of *Denmark*; with the Receipt of which, the King of *Denmark* was ſo well pleas'd and ſatisfy'd, that at the ſeaſonable Inſtance of his Excellency, he caus'd his Orders to be ſent to all his Ports, particularly to his Cuſtom-Houſes and Havens in *Norway*, for Reſtoring the *Engliſh* Liberty of Trading in any Part of his Dominions, with the ſame Priviledges they formerly enjoy'd, according to the Treaty concluded in the Year 1660. Being arriv'd at *Sweden*, among other Tranſactions, he had a ſpecial Audience, in which he preſented the King of *Sweden* with the *Engliſh George* and *Garter*, worn by the Knights of that Order; which the King receiv'd with great Expreſſions of Joy; and was after that, by a particular Commiſſion to the Earl, ſolemnly and publickly preſented and inveſted by him with all the peculiar Habits and Ornaments belonging to the ſaid Order. 1669. Car. 21 Reſ. 10

Several Embaſſies.

Several other Ambaſſadors were employ'd in other Courts, as Mr. *Montague* in *France*, Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*, and Sir *Peter Wyche* in *Muſcovy*, &c. but none was more vigilant than Sir *William Temple* in *Holland*, who took daily Pains to ſtrengthen, or at leaſt ſecure the *Triple Alliance*, which began to be in ſome Danger this Year, as well from the *Spaniards* ſupine Neglect of paying their principal Subſidies to the *Swedes*, as from the uncertain Meaſures of the Court of *England*, which began to be much influenc'd by the *French* Ambaſſador Monſieur *Colbert*. Sir *William*, about the End of *April*, made ſome remarkable Diſcovery, which he thought fit to communicate to the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, and to him alone, and which may here properly be inſerted in his own Words: 'The preſent Subject is ſo delicate, that I can hardly 'tell how to touch it my ſelf, or to truſt it in any other Hands but your 'Lordſhip's.——Monſieur *De Wit* came to me, as he ſaid, upon a par-'ticular Viſit, as a *Friend*, not a *Miniſter:* But the Occaſion of it at 'preſent he wou'd confeſs, was, to acquaint me with a Converſation he 'had lately had with Monſieur *Puffendorf*, a *Swediſh* Agent, who paſs'd 'this Way from *Paris* to his own Country: That he had been ſome 'Time at the *French* Court ſince our Meaſures taken by the *Triple Al-'liance*, and the Negotiations ſet on foot with the *Spaniards*. That the 'Miniſters in *France* had taken much Pains to perſwade him, "That *Swe-*"*den* wou'd find their Account very ill in purſuing thoſe Meaſures: That "*Spain* wou'd fail them, in what was pretended from them; and that "*Holland* alone wou'd not be able to ſupport them, or the Meaſures "they had raſhly taken:" And to make this good, the Miniſters there 'had at length told him (but as a Secret only for the Service and Infor-

Sir William Temple's *Care, and Letter to the Lord Keeper.*

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‘ mation of the Court of *Sweden*) “ That *England* wou’d certainly fail “ them; and was already chang’d in the Courſe of all thoſe Counſels “ they had taken with *Holland* and *Sweden*, tho’ they did not think fit “ to let any Thing of it appear; and the *Secret* was yet in very few “ Hands, either in the *French* or the *Engliſh* Court.” That when this ‘ Agent ſeem’d incredulous of all this Story, and to ſuſpect that it was ‘ Artificial, and only intended to give an Umbrage or falſe Light to the ‘ Court of *Sweden*, and thereby help them to make the firſt falſe Step; ‘ Monſieur *Turenne* at laſt ſhew’d him a Letter from Monſieur *Colbert* ‘ their Ambaſſador, wherein he gave an Account of “ the happy Succeſ- “ ſes he had met with in his Negotiations in the *Engliſh* Court, of the good “ Diſpoſitions there, and eſpecially thoſe of ſome of the chief Miniſters: “ with the Addition of theſe Words, *And I have at laſt made them ſen- “ ſible of the whole Extent of his Majeſty’s Liberality.*

After Sir *William* had made ſome Excuſes for the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, and clear’d himſelf from the leaſt Knowledge of the Matter, Monſieur *de Wit* proceeded and ſaid, ‘ That he had been very ſuſpicious when he ‘ firſt enter’d into the Miniſtry, but had been ſo often deceiv’d by it, he ‘ had cured himſelf of that Quality. That he knew very well it had been ‘ ſaid among ſome Foreign Miniſters here ſome Months ſince, *That it ‘ muſt be confeſs’d, there has been for nine Months the greateſt Miniſtry in ‘ the World, in* England; as if they believ’d ſome Change had befallen ‘ our Counſels before the laſt Year ended. That for his Part, who went ‘ to the Subſtantial as near as he cou’d, and the plaineſt Way; he had ‘ made but one Reflection, and kept that as much as he cou’d to himſelf: ‘ Which was, “ That after my Embaſſy hither had been reſolv’d in *Eng- “ land*, to ſupport and improve the Ends of our laſt Alliances, and to en- “ gage the Emperor and chief Princes of the Empire, as well as *Spain* “ in the Support of them; he cou’d not but wonder to find me engag’d “ of late by my Orders from Court, ſo warmly in a *Chicane* about ſuch “ a Trifle, as that of *Surinam*; and in ſo many eager Diſputes about the “ Pretenſions of our *Eaſt-India* Company, which were fitter for Mer- “ chants than for Miniſters: And look’d, as if we had them more at “ Heart, than the Purſuit of the Publick Intereſts, that were thought ſo “ neceſſary for *Chriſtendom*, at my firſt coming over. But after all, for “ his Part, he wou’d go on conſtantly upon the Foot of our laſt Alliance, “ as the beſt Ground of our common Safety; and believ’d that the *States* “ wou’d do ſo too, ’till his Majeſty or his Miniſters ſhou’d let them plainly “ ſee, *he had chang’d his Meaſures.*

The Arrival of the Prince of Tuſcany.

2. In *England*, while Pleaſures, Diverſions and Entertainments abounded, on the End of *March* there arriv’d the famous *Coſmo de Medicis* Prince of *Tuſcany*, whoſe Deſign was to viſit and view the moſt conſiderable Countreys and Places in *Europe*. Removing from *Portugal* and *Spain*, he landed at *Plymouth*, where he was honourably receiv’d by Sir *John Skelton* the Governor, and repairing to *Exeter*, he was ſolemnly complimented and attended by the Mayor and his Brethren. On the firſt of *April* he came to *Salisbury*, where he was waited on by the Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Mayor and Aldermen in their Habits, and the next Day was magnificently entertain’d by the Earl at his Houſe in *Wilton*: And proceeding on his Road, he was met and complimented in the King’s Name at *Brentford*, by the Lord Viſcount *Mandeville* in one of his Majeſty’s Coaches; and coming to *London* in private, he was at his Arrival attended by Sir *William Killigrew* with a Compliment from the Queen, by the Earl of *Peterborough* from the Duke of *York*, and from the Dutcheſs by her Maſter of the Horſe Sir *William Powel*. At the End of the Month,

Month, his Highneſs went along with the King, and the Duke and Prince *Rupert* to *Newmarket*; and having diverted himſelf with the Recreations of that pleaſant Place, he went to viſit the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was receiv'd with all imaginable Reſpect, being attended at his Lodgings, and complimented in the Name of the Univerſity by the two Divinity Profeſſors, Dr. *Gunning* and Dr. *Pearſon*, accompany'd by all the young Noblemen Students, and likewiſe by the Mayor and Aldermen from the Town. The next Morning, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Duport*, with the Heads and the Proctors, ſtood ready in their Formalities to receive his Highneſs in the Publick *Schools*, all the Scholars being rang'd on each Side of the Way. The Univerſity Orator, Dr. *Widdrington*, entertain'd him with a publick Speech at the Gate, from whence he was conducted into the *Regent-Houſe*, where was held a *Congregation* for creating *Degrees* in all Faculties on this Occaſion, by the particular Command of his Majeſty, where a ſecond Speech was made to him by the ſame Orator. In the Afternoon he was pleas'd to be preſent at a *Philoſophy-Act* appointed for that Purpoſe, which was perform'd to the ſingular Satisfaction of his Highneſs and the whole Auditory.

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His Reception at Cambridge,

On the 3d of *May* his Highneſs arriv'd late at Night at *Oxford*, and refuſing the Lodgings offer'd him by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Fell*, went to be more private in the *Angel-Inn*; where the next Morning he was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors in their Scarlet to compliment him, and to know his Pleaſure when he wou'd be at leiſure to be receiv'd in *Convocation*. In the mean Time they waited on him to ſhew him moſt of the Colledges, where he was receiv'd by the reſpective Societies, and complimented with Speeches. In the Afternoon the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors went again to his Lodgings, and conducted him thence to the *Convocation*, his Highneſs being pleas'd to walk all the Way on foot, through the Ranks of Scholars plac'd on each Side from his Lodgings to the *Schools*. The Maſters of Arts being ſet in the *Convocation-Houſe* attended there his Arrival, upon which the Convocation began, the Prince being firſt ſeated in a Chair of State provided for that Occaſion on the right Hand of the Vice-Chancellor: Then the publick Orator, Dr. *South*, made him an Oration, which ended, and ſeveral Academical Affairs diſpatcht, to ſatisfy his Highneſs of the Manner of acting in thoſe Aſſemblies; his Phyſician, a Doctor of *Bononia*, was incorporated and admitted to the ſame Degree. Thence the Prince was conducted to the new Theatre, almoſt finiſh'd, and ſo to the Publick Library, where he had a View of the choiceſt Manuſcripts, Coins and other Rarities of that Place; and hence to the ſeveral *Schools*, in moſt of which the Profeſſors and Lecturers were reading in their ſeveral Faculties, and Diſputations held in the others. His Highneſs was particularly pleas'd to take a Seat in that of *Geometry*, and to hear a learned Lecture read by Dr. *Wallis*; and having heard ſome Diſputations in the *School of Tongues*, and in that of *Natural Philoſophy*, he was entertain'd in the *Muſick School* with Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick; and at ſeven in the Evening was re-conducted to his Lodgings by the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, who attended him next Morning, and took their leave upon his departing that Day for *Windſor*, and ſo to *London*.

And at Oxford.

A few Days after, his Highneſs was carry'd by the King into *Hyde-Park* to take a View of the three Troops of his Majeſty's Horſe-Guards, and ſeven of the Regiment of Guards commanded by the Earl of *Oxford*, and fourteen Companies of the Foot-Guards of his Majeſty's Regiment of Guards, all drawn up in excellent Order and Equipage. On the laſt Day of *May* both the King and the Duke of *York* were pleas'd to do the Prince the Honour to ſup with him at St. *Albans* Houſe in St. *James's*

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His Departure and Gratitude.

Fields, and were entertain'd by him with great Splendor and Magnificence. The next Day he took his Leave of the Court, and ſoon after took ſhipping for *Holland*, after he had continu'd in *England* ſomewhat above nine Weeks. It is obſervable, that this Prince ever after retain'd ſuch a grateful Remembrance of the generous Uſage he met withal in *England*, that when he came to be grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, as he ſhortly after did, and is ſtill, he always receiv'd the *Engliſh* in his Court after a more free and diſtinguiſhing Manner than any other Nation. And as an Earneſt of his Affection to that Nation, he purpoſely built, and preſented to the King of *England* two very large Galleys, for a Guard of the Coaſts about *Tangier*, which prov'd of great Importance to the Service of his Majeſty.

Prince George viſits the Court.

About a Month after the Departure of the Prince of *Tuſcany*, young Prince *George* of *Denmark*, after a ſhort Tour in *France*, came over to viſit the Court of *England*; and about the middle of *July*, was by the Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold conducted to his Majeſty, and in the Afternoon, with equal Ceremony was introduc'd to the Queen; and after a very honourable Reception at the Court, he return'd again for *Denmark*.

The opening of the new Theatre at Oxford.

3. On the 9th of *July*, in this peaceful Year, was open'd the new Theatre of *Oxford*, the noble and munificent Benefaction of Dr. *Sheldon*, the preſent Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; when the Univerſity in a full and glorious Body, went to take Poſſeſſion of the Place, where after the reading of his Grace's Grant by the Regiſter of the Univerſity, Dr. *South* the publick Orator made an excellent Speech upon this ſolemn Occaſion. In the Afternoon, being again aſſembled and plac'd in the Theatre, after the Muſick, were pronounc'd ſeveral Panegyricks, the firſt in Proſe, then one in Pindarick Verſe, after that an Oration, then a Dialogue in Poetry; which having continu'd a conſiderable Time, the Auditory was diverted with excellent Muſick, Vocal and Inſtrumental: Which ended, they were again entertain'd with another Oration, follow'd by two Speeches in Poetry, and afterwards by a Diſcourſe in favour of Learning, then a ſhort Speech from the Muſick Gallery, uſhering in two Odes, which were admirably ſung; after which follow'd another Speech, which concluded the Solemnity of that Day. Three Days after this Dedication, there was celebrated a moſt ſplendid *Act*, ſuch as had not been equal'd in any Perſon's Remembrance.

The D. of Ormond choſen Chancellor there.

Shortly after the good Archbiſhop reſign'd his Place of Chancellor of the Univerſity, in a Reſolution of retiring from publick Buſineſs, and an inward Satisfaction of having ſerv'd the Univerſity with as much Affection and greater Munificence than any of his Predeceſſors. He recommended his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* to ſucceed him in this honourable Charge, which was readily effected, having a great and juſt Opinion of the Duke's Integrity and Honour: And to ſhew the higher Eſteem of him, he did this at a Juncture, when the Duke was out of Favour at Court; having been lately call'd out of *Ireland*, and leaving his Son the Lord *Oſſory* to command in his Abſence, was ſoon ſucceeded by the Lord *Roberts*, a Perſon of a contrary Party. However his Grace left a Reputation and Intereſt in that Kingdom exceeding great; inſomuch that upon the firſt News of the Change, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Provoſt of the Colledge, the Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and moſt of the Clergy attended the Lord *Oſſory*, to make a ſolemn Acknowledgment ‘ of the numerous Benefits re-
‘ ceiv'd by the City from the Government of his Father and himſelf, and the
‘ Protection and Favours which the Church had enjoy'd, *as well by their*

‘ *good*

'*good Examples*, as by the plentiful Proviſion made by them for the 'Clergy. 1669. Car. 21 Ref. 10

4. As to the State of Religion, and the Caſe of the Diſſenters, we are here to take Notice that the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon* was a great Satisfaction to them, and they had much greater Hopes from his Succeſſor Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, who not ſo well knowing the Deſigns of the Court, was more ready to comply with the moderate Proceedings there incourag'd and promoted. It ſeems he had a Deſire to try the Spirit and Principles of the Nonconformiſts, eſpecially the *Presbyterians*, and was willing to oblige them: In order to this, as Dr. *Calamy* informs us, Dr. *Manton* ſent a Letter to Mr. *Baxter*, intimating that Sir *John Baber*, who belong'd to the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, told him that his Lordſhip deſir'd to confer with them two about a *Compreheuſion* and *Toleration*. On *January* laſt, they waited upon the Keeper, who freely told them, 'That he had ſent for them to think of a Way of their Reſtora-'tion; and to that End he had ſome Propoſals to offer to them, which 'was for a *Comprehenſion* for the *Presbyterians*, and an *Indulgence* for 'the *Independents*, and the reſt.' After ſome Debate it was agreed to go firſt upon the Buſineſs of *Comprehenſion*; upon which Occaſion Dr. *Wilkins*, and the Keeper's Chaplain Dr. *Burton*, were conſulted. The Point they moſt differ'd about was *Re-Ordination*; but at laſt Chief Juſtice *Hale* ſuggeſted an Expedient to adjuſt the Difference; which was, That thoſe *Nonconformiſts* that had been *Ordain'd* before, ſhou'd be admitted into the Miniſtry of the Church of *England* with this Form of Words, *Take thou* Legal *Authority to preach the Word of God, and adminiſter the Holy Sacraments in any Congregation of* England, *where thou ſhalt be* Lawfully *appointed thereunto*. It was likewiſe agreed, That *Ceremonies* ſhou'd be left indifferent, and the *Liturgy* alter'd, and that thoſe who cou'd not be *Comprehended* ſhould be *Indulg'd*; and for Security to the Government, the Names of the *Teachers*, and all the Members of the Congregations, were to be regiſter'd. Accordingly a Bill was drawn up by the ſaid Chief Juſtice, againſt the enſuing Parliament. But all this met with no Succeſs in Parliament; and the Lord Keeper, who ſet it on Foot, is blam'd for his unexpected Indifferency, and going along the Stream. A warm Writer, who appear'd in 1706, aſſures us, that the Diſſenters at every Meeting making freſh Demands, the Lord Keeper and others grew weary, and deſpair'd of fixing them even to their own Conceſſions; for, adds he, this was the true State of the Caſe, as Sir *John Baber* inform'd him, who was chiefly concern'd in bringing on the Debate, in which he took much Pains, but finding nothing but *Tergiverſation* and *Cavils*, without any Proſpect of a reaſonable Complyance, he gave them over for a Company of *Whiffling Fellows*, as his Term was, and cou'd never ſince believe *There was any thing of Conſcience in all their Pretences*, which he really thought before. As for Dr. *Burton*, who was very fond of, and forward at firſt in the Affair, he at laſt gave a like Account with Sir *John Baber*, and as much deſpair'd of ever bringing them to Reaſon.

The Caſe of the Diſſenters.

The Keeper endeavours to relieve them.

But in vain.

However it was, the Nonconformiſts had now their open Meetings more full and frequent, and their Intereſt and Figure grew more conſiderable, by reaſon of the King's apparent Inclinations of Indulgence to them; and likewiſe by the particular Countenance and Protection of ſome of the chief Miniſters of State, who agreed in the Patronage of them, tho' on different Principles; ſome out of Humanity and Moderation, and others from a Motive of weakning the Communion of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, or of gaining the more Liberty to the *Papiſts*. Under theſe Advan-

Their Intereſt increaſes.

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Advantages, the Diſſenters gradually aſſum'd a Liberty that became very offenſive to thoſe who were by Conſcience in the Communion of the Church of *England*, and had a Reſpect for the Legal Conſtitution of the Kingdom. And to make themſelves a more formidable Body againſt the Church, the two chief Parties, the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, formerly great Enemies to each other, were now projecting an Union and Coalition. Under this Diſpoſition and Confidence, the whole Body of the Diſſenters appear'd ſo open in trampling upon the Laws and Conſtitution, that it juſtly rais'd not only the Indignation of the Churchmen, but the Jealouſy of all who were honeſtly concern'd for the Government, and the legal Adminiſtration of it. And therefore the better to diſcover their Numbers and Places of publick Meeting, his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* iſſu'd out his Circular Letter, dated *June* 8. requiring the Biſhop of *London* and his other Suffragans, to take a very particular Account of them within the reſpective Dioceſes. The Return of this Enquiry ſoon after, made ſuch a ſenſible Impreſſion upon the more diſcerning Part of the Miniſtry, that the King was prevail'd upon to Iſſue out his Proclamation on the 16th of *July*, declaring, 'Upon ſeveral Informations 'which had been given in to his Majeſty from ſeveral Parts of the King-'dom, that thoſe who ſeparate themſelves from the Eſtabliſh'd Worſhip, 'do meet in greater Numbers than formerly, to ſuch a Degree, *as may 'endanger the Publick Peace*; by which his Majeſty cou'd not but take 'Notice how far his once and ſtill avow'd Eaſineſs to Indulge Tender 'Conſciences was abuſed thereby; his Majeſty, by the Advice of his Privy-'Council, was pleas'd to order his Proclamation to be iſſu'd out, ſtrictly 'charging and commanding all his Juſtices of the Peace, within the Li-'mits of their ſeveral Juriſdictions, where they ſhall find ſuch Meetings 'to be held, that they put the Laws in Execution for the Suppreſſion 'thereof, and particularly proceed againſt the Preachers, according to 'the Statute made in the 17th of his Majeſty's Reign, intituled, *An Act 'for Reſtraining Nonconformiſts from Inhabiting in Corporations.*

A Proclamation againſt them.

And yet ſuch was the Unſteadineſs of the Court, or of the King himſelf, that in the Month of *September*, Sir *John Baber* was ſent to Dr. *Manton* to inform him, 'That the King was inclin'd to favour the *Nonconfor-'miſts*, and that an Addreſs now wou'd be accepted; and that it muſt be 'a thankful Acknowledgment of the Clemency of his Majeſty's Govern-'ment, and the Liberty enjoy'd under it. Whereupon ſuch an Addreſs was ſhortly agreed on, and preſented by Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Ennis:* And the King was pleas'd to meet them in the Earl of *Arlington*'s Lodgings, receiv'd them very graciouſly, and promis'd them *to do his utmoſt to get them Comprehended within the Publick Eſtabliſhment*. Which undoubtedly gave them great Hopes and Encouragement, tho' they ſhortly after met with very different Uſage from the two Houſes of Parliament.

Yet privately incourag'd by the King.

VII. 1. The NINTH SESSION of the Second Parliament.

Such was the State of Affairs when, on the 19th Day of *October*, the Parliament met, after ſeveral Adjournments, and at laſt a Prorogation; having had a long Intermiſſion and Receſs of one Year, five Months, and ten Days; and this made the Ninth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, which is thought to have been deferr'd the longer upon the Account of the laſt Differences between the two Houſes. His Majeſty having aſcended the Throne with the uſual Solemnity and Order in the Houſe of Lords, and being attended by the Houſe of Commons and their Speaker, deliver'd himſelf in this ſhort Speech: '*My Lords and 'Gentlemen*, I am very glad to ſee you here at this time; and I hope this 'will be a happy Seſſion: For I have had great Experience of your Af-'fections

Rot. Parl. *Philips.* Gazettes. *Skinner. Gumble. Wood*, &c.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

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'fections and Loyalty to me, and am very confident of the continuance of 'it. It is now almoſt a Year and Half ſince your laſt Sitting; And tho' 'my Debts have preſs'd me much, yet I was unwilling to call for your 'Aſſiſtance till this time: What you gave laſt was wholly employ'd to the 'Navy, and that Extraordinary Fleet for which it was intended. I de-'ſire that you would now take my Debts effectually into your Conſidera-'tion. Something I have to propoſe to you of great Importance, con-'cerning the Uniting of *England* and *Scotland*, but it will require ſome 'Length; and I have left That, and ſome other Things, to the Lord 'Keeper to open them more fully to you.

Accordingly the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* made the following Speech, which has no Reaſon to be abridg'd: *The Lord Keeper's Speech.*

'*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, His Majeſty in his moſt 'gracious Speech hath expreſs'd his great Satisfaction in ſeeing you here 'at this time; and his Hopes of a happy Iſſue of this Meeting: To ob-'tain which, nothing can conduce more than a good Correſpondency and 'Union among your ſelves. He hath Reaſon to believe that you all come 'with the ſame common Affections for the general Good, and therefore 'perſuades himſelf, there will be no Difference between the two Houſes; 'but if there ſhou'd be any ſuch, he earneſtly recommends it to you, that 'by your Moderation and Wiſdom ſuch Expedients may be found out as 'may compoſe them, and that thereby no Delay or Obſtruction be to 'your other Proceedings. His Majeſty hath alſo deſired you to take his 'Debts effectually into Conſideration. I need not mention to you the 'Uneaſineſs of his Condition with that Burden, nor the Inconveniences 'or Miſchiefs which might fall out, if he ſhou'd continue under it. It 'is not unknown to you, that his Majeſty hath been a happy Inſtrument 'by the Treaty at *Aix*, and by the *Triple-Alliance*, to procure Peace 'between the two Neighbouring Crowns: The Securing of that Peace '(wherein our own Peace is concern'd, and his Majeſty's Reputation abroad) 'will alſo much depend upon your Kindneſs to him: And therefore he 'hopes you will conſider of how great an Importance it is at this Time, 'That his Majeſty be enabled to bear ſuch a Part in the Affairs of *Europe*, 'as may contribute moſt to his own Honour, and the Safety, Benefit and 'Glory of this Nation.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, you may remember that upon his Majeſty's 'Recommendation, an Act was lately made *for ſettling Freedom and In-'tercourſe of Trade between* England *and* Scotland, which was occaſion'd 'upon Complaints of new Duties impos'd in each Kingdom upon divers 'Commodities of the Growth, Production or Manufacture of the other. 'According to this Act, Commiſſioners were appointed by his Majeſty 'for both Kingdoms to Treat upon that Affair, and they had ſeveral Meet-'ings, which produc'd no Effect, unleſs it were a Conviction of the Diffi-'culty, if not Impoſſibility of ſettling it in any other way than by a nearer 'and more compleat *Union* of the two Kingdoms. His Majeſty is fully 'perſuaded that nothing can tend more to the Good and Security of both 'Nations, than ſuch an *Union*; and finds that his Royal Grandfather 'King *James*, of bleſſed Memory, went ſo far on towards this good Work, 'that by Act of Parliament in the Firſt Year of his Reign, Commiſſio-'ners were authoriz'd to Treat and Conſult with Commiſſioners from '*Scotland* concerning it. And in Purſuance of their Treating, in the 'Fourth Year of his Reign, an Act was made *for the Repeal of Hoſtile 'Laws, and the Abolition of the Memory of Hoſtility between the two Na-'tions*; and after the End of that Seſſion, about the Seventh Year of 'his Reign, it was by the Judges of all the Courts at *Weſtminſter-Hall* 'ſolemnly adjudg'd in the Caſe of the *Poſt Nati*, That thoſe who, after

'the

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‘ the Deſcent of the Crown to King *James*, were born in *Scotland*, were ‘ no *Aliens* in *England*; and conſequently were capable not only of Lands, ‘ but all other Immunities, as if they had been born here. By theſe Steps ‘ ſo great an Advance hath been made towards this Union, that his Ma- ‘ jeſty well hopes that what is yet wanting to the perfecting of it, may be ‘ now accompliſh’d: The continuance under the ſame Obedience and ‘ Subjection for near Threeſcore and ſeven Years, having begotten the ‘ ſame common Friends, and common Enemies to both Nations, and taken ‘ off a great Part of thoſe Difficulties which at the firſt ſtood in the Way. ‘ And therefore his Majeſty doth moſt heartily recommend it unto you, ‘ That Commiſſioners may be nominated to Treat and Conſult with Com- ‘ miſſioners from *Scotland*, concerning this Union. His Majeſty hath gi- ‘ ven Directions to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, his Commiſſioner for *Scot- ‘ land*, to make the like Propoſal to the Parliament which is now ſitting ‘ there; and doubts not but upon the Meeting of ſuch Commiſſioners ‘ of both Kingdoms, thoſe Things will be offer’d to your Conſiderations, ‘ in Order to the *Union*, as ſhall tend to the Honour of his Majeſty, and ‘ the common Good of all his Subjects.

The Proceedings of the Commons.

Inſtead of taking theſe Speeches into Conſideration, the Commons pro- ceeded upon other Matters, enquired into the Points of Privileges, with relation to the two Houſes, and were ſtrict in the Examination of the Ac- counts of the Monies expended by the Publick; in the Paſſing of which they found Sir *George Carterett*, who had the Keeping of ſome of the Books, ſo blameable, that they expell’d him the Houſe. But being much oblig’d with the King’s laſt Proclamation, they ſoon reſolv’d, ‘ That the ‘ humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be return’d to the King’s Ma- ‘ jeſty for iſſuing out his Proclamation *for putting in Execution the Laws ‘ againſt Nonconformiſts, and for Suppreſſing Conventicles*, with the hum- ‘ ble Deſire of this Houſe for his Majeſty’s continuance of the ſame Care ‘ for Suppreſſing of them for the Future. The Concurrence of the Lords being deſir’d, and readily obtained, on the 6th of *November* both Houſes, in purſuance of this Vote, attended his Majeſty in the *Banquetting Houſe* in *White-Hall*, where the Lord Chief Juſtice *Vaughan*, ſupplying the Room of the Lord-Keeper then indiſpos’d, in the Name of both Houſes return’d his Majeſty the foremention’d Thanks: For which he return’d them this particular Anſwer, ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I thank you for this Mark ‘ of your Affection to me: I doubt not of the Continuance and Concur- ‘ rence of it in other Things, as well as in this of my Proclamation: I ‘ recommend to you, That you wou’d well weigh all that I ſay and deſire ‘ in it towards the Welfare and Peace of the Nation; in Order to which, ‘ as I ſhall always be ready to contribute my utmoſt Endeavours, ſo I hope ‘ you will never be failing in yours to enable me to do it.’ After which the Commons appointed a Committee to enquire into the Behaviour of the Diſſenters, who reported, ‘ That there were divers Conventicles ‘ and other Seditious Meetings near the Parliament, where great Num- ‘ bers of Evil Affected Perſons frequently meet; which they conceiv’d, ‘ was not only an Affront to the preſent Government, but alſo of immi- ‘ nent Danger to both Houſes of Parliament, and the Peace of the King- ‘ dom.’ Upon which the whole Houſe made this Declaration and Reſo- lution, *That they will adhere to his Majeſty in the Maintenance of the Government of the Church and State, as it is now Eſtabliſh’d, againſt all Enemies whatſoever*. Shortly after, Information was given to the Houſe from General *Monk*, ‘ of the great Reſort of dangerous and diſaffected ‘ Perſons to this Town, and of the Meetings and Endeavours to diſturb ‘ the Publick Peace; and that he had, and wou’d take care what he cou’d ‘ to prevent their Attempts. Upon which the Commons immediately reſolv’d,

They enquire after Diſſenters.

reſolv'd, 'That the Thanks of the Houſe be return'd to the Lord Gene- 1669.
'ral, for his Care in Preſerving the Peace of the Kingdom.' So that the Car. 21
Suppreſſing or Reſtraining of Conventicles, was now look'd upon not Reſ. 10
ſo much a Matter of Religion, as of Safety to the Government.

2. As to Point of Privilege, the Commons not having Satisfaction in the laſt Seſſion, reviv'd the Debate of the Difference between the two Houſes, as it ſtood upon the Caſe of the *Eaſt-India* Company and *Skinner* the Merchant; and underſtanding that Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton* was a particular Sufferer by the Lords in this Caſe, they examin'd him in the Matter, who at the Barr of the Houſe gave them this ſhort Account: 'Mr. *Speaker*, *Sir* S. Bernardiſton's *Narrative to the Houſe.*
'As ſoon as the Commons, according to his Majeſty's Command, had
'Adjourn'd themſelves on the 8th of *May*, 1668, I was preſently call'd as
'a Delinquent upon my Knees to the Barr of the Lords Houſe, and de-
'manded *What I had to ſay for my ſelf why the Judgment of that*
'*Houſe ſhou'd not paſs upon me, for having a Hand in, and being one of*
'*the Contrivers of a Scandalous Libel againſt that Houſe*: To which my
'Reply was, *That I knew not my ſelf to be concern'd in any Scandalous*
'*Libel; but true it was, I did deliver a Petition to the Houſe of Com-*
'*mons in Behalf of the* Eaſt-India *Company by their Order, being Deputy*
'*Governour; and I did it out of no other Deſign, than to preſerve the*
'*Company's Intereſt and Eſtate, according to my Oath, and Duty of my*
'*Place.* Then was I commanded to withdraw, and others were call'd
'in: Soon after ſome of the Lords came to me in their *Lobby*, and told me
'*the Houſe was highly incens'd againſt me; That I ſhould preſently be*
'*call'd in again; and if I did not then ſubmit my ſelf, and own my Fault,*
'*I muſt expect the Indignation of the Houſe of Peers to fall upon me.*
'And being call'd in again the ſecond Time, it was demanded, *What*
'*further I had to ſay for my ſelf, before Judgment ſhou'd paſs againſt*
'*me.* When repeating my former Diſcourſe, adding, *That I had no De-*
'*ſign to create any Difference between the two Houſes, but to preſerve*
'*the Company's Eſtate: Yet if I had offended their Lordſhips, I humbly*
'*begg'd their Pardon.* Being then commanded to withdraw again, I
'was afterwards call'd in: And, being upon my Knees, Sentence was pro-
'nounc'd againſt me to pay three Hundred Pounds Fine to his Majeſty,
'and to lye in Cuſtody of the *Black Rod* till the Money was paid. And
'accordingly, Sir *John Eyton*, Uſher of the *Black Rod*, kept me in his Cu-
'ſtody till the 10th of *Auguſt* following, when at nine at Night, he came
'to me and ſaid, Sir *Samuel, I am come to diſcharge you from your Im-*
'*priſonment, and you may go when, and where you pleaſe.* I then de-
'manded *how this unexpected Releaſement came to paſs, and to whom I*
'*was beholden for the ſame.* He reply'd, *You are diſcharg'd upon honou-*
'*rable Terms, but pray ask me no Queſtions, for I muſt make you no An-*
'*ſwer: Yet if I ſee you to Morrow, after the Houſe is Adjourn'd, I will*
'*tell you more; there is a Myſtery, but I have ſufficient Authority for*
'*what I do.*

Upon hearing of this, the Houſe fell into a warm Debate about ſome Expedients for ſettling the Difference in Point of Priviledge and Juriſdiction of the two Houſes, which cou'd not be ended that Night; and after that they reſolved to bring in a Bill for that Purpoſe. This appear'd to be a Matter of too great Nicety and Difficulty to be effected in a ſhort Time. However, after Conferences with the Houſe of Lords, they came to theſe five grand Reſolutions. *The Commons Reſolves upon it.*
'I. That it is an inherent Right of every Commoner of *England*, to
'prepare and preſent *Petitions* to the Houſe of Commons in
'Caſe of Grievance, and the Houſe of Commons to receive the

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‘ ſame: In Evidence whereof, it is one of the firſt Works that is done ‘ by the Commons, to appoint a grand Committee to receive Petitions ‘ and Informations of Grievances. II. That it is the undoubted Right ‘ and Priviledge of the Commons to judge and determine concerning ‘ the *Nature* and *Matter* of ſuch *Petitions*, how far they are fit or unfit ‘ to be receiv'd; and that in no Age they found any Perſon preſenting ‘ a Grievance by way of *Petition* to the Houſe of Commons, and re- ‘ ceiv'd by them, that was ever cenſur'd by the Lords, without Com- ‘ plaint by the Commons. III. That no Court whatſoever hath Power ‘ to judge or cenſure any *Petition* preſented to the Houſe of Commons, ‘ and receiv'd by them, unleſs tranſmitted from thence, or the Matter ‘ complain'd of by them: And that no Suitors for Juſtice in any inferior ‘ Court, in *Law* or *Equity*, are therefore puniſhable *Criminally*, tho' ‘ untrue, or ſuable by Way of *Action* in any other Court; but are only ‘ ſubject to a moderate Fine or Ammercement by that Court, unleſs in ‘ ſome Caſes *ſpecially* provided by Act of Parliament, as *Appeals*, or the ‘ like. In Caſe Men ſhou'd be puniſhable in other Courts for preſenting ‘ Petitions to the Houſe of Commons, it may deterr his Majeſty's Sub- ‘ jects from ſeeking Redreſs of their Grievances, and fruſtrate the prin- ‘ cipal End for which Parliaments were ordained. IV. Whereas a *Pe- ‘ tition* from the *Eaſt-India* Company was preſented to the Houſe by ‘ Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton* and others, complaining of Grievances therein, ‘ which the Lords have cenſured under the Notion of a *Scandalous Pa- ‘ per* or *Libel:* The ſaid Cenſure and Proceeding of the Lords againſt ‘ the ſaid Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton*, are contrary to, and a Subverſion of ‘ the Rights and Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons, and Liberties of ‘ the Commons of *England*; And further, no *Petition* or any Matter de- ‘ pending in the Houſe of Commons, can be taken Notice of by the ‘ Lords, without Breach of Priviledge, unleſs permitted by the Houſe ‘ of Commons. V. That the Continuance upon Record of the Judg- ‘ ment given by the Lords, and complain'd of by the Commons, in the ‘ laſt Seſſion of this Parliament, in the Caſe of *Thomas Skinner* and the ‘ *Eaſt-India* Company, is prejudicial to the Rights of the Commons of ‘ *England*.' In Concluſion they added this further Allegation, ‘ That the ‘ Houſe of Peers, as well as all other Courts, are in all their *Judicial ‘ Proceedings* to be guided and governed by Law: But if they ſhall give ‘ a wrongful Sentence contrary to Law, and the Party griev'd might not ‘ ſeek Redreſs thereof in full Parliament, and for that End repair to the ‘ Houſe of Commons (who are Part of the Legiſlative Power) That ‘ either they may interpoſe with their Lordſhips for the Reverſal of ſuch ‘ Sentence, or prepare a Bill for that Purpoſe, and for the preventing ‘ the like Grievances for the Time to come; the Conſequence thereof ‘ wou'd plainly be, *That their Lordſhips Judicature is boundleſs and a- ‘ bove Law, and that the Party grieved ſhall be without Remedy*.' There- fore, as a preſent Remedy, they reſolv'd upon theſe two following Pro- poſitions to be preſented to their Lordſhips: ‘ Firſt, That the Lords be ‘ deſired to vacate the Judgment againſt Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton*, given ‘ the laſt Seſſion of this preſent Parliament. Secondly, that the Lords be ‘ alſo deſired to vacate the Judgment againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company, gi- ‘ ven by them the laſt Seſſion of this Parliament.

Theſe Reſolutions ſeem'd to have made no great Impreſſion upon the Lords, who were ever jealous of their Rights in Point of Judicature: But while the Heats were increaſing, on the 11th Day of *December*, the King by Commiſſion ſuddenly put a Stop to all Proceedings, by Pro- roguing both Houſes to the 14th Day of *February* next. And thus end- ed the ninth Seſſion, or rather tenth Meeting of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had ſate but a little above ſeven Weeks, without paſ- ſing

The End of the Ninth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

sing one Act; which was the first Session in this Reign that broke up in this Manner: Only we are to remember that the House of Commons proceeded so far as to vote a Supply of four hundred thousand Pounds, for his Majesty's special Occasions. 1669. Car. 21 Ref. 10

3. Upon the very same Day that the *English* Parliament met at *Westminster*, the Parliament of *Scotland* met at *Edinburgh*, under the Lord Commissioner, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, formerly a violent Covenanter, now a zealous Royalist, who was sent over in great Pomp and Splendor to bring about unusual Matters, and particularly the Union of the two Kingdoms. The King wrote a short Letter to them, with the reading of which the Parliament was open'd, and which partly for the Stile's Sake is here inserted: *A Parliament in* Scotland. *The King's Letter.*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, We do often reflect 'with Thankfulness and Joy, upon the Goodness of Almighty God, for 'restoring us to our Kingdoms, and them to their former Liberty and 'Peace: And we acknowledge it a farther Instance of God's Goodness, 'that as he hath fill'd our Heart with Kindness towards our Subjects of 'that our *Ancient Kingdom*, and with a constant Zeal to promote what 'we judge conducible to their Welfare; so he has bless'd us with Re'turns from them of Love, Loyalty, and ready Compliance with our 'Pleasure on all Occasions, most suitable thereunto; of which our late 'Parliament hath given signal Proofs, as well as our other good Subjects. 'And this gives us Confidence, That the earnest Desire we have to ren'der this Island more happy than ever it was in Times past, by settling 'amongst all our good Subjects within the same a mutual Affection that may 'endure to all Posterity, shall meet with a free Concurrence from you 'our Parliament, whom we have call'd together chiefly for this End. 'The Bringing of these two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England* to as 'close and strict an *Union* as is possible, is the Means that we propose 'for effectuating thereof: Which as it is the highest and noblest Design 'we can have, for witnessing our Royal Affection to them both; so 'the Accomplishment of it will raise our Satisfaction almost as high as 'our Wishes. For by the *Union* of the Hearts and Hands of our Peo'ple, not only our Throne shall be strengthen'd, and they have Peace 'and Love settled among them for ever; but we shall have the Glory of 'accomplishing what our Royal Grandfather King *James*, of ever bless'd 'Memory, attempted, as the greatest Thing he cou'd devise, and where'in he, who was a competent Judge, placed the Happiness of the Crown 'and Kingdoms, and wherein he meant to have gloried as the chiefest 'Action of his Life.

After reading this Letter, the Lord Commissioner *Lauderdale* made a long Speech to enforce it, in which, among other Things, he let them know, 'That in the first Place his Majesty was resolv'd to maintain the 'true Reformed *Protestant* Religion, for which he would constantly lay 'out his whole Power and Authority, and wou'd discourage and punish 'all *Atheism* and *Profanities*, and all that was contrary to true *Religion* 'and *Godliness*. In the next Place he was resolv'd to maintain the an'cient Government by *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, as a sure Fence for the 'true Reformed *Protestant* Religion: A Government most suitable to Mo'narchy; and well might he call it Ancient; for, *whosoever wou'd look 'into Antiquity, shou'd find Episcopal Government had continu'd in the 'whole Catholick Church, both East and West, even from the most Pri'mitive and Apostolick Times.* In the next Place his Majesty wou'd not 'endure these numerous and unlawful *Conventicles*, which tend to Sediti'on and Schism; which had been too frequent in some Shires of that King'dom. Then enlarging upon the Benefits of the *Union*, he concluded. The Parliament shew'd themselves very unanimous, and in a little Time return'd *The Substance of the Commissioner's Speech.*

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a ſuitable Anſwer to the King's Letter, in which they offer'd to his Majeſty the very Nomination of the Commiſſioners to treat for their Kingdom, with his appointing their Number, Quorum, Time and Place of their Meeting: And towards the Concluſion they particularly us'd theſe Words, *We do humbly return unto your Majeſty the Offer of our Lives and Fortunes, for the Advancement of your Majeſty's Honour and Greatneſs, and Maintenance of your Royal Authority and Government.* Falling upon Buſineſs, they made an Act *Aſſerting his Majeſty's Supremacy over all Perſons and in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical,* to a higher and more effectual Degree than had ever been before Legally declar'd. And they made another Act for the Benefit of Trade by the *Naturalization of Strangers within the Kingdom of* Scotland; providing, 'That all Strangers of the Proteſtant Religion, who ſhou'd think fit to bring their Eſtates into the ſaid Kingdom, or ſhou'd come to ſet up new Manufactures therein, ſhou'd be received as Native Subjects to all Intents and Purpoſes.

The Parliament's Anſwer.

Lauderdale's Government there.

The enlarging of the King's Power and Grandeur in this Kingdom, was much owing to the Management of the preſent Commiſſioner *Lauderdale*, who had formerly been as much for depreſſing, as he was now for exalting the Prerogative. From the Time of his Commiſſion the *Scots* are ſaid to calculate the Date of all the enſuing Inconveniencies in this and the following Reign: For having there undertaken to make the King's Power abſolute and arbitrary, he ſtrain'd the Royal Prerogative to all Kinds of Exceſſes; and aſſum'd to Himſelf a ſort of a lawleſs Adminiſtration of Affairs, the Exerciſe of which was ſuppos'd to be granted to him upon the large Promiſes he had made: And more apprehending other Mens officious Interfering, than diſtruſting his own Abilities, he in Time took care to make himſelf his Majeſty's Sole Informer, as well as his Sole Secretary; and by that Means, not only upon Pretence of the King's Prerogative, the Affairs of *Scotland* were diſpos'd of in the Court of *England*, without any Notice taken of the King's Council in *Scotland*; but ſtrict Obſervation was alſo made of all *Scotch* Men that came to the *Engliſh* Court; and to attempt an Addreſs and Acceſs to his Majeſty, otherwiſe than by *Lauderdale*'s Mediation, was to hazard his perpetual Reſentment. By theſe Ways he gradually made himſelf the almoſt only Significant Perſon of the whole *Scottiſh* Nation; and in *Scotland* it ſelf procur'd to himſelf that Soveraign Authority, as to name the Privy-Counſellors, to place and remove the Lords of the Seſſion and Exchequer, to grant Gifts and Penſions, to levy and disband Forces, to appoint General Officers, and to tranſact all Matters of Importance.

Royal Favours to the See of Salisbury.

4. But to return to *England*, and conclude the Year with ſome inferior Matters, we are to take notice, That in a Chapter of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*, held at *White-Hall* on the 19th of *November*, the Sovereign then declared, 'That the Reaſon of calling this Chapter was to conſider of the Pretenſions of Dr. *Seth Ward*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, exhibited in a Petition concerning the Title and Claim of Himſelf and his Succeſſors to the Office of *Chancellor* of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*, when the ſame ſhou'd become void;' the Biſhop grounding the Equity of his Claim upon a Charter firſt granted by King *Edward* the Fourth, in the 15th Year of his Reign, unto *Richard Beauchamp* Biſhop of *Salisbury* and his Succeſſors for ever; which Charter had been ſince confirm'd under the Great Seal of *England* by other Kings and Queens, and particularly by the late King *Charles* the Firſt. Hereupon the Biſhop was order'd to be called in, and to produce his Proofs to make good his Pretenſion; his Lordſhip humbly offer'd an authentick Copy of the Original Charter of King *Edward* the Fourth, renew'd and confirm'd

firm'd by King *Charles* the Firſt, in the fourth Year of his Reign; which being read, and duely conſider'd, together with the Objections to the contrary, particularly, 'That the Poſſeſſion and Execution of the ſaid 'Office of Chancellor, had been for above a Hundred Years commit-'ted unto Lay-Men;' notwithſtanding which, the Sovereign and Companions, being fully ſatisfy'd with the Juſtneſs of the Biſhop's Claim, grounded upon the foreſaid Charters, and likewiſe concluding, 'That the Re-'turning of the ſaid Office to the *Firſt Inſtitution* wou'd be for the Ho-'nour and Dignity of that moſt noble Order;' the Sovereign thereupon, with the unanimous Conſent of the Companions then preſent, did Declare and Ordain, 'That the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and his Succeſſors 'for ever, ſhou'd have and execute the ſaid Office of *Chancellor*, and 'receive and enjoy all Rights, Priviledges and Advantages thereunto be-'longing, immediately upon the firſt Vacancy of the ſaid Office. 1669. Car. 21 Ref. 10

This Year was remarkable for the Deaths of ſeveral conſiderable Perſons very different in their Profeſſions, Employments and Characters; of whom we ſhall begin with two eminent Divines, and firſt Dr. *Henry King*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and from thence he paſs'd through ſeveral Preferments, till in the Year 1641 he was made a Biſhop by the late King at a Time when he endeavour'd to oblige the Parliament, by chuſing Perſons of his avow'd Temper and Moderation: In his younger Days he excell'd in the Studies of Muſick and Poetry, which, with his great Wit and Fancy, render'd his Converſation very acceptable; and afterwards apply'd himſelf to Oratory, Philoſophy and Theology, ſo that at length he well deſerv'd the Miter; and laſt of all left behind him in his Neighbourhood the Title of *Epitome of all Honours, Virtues and noble Generoſity*; and the Reputation of a Perſon never to be forgotten by his Tenants, and the Poor. The next was Dr. *Henry Byam*, educated in *Exeter* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he ſoon became one of the Ornaments of that Univerſity, and the moſt noted Perſon there for his excellent polite Learning, and his admirable Faculty of Preaching: Removing from thence he became Miniſter of the two Pariſhes of *Luckham* and *Selworthy* in *Somerſetſhire*; where he became a dreadful Sufferer in the Civil Wars, having had four Sons, all Captains, in the King's Service: After a poor obſcure Life, he was at the King's Return reſtor'd to his Livings, but met with no greater Addition, than to be made Canon of *Wells* and Prebendary of *Exeter*; tho' his Worth and Abilities were ſo conſpicuous, that, if it had not been for his exceeding Modeſty, he might certainly have been advanc'd to a good Biſhoprick. After theſe two, we may properly mention Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, an extraordinary Perſon, educated, and for the moſt Part living in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he held that Office call'd *Architypographus* of the Univerſity, and was made Senior Beadle of the Civil Law, both which Places having after him been united. He was particularly fam'd and diſtinguiſh'd for his indefatigable Induſtry, and his admirable Skill in the Oriental Learning; upon which Account he had a particular Hand in that great and noble Work the *Polyglott Bible*, for which his Name will be remember'd with Honour to future Ages. A fourth Perſon to be mention'd is Dr. *George Bate*, a moſt noted Phyſician of his Time, who leaving *Oxford*, became not only Fellow of the Colledge it ſelf, but likewiſe ſucceſſively chief Phyſician to King *Charles* the Firſt, and *Oliver Cromwell*, to the laſt of whom he is ſuppos'd to have given a ſure Doſe; and after that had the ſame Poſt under the preſent King. Beſides his great Skill in his Profeſſion, he is particularly diſtinguiſh'd by his Account of the late Troubles, call'd *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia*, &c. which *Latine* Hiſtory, tho' written with Severity, and not without

The Deaths of Biſhop King,

Dr. Byam,

Mr. Clarke,

Dr. Bate,

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without Partiality, has ſeveral notable Paſſages, and ſome Maſterly Stroakes.

The Three next to be remember'd are the honourable *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Serjeant *Wylde*, and Mr. *William Prynne*, all active, tho' not equal Incendiaries towards the late Troubles and Confuſions, and all more than once mention'd in the Second Volume of this Hiſtory. Yet ſomething may be properly ſaid in this Place. The Firſt, Mr. *Fiennes*, was ſecond Son to the famous Lord *Say*, and a great Follower of his Steps, and a true Friend to the long Parliament, to whoſe Cauſe he adhered, tho' once condemn'd to Death by them, till the *Independents* prevail'd, when he took the *Engagement*, became a Favourite with *Cromwell*, one of his Privy-Council, one of his Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, one of his Lords, and his principal Tool in promoting his Kingſhip: After the Reſtoration, he retired into the Country, liv'd obſcurely, and dy'd neglected at *Newton Tony* near *Salisbury*. The next, Serjeant *John Wylde*, was as deeply ingag'd in the late Miſeries, as the laſt, but rather ſtill in a more infamous Manner, tho' he never acted much under *Cromwell*'s Government; he being employ'd by the long Parliament to pervert and proſtitute the Law upon all Occaſions: Particularly in 1647, he condemn'd and executed Captain *Burley* at *Wincheſter*, for cauſing a Drum to beat for God and King *Charles* at *Newport*, declaring he was guilty of *Levying War againſt the King*; for which he was rewarded with a Thouſand Pounds: About the ſame Time he Acquitted Major *Rolph*, who had been accus'd, and prov'd guilty of Deſigning to Murder or Poyſon the ſaid King, which he wou'd not allow to be Treaſon; for which he is ſaid to have receiv'd another Thouſand Pounds. After the King's Return, he likewiſe led a cloſe retired Life in the Country, and dy'd at *Hampſtead* near *London*. The laſt, Mr. *Prynne*, was a noted but not excellent Lawyer, who by his Pen ſhew'd himſelf to be one of the moſt indefatigable, as well as voluminous Writers that this or any Age has produc'd, having publiſh'd near two Hundred Treatiſes, of all Sorts and Sizes, againſt all Perſons and Parties, and all Offices and Governments; and moſt of them wrot with all the Rage and Fury, and all the Smoak and Duſt that can well be imagin'd. Being weary with engaging with all his Enemies and Antagoniſts, who ſeldom cared to engage him, he became a conſiderable Inſtrument in the Reſtoration, and being receiv'd into Favour, and put upon vaſt Labours among the Records of the *Tower*, where he did the moſt Service, he at laſt dy'd at *London*, a Member of the preſent Parliament. Laſt of all, on the 3d of *January*, dy'd the famous *George Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*, General of his Majeſty's Forces, *&c.* in the 62d Year of his Age; a Perſon who, by the Bleſſing of Heaven, had been a wonderful Inſtrument in Reſtoring Peace and Happineſs to three Kingdoms over-run with Miſery and Confuſion; of which his Majeſty retain'd a moſt grateful Remembrance, without any Deviation, or Degree of Jealouſy, which is apt to ariſe in Crown'd Heads upon the Account of extraordinary Obligations. We have already given his Character in the other Volume, therefore ſhall only obſerve, that after he was loaden with Honours, Favours and Acknowledgments, he never ſeem'd once to over-value his Services, but ever preſerv'd himſelf in the Eſteem of the Court, and the Affections of the People. On his Death-Bed, he was often viſited by the King, accompany'd with his Royal Brother; and after his Death had a glorious Funeral ſolemniz'd at his Majeſty's own Charge.

Mr. Fiennes,

Serjeant Wylde,

Mr. Prynne,

The Duke of Albemarle,

And the Queen Mother.

After all theſe, we muſt not omit the Queen Mother, *Henrietta Maria*, who having left *England* four Years to reſide in her Native Country, departed this Life, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, at her Houſe of *Colombe* four Leagues from *Paris*, in the 60th Year of her Age. Her Body was

was Embalm'd, and expos'd ſome time in an Apartment within the Caſtle of *Colombe* with great Ceremonies; her Heart was in a Veſſel of Silver, inſcrib'd with her Name and Title, carry'd in a Mourning Coach to the Monaſtery of *Chaliot*, attended by the Lord *Montague* her Almoner and a noble Retinue: Her Body was convey'd to St. *Denys*, and receiv'd at the Door of the Church by the Religious with Tapers in their Hands, where the grand Almoner made an Oration upon the Subject, which was anſwer'd by the Prior; then the Body was plac'd in a Chappel behind the Quire, and afterwards interr'd with extraordinary Solemnity. This great Queen was thought to be fatal to the Quiet and Happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation, and was no more Popular in the Reign of her Son, than ſhe had been in that of her Royal Husband; having had the common Imputation of bringing no leſs Misfortunes on the one Reign, than ſhe had Miſeries on the other. 1669. Car. 22 Reſ. 10

Temple. Rot. Parl. Orleans. Primi. Marvel. Arlington. MSS. Wood. Calamy. Baynard.

VIII. 1. The following Year, as well as the laſt, was altogether peaceful and free from Action, but full of ſecret Projects and clandeſtine Deſigns, as in a great Meaſure appear'd in no long Time. The King began to be a little uneaſie at the Temper and Proceedings of his Parliament, and almoſt inſenſibly fell into different Meaſures; yet he ſtood in great need of their Aſſiſtance as to Money, the Want of which threw him under great Difficulties, and made him fly to uncommon Remedies, ſuch as ſeem'd more proper for Acute than Chronical Diſtempers. Upon which Occaſion, Sir *William Temple* has ſomething very material in a Letter to the Lord *Arlington*, wrote from the *Hague*, ſhortly after the Breaking up of the Parliament; in which he ſays thus to his Lordſhip, 'I doubt 'whether we are of a Temper or Humour to reſolve or execute any bold 'or ſmart Propoſitions, how well ſoever conceiv'd, or conducing to our 'Health and good Fortunes: Tho' I queſtion not at all, but God Almighty has given us the Power of going as high as any of our Neighbours. But where-ever it lies, I doubt it will never come out, till his 'Majeſty can find the Means to make an end of all *Fencing* with the Bents 'of his Parliament, or Diſcontents of his People; and bring his Government into the Credit of having no other Aims or Intereſts but thoſe of 'his Subjects in General, not in Particular; nor conſequently any Eye 'upon their Money, but for thoſe Uſes they are willing to give it. This 'I confeſs is my Opinion upon the whole, and, *That all does not conſiſt 'in a Parliament's being prevail'd with to give what is ask'd in Point 'of Money*, as I find many People think. I am confident every Man that 'thinks at all, muſt think it were not amiſs if his Majeſty and his Miniſters wou'd once for all conſider and agree upon a general Draught of 'thoſe Ways and Counſels both at home and abroad, as they judge will 'beſt anſwer the great Ends of the King and Kingdom's Safety, Honour 'and Quiet. But if it ſhou'd prove, as I find ſome Men think, *That we 'live only by the Day*; and content our ſelves to patch up Things as they 'break out, and fly at the Game as it riſes; it is at beſt but like *Birding* or *Hawking*, which may furniſh a Diſh or two, *but can never keep 'the Houſe*.' In Sum, the King's Wants and his Diverſions daily and viſibly increas'd; but with a ſenſible Difference between him and his prevailing Neighbour the *French* King, of whom an ingenious Country-man of his, in comparing the two Kings, has this remarkable Saying; *Our Monarch, though he abandons himſelf to his Pleaſures, yet he can abandon thoſe Pleaſures for his Glory; which the Other*, the *Engliſh* King, *cannot*. 1669/70.

Sir W. Temple's *Letter to the Lord* Arlington.

A French *Man's Saying.*

Thus Affairs ſtood, when the Parliament, according to Prorogation, met at *Weſtminſter* on the 14th Day of *February*, after a ſhort Receſs of not

The TENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

1669/70. Car. 22 Ref. 10

not above two Months, and three Days. This was the Tenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, of which Meeting there were great Expectations; and the King himſelf at this Time made a more than uſual Appearance, being attended in his Coach by all his Trumpets and Kettle-Drums, at the Head of his new Guards, and follow'd by a long Train of his Horſe-Guards. Being ſeated on his Throne with Crown and Robes on, he ſent for the Commons, and made this following Speech to both Houſes,

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I ſent forth my Proclamation that 'there might be a good Appearance at this Meeting, having moſt Confi-'dence in *Full Houſes*, where the Well-Being of the Church, and all 'other Intereſts of the Crown and Nation are beſt ſecured. When we 'laſt met, I ask'd you a Supply, and I ask it now again with greater In-'ſtance; the Uneaſineſs and Straitneſs of my Affairs cannot continue with-'out very ill Effects to the whole Kingdom: Conſider this ſeriouſly and 'ſpeedily; it is yours and the Kingdom's Intereſt as well as Mine; and 'the ill Conſequence of a Want of an effectual Supply muſt not lye at my 'Door. And that no Miſapprehenſions or Miſtakes touching the Ex-'pences of the laſt War may remain with you, I think fit to let you know, 'That I have fully inform'd my ſelf in that Matter, and do affirm to you, 'That no Part of thoſe Moneys that you gave to me, have been divert-'ed to other Uſes; but on the contrary, beſides all thoſe Supplies, a ve-'ry great Sum hath been rais'd out of my ſtanding Revenue and Credit, 'and a very great Debt contracted, and all for the War. One thing I 'muſt earneſtly recommend to the Prudence of both Houſes, *That you 'will not ſuffer any Occaſion of Difference between your Selves to be re-'viv'd*; ſince nothing but the Unity of your Minds and Counſels can 'make this Meeting happy either to me or to the Nation. I did recom-'mend to you at our laſt Meeting, *the Union of the two Kingdoms*; and 'I did the ſame to my Parliament in *Scotland*; they have made a great 'Step towards it; and I do again ſeriouſly recommend that Matter to 'you. I have directed my Lord Keeper to ſpeak more at large to you.

Accordingly the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* made this following Speech, which was the laſt but one he ſpoke in this Place: '*My Lords, and you 'Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, At your laſt 'Meeting, his Majeſty did acquaint you with the great Occaſions he had 'for a Supply, and that he had forborn to ask it ſooner, more in Conſi-'deration of giving ſome Time, for the Eaſe of the People after the Bur-'den of the War, than that the Condition of his Affairs cou'd ſo long 'have wanted it: And his Majeſty hath commanded me now, to ſpeak 'more fully and plainly upon this Subject. His Majeſty hath not only by 'his Miniſters, but in his own Royal Perſon examined the Accompts, 'touching the Expences of the laſt War, and hath thought himſelf con-'cern'd to let you know, That all the Supplies which you gave him for 'the War, have been by him apply'd to the War, and no Part of them 'to any other Uſes: Nay ſo far from it, that if the Preparations towards 'the War ſhall be taken to be for the Uſe of the War, as they muſt be; 'a great Part of his own Revenue, to many Hundred Thouſands of Pounds, 'hath been employ'd alſo, and ſwallow'd up in the Charge of the War, 'and what did neceſſarily relate to it. To which may be added the great 'Debts contracted by his Majeſty in the War, and the great Charges in 'the Repairs of the Hulls of his Ships, and putting his Navy into ſuch a 'Condition as it was before. Beſides, his Majeſty thinks it ought to be 'conſider'd, that when the Charges of the War were at the higheſt, the 'inevitable Effects of it, and thoſe other Calamities, which it pleas'd God 'at that time to bring upon us, did make ſo great a Diminution of his 'Revenues, that beſides all other Accidents and Diſadvantages, the Loſs

The Lord Keeper's Speech.

'that

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‘ that he ſuſtain'd in Three Branches of his Revenue, in his *Cuſtoms*, *Exciſe*, and *Hearth-Money*, by Reaſon of the War, the Plague, and the Fire, did amount to little leſs than Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds. Thus you ſee, that tho' your Supplies have been great, yet the Charges occaſion'd by the War, and the Calamities which accompany'd it, have been greater: And that the Debt which is left upon his Majeſty, and which he complains of, hath been contracted by the War, and not by the Diverſion of the Monies deſign'd for it.

‘ His Majeſty hath commanded me to ſay one Thing more to you upon this Subject, That he did not enter into the War upon any private Inclination or Appetite of his own. The firſt ſtep he made towards it, did ariſe from your Advice, and the Promiſes of your Aſſiſtance: But if the Charges and Accidents of the War have out-gone all your Supplies, and left him under the Burden of this Debt, he thinks that as well the Juſtice to your Promiſe, as the Duty and Loyalty you have always ſhew'd him, will oblige you to relieve him from it; and the rather, when you ſhall ſeriouſly conſider, how uneaſy this Burden muſt be to him, and what ill Conſequences the Continuance under it muſt draw upon all his Affairs; in which Particular, you, and every Perſon you repreſent in this Nation, will be concern'd, as well as Himſelf. His Majeſty doth therefore command me in his Name, to deſire you once more, and to conjure you, by that conſtant Duty and Loyalty which you have always expreſs'd to him, and by all the Concernment you have for the Support of the Honour and Safety of his Government, to provide ſuch a Supply for him at this Time, as may bear Proportion to the preſſing Occaſions that he hath, and to the State of his Affairs at home and abroad; and ſo ſpeedily and ſo effectually, as may anſwer the Ends for which he hath deſired it. His Majeſty hath farther commanded me to put you in mind of what was at your laſt Meeting propos'd to you, concerning an *Union between the two Kingdoms*, and to let you know, that the Parliament of *Scotland* hath ſince declared to his Majeſty, *That ſuch Commiſſioners as his Majeſty ſhall name, ſhall be Authoriz'd on their Part, to treat with Commiſſioners for this Kingdom, upon the Grounds and Conditions of the Union.* His Majeſty therefore thought fit now again to recommend it to you, to take that Matter effectually into your Conſideration.

During this ſhort Seſſion of Parliament, which laſted but a little above ſix Weeks, Four Things were chiefly in Debate and Agitation, all which had been mov'd, and brought to ſome Perfection in the laſt Seſſion, namely, the unhappy Difference between the two Houſes, the Proſecution of the *Diſſenters*, the Union of the two Kingdoms, and the Supplies for his Majeſty's Service. The Firſt being reviv'd to ſuch a Degree as might hazard the Succeſs of the Laſt, the King Himſelf thought fit to interpoſe, and to make a Propoſition of an Expedient; which, after eight Days ſitting, he did to both Houſes ſummon'd to *White-Hall*, in this following ſhort Speech: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I did very earneſtly recommend to you the other Day, *That you wou'd not ſuffer any Differences between your ſelves to be reviv'd*; and I think it of ſo great Importance, that I have ſent for you again upon the ſame Subject. I remember very well, that the Caſe of *Skinner* was firſt ſent by me to the Lords. I have therefore thought my Self concern'd to offer to you what I judge the beſt and ſafeſt Way to put an End to the Differences: I will my Self give preſent Order to raze all Records and Entries of this Matter in the *Council Books*, and in the *Exchequer*, and do deſire you to do the like in both Houſes, that no Memory may remain of this Diſpute between you; and then I hope all future Apprehenſions will be

The King's Propoſal to the Houſes.

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'secured.' This had such an Effect upon the House of Commons, who thought themselves the only Persons aggriev'd, that they immediately Resolv'd, 'That in Obedience to his Majesty's Command in his Speech, 'a Razure or Vacate be made in the *Journal* of the House of all the 'Matters therein contain'd, relating to the Business of the *East-India* 'Company and *Skinner*:' Which was not only done, but they further Resolv'd, 'That the humble Thanks of this House be return'd to his 'Majesty, in the Name of this House, and of all the Commons of *Eng-* 'land, for his Majesty's gracious Speech, and Favour therein express'd 'to this House, and the Commons of *England*.' The Lords likewise agreeing in this important Affair, it gave a general Satisfaction; and by Order of the Government the Conclusion was thus represented in the *Gazette*, on the 22d of *February*: 'This Day the two Houses of Parli- 'ament did, at his Majesty's gracious Recommendation, come to a happy 'Agreement in the Matter in Difference between them, to the great Joy 'and Content of all that wish well to the Prosperity of his Majesty's Go- 'vernment, and the publick Quiet of this his Kingdom.

It is accepted of.

This Point thus obtain'd, other Matters were more easily manag'd and effected, and particularly their Proceedings against Dissenters of all Kinds. Besides the several Informations that had been given in the last Sessions, concerning the Dangers of unlawful Meetings, the House of Commons were further rous'd by new Complaints against them; and particularly they now receiv'd Information of a dangerous *Conventicle* lately met in the *West*, and of treasonable Words there spoken; and that his Majesty had given Order for the Prosecution of the Offenders. Upon a Debate of this Matter, and believing the Dissenters to be a restless Party, they presently resolv'd, 'That the Thanks of this House be re- 'turn'd to his Majesty, for his Care in giving Order to bring the Offen- 'ders to Justice; And that his Majesty wou'd be pleas'd to consider the 'Danger of *Conventicles* in and near *London* and *Westminster*, from the 'Nature of those further Offenders, and to give Order for the speedy 'suppressing them: And likewise, that his Majesty wou'd give Order to 'put the Laws in Execution against *Popish* Recusants; and that Leave 'be given to bring in a Bill for the more easie and speedy Conviction of '*Popish* Recusants.' In this Vote the Lords unanimously join'd; and accordingly, on the 11th of *March*, they attended the King in the *Banqueting-House* with the said Vote and Desire, who was pleas'd to declare, *That effectual Course shou'd be taken in both Cases.*

Resolutions against Dissenters.

After this they proceeded with great Expedition, and several Bills being got ready, on the 11th of *April*, his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and pass'd these following Bills. 1. An Act *for granting his Majesty an Imposition upon all Wines and Vinegar imported between* June 1670, *and* June 1678. 2. An Act *for taking away the Benefit of the Clergy from such as steal Cloth from Racks, and such as shall steal or imbezel his Majesty's Ammunition and Stores.* 3. An Act *for Improvement of Tillage, and the Breed of Cattle.* 4. An Act *for ascertaining the Measures of Corn and Salt.* 5. An Act *for the Repairing the Haven and Peers of* Great Yarmouth, 6. An additional Act *for the better Repairing of High-Ways and Bridges.* 7. An Act *for the Advancing the Sale of his Majesty's Fee-Farm Rents, and other Rents.* 8. An Act *to suppress and prevent seditious Conventicles.* 9. An Act *for settling the Imposition upon Brandy.* 10. An Act *for authorizing several Commissioners of the Realm of* England, *to treat with Commissioners of* Scotland, *for the Weal of both Kingdoms.* 11. An additional Act *for Rebuilding of the City of* London, *Uniting of Parishes, and Rebuilding of the Cathedral and Parochial Churches within the said City.* 12. An Act *to enable his Majesty to make Leases,*

Several Acts pass'd.

Leaſes, Grants, and Copies of Offices, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, Parcel of his Highneſs's Dutchy of Cornwall, *or annex'd to the ſame.* Upon paſſing theſe Acts, his Majeſty declar'd that it was his Pleaſure that the Parliament ſhou'd be only adjourn'd, and that to the 24th Day of *October*; and thus the Tenth Seſſion of this Parliament broke up, after it had ſate a little above ſeven Weeks. 1660. 7°. Car. 22 Reſ. 10

The Parliament breaks up.

Of theſe Acts, that for Supply, being an Impoſition upon Wines, *&c.* is computed at five hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds; in which particular Proviſion was made to recompenſe his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* for what Damages he might ſuſtain in his Revenue of Wine-Licences. That Act for the advancing the Sale of the King's Fee-Farm Rents, is believ'd to have rais'd to his Majeſty more than double the Mony of the other. That Act for treating for an *Union* between the two Kingdoms, was by Concert follow'd in *Scotland*, with an Act of that Parliament for appointing their Commiſſioners to meet and act in purſuance of that great Affair: But after many Conferences and ſeeming Reſolutions of Agreement in the main Things, they broke off in mutual Jealouſies, and a general Diſſatisfaction. The Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England ſays, he had heard one of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners themſelves confeſs it was their own Fault in being over-wiſe and nice in ſmaller Terms of Accommodation. But that Act which made moſt Noiſe, and caus'd greateſt Complaints, was *for Suppreſſing and Preventing ſeditious Conventicles:* The Subſtance of which Act was, 'If any Perſons 'upwards of ſixteen ſhou'd be preſent at any Aſſembly, Conventicle or 'Meeting, under Colour or Pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, in 'any other Manner than according to the *Liturgy* and Practice of the 'Church of *England*, where there was five Perſons or more beſides thoſe 'of the ſaid Houſhold; in ſuch Caſes the Offenders were to pay five 'Shillings for the firſt Offence, and ten Shillings for the ſecond. And 'the Preachers and Teachers in any ſuch Meetings were to forfeit twen-'ty Pounds for the firſt, and forty for the ſecond Offence. And laſtly, 'thoſe who knowingly ſuffer'd any ſuch Conventicle in their Houſes, 'Barns, Yards, *&c.* were likewiſe to forfeit twenty Pounds.' This was the laſt penal Statute made directly againſt the Proteſtant Diſſenters, which for a while was warmly put in Execution, and then quite relax'd: And it is obſervable that all the Laws againſt them were made more upon Civil and Political, than upon Moral or Religious Accounts; and always upon ſome freſh Provocation in Reality or Appearance: And what is further remarkable, That all theſe were made and paſs'd contrary to the Deſires and Inclinations of the King, who had always been for Indulgence and Toleration; but knew not how to diſoblige ſuch Lords and Commons, as, in other Matters, were thought too ready to oblige him.

The Act againſt Conventicles.

2. And now the King and his Miniſtry began more and more to practice the Arts of Diſſimulation, of which they were all thought to be Maſters, to enter into dark and foreign Deſigns, and to purſue different Meaſures from thoſe of the preſent Parliament. The Miniſtry was now made up of a more different Species of Perſons than in the firſt and moſt happy Part of the Reign, conſiſting of a heterogeneous Body of Counſellors, a ſelect Cabinet of five noted Men, *Clifford*, *Aſhly*, *Buckingham*, *Arlington* and *Lauderdale*, the initial Letters of whoſe Titles caus'd them to obtain that well-known Name of CABAL; which was judg'd to have been ſo ominous to the *Engliſh* Affairs. The Projects and Proceedings of this remarkable Set of Men prov'd manifeſtly and highly prejudicial to the main Intereſt of the Nation; and conſidering the Secretneſs and Subtlety of their Progreſs, their Deſigns and Characters may be better worth know-

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The CABAL.

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knowing from a Foreign Writer, who had ſufficient Information of this and other Matters from the Mouth of King *James* himſelf. This was Father *Orleans*, a penetrating Author, from whom the two following Paragraphs are taken, for the Reader's peculiar Information and Curioſity. After diſcourſing of his Royal Highneſs's Concealment of his Religion, he mentions an extraordinary Project that gave him hopes of the Liberty to diſcover it, which was as follows.

An Account of it from a Foreign Writer.

In the Year 1670, the Court of *England* perceiving that the Republican Spirit was inſenſibly creeping into the Parliament again, ſeriouſly conſider'd how to remedy that Evil that foreboded many more. The Managers of that Enterprize were five Lords, who were call'd the *Cabal*, as well from the ſtrict Union amongſt them, as from the firſt Letters of their Names compoſing that Word. One of them was the King's Favourite, and the other four his Miniſters, all of them in high Poſts, and of great Intereſt in the Council. Each of theſe five Perſons ſingly was not without his Faults; but join'd all together, compos'd a Body, that was very little defective in compaſſing the greateſt Deſigns. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the King's Favourite, was very capable of being a Miniſter of State, had his Application anſwer'd his Talents; and had not his Mind, which was excellently endow'd, been diverted from Buſineſs by an extream Degree of Lewdneſs, and ſuch a Reſignation to his Pleaſures, as render'd him trivial, tho' born as fit as any for ſolid Affairs. The Duke of *Lauderdale*, a *Scotch* Man, and Secretary of State for that Kingdom, was a ſharp-ſighted Perſon, and a refin'd Politician. The Lord *Clifford*, afterwards Lord Treaſurer, wanted nothing but a Stage, on which ſound Reaſon and Virtue was more uſual than at this Time in his native Country, to appear ſuperior to the others. The Earl of *Arlington*, Secretary of State, had the leaſt Genius of the Five; but that was well ſupply'd by his Experience, which had gain'd him great Knowledge in Foreign Affairs. *Anthony Aſhly-Cooper*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, a famous Actor in the late Troubles of *England*, was the fitteſt of them to manage any weighty Undertaking, and was the very Soul of this we are ſpeaking of: A vaſt Genius, clear-ſighted, bold, full of Intrigue, equally ſteddy, both on the right and the wrong Side, as long as his Adherents gave him no Occaſion to change; a conſtant Friend, but an implacable Enemy, and the more dangerous, ſince having no Regard to Religion or Conſcience, it was the eaſier for him to contrive Miſchief, as never being daunted by the Multitude or Heinouſneſs of any Crimes, if he thought them neceſſary, either to preſerve himſelf, or deſtroy the Provokers of his Hatred. Such an uncommon Mixture of Counſels muſt needs produce extraordinary Effects; of which the ſame Author gives this following Account.

Buckingham.

Lauderdale.

Clifford.

Arlington.

Aſhley-Cooper.

Their Deſigns.

Theſe Lords, firmly bound to their Maſter by their high Places and Favours, cou'd not without Indignation obſerve what Advances the Republican Spirit, which began to revive again, had caus'd the Parliament to make againſt the Regal Authority. Among others the *Triple Alliance*, to which the Republican *Cabal* had forc'd the King againſt his Will, appear'd to them as an audacious Incroachment upon the Prerogative, of which the Conſequences were to be prevented. Fill'd with theſe juſt Reſentments, they perſwaded the King to be as abſolute as he was intituled by the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm; to confine the Parliament to the Bounds preſcrib'd them by immemorial Cuſtom; and to take Care, that a Mixture of *Common-Wealth* with *Monarchy*, introduc'd by Violence and Subjects Uſurpations, did not produce a monſtrous *Anarchy*, which might again expoſe *England* to that dreadful Confuſion, from which it was ſcarce recover'd. To effect all this, it was neceſſary to have

have a War, which might furniſh the King with a Pretence to raiſe an Army; and this they had againſt the *Dutch*, and the more favourable, becauſe the Honour and the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation were equally concern'd; for the old Controverſy about the *Flag* began to be renew'd, and the *Eaſt-India* Merchants daily complain'd that they were unfairly treated by the *Dutch*. This, I ſay, was the *Pretence*; but the real *Motive* for pitching upon this War rather than any other, was the cloſe Correſpondence between the *Engliſh* Republicans and thoſe of *Holland*; the latter inceſſantly inſtilling into the Minds of the former that Love of Liberty they ſo highly valu'd; to make them out of love with Monarchy, and to excite them to throw off the Yoke of Legal Dominion, being always ready to ſupport any Faction that ſhou'd attack it, *&c.* Thus far the *French* Jeſuit; whoſe ſhort Account of the *Cabal* ſeems more material than moſt of the *Engliſh* Pamphlets and *Secret Hiſtories* that have been wrote upon that Occaſion. 1670. Car. 22 Reſ. 11

3. To carry on theſe or the like Deſigns, about the middle of *May*, the *French* King ſent over a prevailing Ambaſſadreſs, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, under the Pretence of making a Viſit to her two Royal Brothers, the King and the Duke of *York*; while he himſelf went to view the ſtupendous Works that were raiſing at his famous Port of *Dunkirk*. Upon hearing of her intended Viſit, his Majeſty not only ſent a Squadron of Men of War to attend her, but he himſelf, with his Brother the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and other Perſons of Quality, rode Poſt to meet her at *Dover*; being ſhortly after follow'd by the Queen her ſelf, the Dutcheſs of *York*, and other Ladies of the higheſt Quality. On the 15th of *May*, her Royal Highneſs, the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*, arriv'd at *Dover*, attended amongſt other of the *French* Nobility by the Marſhal *de Pleſſis Praſlin*, and his Brother the Biſhop of *Tournay*, Madam *de Pleſſis* the Marſhal's Son's Lady, and the Counteſs *de Gramont*. At her Highneſs's Approach, the King was pleas'd to meet her on the Road, and conduct her into the Town, and to treat and entertain her with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection. In this Place the Court continu'd for above a Fortnight in great Splendor, where Joy, Mirth and Pleaſure reign'd almoſt without Abatement or Intermiſſion; and Love and Gallantry was intermixt with all the Entertainments of Comedies, Masks, Muſick, Banquettings, and all kind of Diverſions. While the Court continu'd here, the Lord *Buckhurſt* was ſent from the King, and Mr. *Thynne* from his Royal Highneſs the Duke, to compliment his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at his Arrival at *Dunkirk*. Shortly after, Madam the Dutcheſs and her Train, without removing to any other Town, embark'd for *France*, and never ſaw *England* any more.

The Arrival of the Dutcheſs of Orleans.

The King meets her at Dover.

Innumerable Conjectures have been made concerning this extraordinary Meeting of the King and his Siſter; and many Things have been wrote upon it, ſome ſevere, ſome ſcandalous, and moſt of them uncertain, which have taken up much Room in Libels and *Secret Hiſtories*. The Negotiation was for a long Time a Secret, and the firſt Diſcoveries that were made of it, proceeded rather from Conſequences, than from real Proofs. After all the Searches, we find the Account that was moſt Authentick, and moſt to be credited, was publiſh'd in the Year 1682, by the Abbot *Primi*, a Perſon employ'd by Monſieur *Colbert* Himſelf, who allow'd him a Penſion for collecting his Memoirs. To prevent Miſunderſtanding, we ſhall give it in the Abbot's own Words: '*Colbert de Croiſſy*, 'Ambaſſador from *France* to the Court of *England*, after having ſet forth 'to the King of *England* all the Reaſons he had to be diſſatisfy'd with the

Primi's *Account of the Meeting.*

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'the *Dutch*; after reminding him of the Medals in which They had at-
'tributed to themſelves all the Honour of the Peace of *Aix la Chapel-*
'*le*, and treated the Mediation of *England* with ſo much Contempt; He
'at laſt gave him to know, *That the Time was come of being reveng'd up-*
'*on a Nation that had ſo little Reſpect for Kings, and he cou'd never*
'*meet a more favourable Opportunity, ſince ſeveral* German *Princes had*
'*already enter'd into the Confederacy; and the King of* France *was ſtrong*
'*and powerful enough to be able to aſſure his Allies, that all due Satisfa-*
'*ction ſhou'd be made to their Glory and Intereſt in the Sequel of this*
'*War*. Upon this Repreſentation the King of *England* ſign'd a private
'Treaty with *France*: And to give him further Aſſurances upon the Mat-
'ter, *Henrietta* of *England*, Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, a Princeſs whoſe Wit
'and Capacity was equal to her Beauty, Siſter to the King of *England*,
'and Siſter-in-law to the King of *France*, croſs'd over to *England* in
'1670, and in the Name of the moſt Chriſtian King made a Propoſal to
'her Royal Brother, of Inſuring him an abſolute Authority over his Par-
'liament, and Re-eſtabliſhing the Catholick Religion in the three King-
'doms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But ſhe ſaid, *That in Order*
'*to compaſs that End, there was a Neceſſity above all Things of lower-*
'*ing the Pride and Power of the* Dutch, *who plac'd their whole Study in*
'*Sowing and Fomenting Diviſion among their Neighbours, and of Re-*
'*ducing that State to the narrow Compaſs of the Province of* Holland,
'*of which the Prince of* Orange *ſhou'd be Soveraign, or at leaſt perpe-*
'*tual* Stadtholder: *That the Execution of this Project might be eaſily*
'*accompliſh'd by two powerful Princes ſtrictly ally'd; That by this*
'*Scheme the King of* England *ſhou'd have* Zealand *for a Retreat in Caſe*
'*of Neceſſity, and the reſt of the* Netherlands *ſhou'd remain in the Hands*
'*of the King of* France, *if he cou'd make himſelf Maſter of it*. In Confir-
mation of what is written by the Abbot, we may add what Father *Orleans*,
the other Writer before mention'd, ſays upon this Occaſion: 'The *Eng-*
'*liſh* Miniſters enter'd upon a Treaty with thoſe in *France*, in Order to
'conclude an Alliance between the two Crowns, that might help to
'promote their Deſigns. Monſieur *Colbert de Croiſſy* treated in *England*,
'and the Duke of *Buckingham* in *France*: Madam, the late Dutcheſs of
'*Orleans* concluded it, when ſhe made that Myſterious Voyage beyond
'the Sea.' However ſhe left behind her a beautiful Attendant, Madam
Queroualle, commonly call'd *Carewell*, of a Family in Low *Bretaign*,
who prov'd the great Object of the King's Affection and the Nation's Ha-
tred, and ſoon after the inchanting and intriguing Dutcheſs of *Portſ-*
mouth.

Madam Carewell *left in* England.

The *French* King appear'd highly pleas'd with his Siſter's Return and
Management, but her Stay in *England* having been longer than *Monſieur*
her Husband allow'd or expected, it rais'd ſome unaccountable Jealouſy,
or at leaſt Diſcontent in him; and it ſeem'd plainly owing to his unkind
Reception of her, that in her full Strength and Health, and but twenty
ſix Years of Age, She was hurry'd out of the World within a few Days
after her Return. Moſt Writers take Notice of the Manner of her
Death, which has given great Suſpicions to the World: On the 29th of
June, N. S. *Madame* having eaten very well at Dinner, and ſo contin-
nu'd for ſome Hours, about four in the Afternoon ſhe call'd for a Glaſs
of Succory Water, which ſhe us'd to take every Day about that Hour;
and having drunk it off, complain'd that it was very bitter, and preſent-
ly after began to find her ſelf ill, and fell into dreadful Fits of the Cholick;
upon which ſhe ſaid, *She was ſure ſhe ſhou'd dye*, and immediately ſent
for her Confeſſor, and paſs'd through all the Forms of the *Romiſh* Church.
The News of her ſudden Illneſs was immediately diſpatcht from St. *Clou*,
where

The Death of the Dutcheſs of Orleans.

where she lay, to *Versailles*, and occasion'd the King's hastning to her, who arriv'd about eight that Night, with his chief Physician, who began to comfort her with an Assurance *That her Cholick cou'd not easily carry away a Person of her Age.* But she persisted in declaring *she shou'd die*, and first spoke a good while softly to the King, and then afterwards aloud, *That she had no Regret at her Death, but only by so hard a Separation she must lose his Majesty's Friendship and good Graces, which he had always express'd to her.* She spoke to *Monsieur* her Husband in the same Terms about her Willingness to die, *which*, she said, *was the more, because she had nothing to reproach her self of in her Conduct towards Him.* The King left her about Ten, his Physician assuring him, *She cou'd not die of a Cholick, or at least not so suddenly as she apprehended*: But her Illness and Pain increasing, she expired about two in the Morning, leaving a general Sadness throughout the whole Court. Her Body being open'd in the Presence of several Persons, and among them the *English* Ambassador, they cou'd find no manner of Cause for so sudden a Death. This gave a strong Suspicion of Villany, especially to Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, who upon the News of her Death immediately went to St. *Clou*, and tho' he got thither by Six in the same Morning, the Corps smelt so strong, as he said, that he cou'd hardly bear the Room. 1670. Car. 22 Res. 11

The Concern of the King.

The News of this was so surprizing, that it caus'd a sort of a Consternation in the Court of *England*, and a more than ordinary Emotion in the King, who lov'd his Sister with all imaginable Tenderness. The first Account was brought to him by Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, who rod Post for *England*, and freely gave him his Opinion upon the whole. Whereupon the King fell into Tears, and express'd himself very passionately against Monsieur his Brother, and said *He was a* ——*! But prithee*, Tom, *don't speak of it.* Immediately after, the Marquess of *Bellefonds* came from *France* publickly to notify this Loss, which he did after the softest Manner that cou'd be. The King now having resolv'd that Nothing shou'd disturb the Measures lately taken between the two Courts, began to cool; and shortly after sent the Duke of *Buckingham* with the Character of his Ambassador to the Court of *France*, in Appearance to condole with them for the Death of the Dutchess, but chiefly to confirm the late Agreement made at *Dover*, and to concert the Methods of pursuing the Design. The Duke was receiv'd at Court with all possible Demonstrations of Esteem and Favour; his noble Presence and graceful Mien was very acceptable, and even captivating to many that beheld him, and the King himself took particular Notice of him, and said *He was almost the only* English *Gentleman he had seen.* All the Forces about *Paris* were drawn up and exercis'd in his Presence; Masks and Balls, Comedies and Operas were prepared, and likewise a Representation of a Sea Fight in the Canal at *Versailles*, all for his Diversion; and the King gave him divers rich Presents, and made a publick Feast on St. *Lewis*'s Day, principally on his Account. Soon after his Arrival, Things were carry'd on with Vigour; a hundred Thousand Pistoles were said to be remitted to Monsieur *Colbert* in *England* for secret Service; the *French* Army was order'd to break up, and to march towards the new Conquests; and many began to suspect the League between *France* and *England*, and of their Intentions to employ their joynt Forces against the *United Provinces*.

The Duke of Buckingham's *Reception in* France.

The *Dutch* began to be allarm'd at these Preparations, and *De Wit* himself intimated to Sir *William Temple* his Apprehension of the Embassy of the Duke of *Buckingham* to *Paris*, *which he cou'd not think was to see the Country, or learn the Language.* The *Holland* Ambassador at *Paris* went in great Haste to Monsieur *Lionne*, and desir'd to be inform'd

Whether

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The French King seizes Lorrain.

Whether the *French* Army was to be employ'd againſt his Maſters. But the Secretary aſſur'd him there was no Ground for any ſuch Apprehenſions, and that if thoſe Troops were us'd in an Expedition, the Storm wou'd fall far enough from their Territories. And accordingly the Marſhal *de Crequi*, at the Head of twenty five Thouſand Men, enter'd the Dukedom of *Lorrain*, ſeiz'd *Nancy*, and all the Places that lay in his Way, and was within Half an Hour of Surprizing the Duke's Perſon at *Eſpinal*. For the Reaſon of this ſudden Invaſion the *French* King pretended, 'That the Duke of *Lorrain* had, contrary to a late Treaty, fortify'd 'ſome of his own Towns, and had endeavour'd in a Clandeſtine Manner 'to be admitted into the *Triple Alliance*; declaring That he intended 'not to retain the Dutchy in his Poſſeſſion, but deſign'd to put it into 'the Hands of ſome other Perſon of the *Lorrain* Family, who ſhou'd 'be more worthy of it.' In the mean Time the Mareſchal *de Crequi* having driven the Duke out of his Territories, publiſh'd an Order, forbidding his Subjects to yield him Obedience; commanding thoſe in Arms for him, to quit his Service, and put themſelves into that of the King, and requiring all Orders of Men there to do Homage and ſwear Allegiance to him, under Pain of Death and Confiſcation of Eſtate. The Duke of *Lorrain* being thus diſpoſſeſs'd of his Dominions, without any preceding Declaration of War, fill'd all *Europe* with his Complaints, and diſpatcht a Miniſter to the King of *England* to deſire his good Offices with the *French* King in this Conjuncture, which he cou'd not eaſily doubt of, on the Account of the Obligations he had formerly laid upon him, in offering to ſerve him with his Perſon and Troops during the Time of his Exile. But inſtead of the Favour expected, his Miniſter receiv'd no other Anſwer, than *He was ſorry for what had happen'd, and that the preſent Violence, like the Miſchiefs of a ſudden Inundation, muſt be endured at this Time.*

The Continuation of the TENTH SESSION *of Parliament.*

4. In this State of Affairs, ſoon after the Return of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Parliament met on the 24th of *October*, according to Adjournment. But before this Meeting, we are to remember, that the King, as apprehenſive of the Diſcontents of his People, iſſu'd out a Proclamation, commanding all Officers and Soldiers ſerving in any of the Armies of the late Uſurped Powers, not having a conſtant Habitation, to depart out of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and not to return again, or come within twenty Miles, till after the 10th Day of *December* next, and in the mean time to carry no Sword, Piſtol, or any other Arms. This Meeting was the Continuation of the Tenth Seſſion of the Second and long Parliament; at the Opening of which the King made a very ſhort Speech, and referr'd all to the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*. This Miniſter was not let into any of the Secrets of the *Cabal*, and knew no more of their Deſigns than what was neceſſary to his Office; and therefore was the fitter to deliver a Speech ſo little conſiſtent with the late private Intriegues. This Speech was thought fit to be ſuppreſs'd, and not ſuffer'd to be printed, nor is it in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons; therefore it is the more neceſſary to have it in full Length here, without any Abridgment: '*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, When the two Houſes 'were laſt Adjourn'd, this Day, as you know, was prefix'd for our Meeting again, the Proclamation ſince iſſu'd requiring all your Attendance 'at the ſame Time, ſhewing not only his Majeſty's Belief that his Buſineſs will thrive beſt when the Houſes are fulleſt, but the Importance 'alſo of the Affairs, for which you are ſo called; and Important they are. 'You cannot be ignorant of the great Forces, both for Land and Sea Service,

The Lord Keeper's Speech to both Houſes.

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‘ Service, which our Neighbours of *France* and the *Low-Countries* have
‘ new raiſed, and have now in actual Pay, nor of the great Preparations
‘ they continue to make in Levying of Men, Building of Ships, filling
‘ their Magazines and Stores with immenſe Quantities of all Sorts of
‘ Warlike Proviſions. Since the Beginning of the laſt *Dutch* War, the
‘ *French* have increas'd the Greatneſs and Number of their Ships ſo
‘ much, that their Strength by Sea is thrice as much as it was before.
‘ And ſince the End of it, the *Dutch* have been very diligent alſo in Aug-
‘ menting their Fleets. In this Conjuncture, when our Neighbours arm
‘ ſo potently, even common Prudence requires that his Majeſty ſhou'd
‘ make ſome ſuitable Preparations; that he may at leaſt keep pace with
‘ his Neighbours, if not out-go them in Number and Strength of Ship-
‘ ping. For this being an Iſland, both our *Safety*, our *Trade*, our *Being*,
‘ and our *Well-being* depend upon our Forces at Sea. His Majeſty there-
‘ fore, of his Princely Care for the Good of his People, hath given or-
‘ der for the Fitting out Fifty Sail of the greateſt Ships, againſt the Spring,
‘ beſides thoſe which are to be for Security of our Merchants in the
‘ *Mediterranean*; as foreſeeing, if he ſhou'd not have a conſiderable
‘ Fleet, while his Neighbours have ſuch Forces both at Land and Sea,
‘ *Temptation* might be given to thoſe who ſeem not now to intend it, to
‘ give us an *Affront*, at leaſt, if not to do us *Miſchief*. To which may
‘ be added; That his Majeſty, by the *Leagues* he hath made for the com-
‘ mon Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and the Good of his Kingdoms, is oblig'd
‘ to a certain Number of Forces in caſe of *Infraction* thereof; as alſo for
‘ the Aſſiſtance of ſome of his Neighbours, in caſe of *Invaſion*. And
‘ his Majeſty wou'd be in a very ill Condition to perform his Part of
‘ the Leagues, if (while the Clouds are gathering ſo thick about us) he
‘ ſhou'd, in hopes that the Wind wou'd diſperſe them, omit to provide
‘ againſt the Storm.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, Having nam'd the *Leagues* made by his
‘ Majeſty, I think it neceſſary to put you in Mind, That ſince the Cloſe
‘ of the late War, his Majeſty hath made ſeveral *Leagues*, to his own
‘ *Honour*, and infinite *Advantage* to the Nation: One, known by the 1.
‘ Name of the *Triple Alliance*, wherein his Majeſty, the Crown of *Swe-*
‘ *den*, and the *States* of the *United Provinces*, are engag'd to preſerve
‘ the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, concerning a Peace between the two
‘ warring Princes; which Peace produc'd that Effect, That it quench'd
‘ the Fire which was ready to have ſet all *Chriſtendom* in a Flame; and be-
‘ ſides other great Benefits by it, which ſhe ſtill enjoys, gave Opportuni-
‘ ty to tranſmit thoſe Forces againſt the *Infidels*, which wou'd otherwiſe
‘ have been imbrued in *Chriſtian Blood*. Another, between his Majeſty 2.
‘ and the ſaid *States* for a mutual Aſſiſtance with a certain Number of
‘ Men and Ships, in caſe of Invaſion by any others. Another, between 3.
‘ his Majeſty and the Duke of *Savoy*, Eſtabliſhing a Free Trade for his
‘ Majeſty's Subjects at *Villa Franca*, a Port of his own upon the *Mediter-*
‘ *ranean*, and through the Dominions of that Prince; and thereby open-
‘ ing a Paſſage to a rich Part of *Italy*, and Part of *Germany*, which will
‘ be of a very great Advantage for the Vending of Cloth, and other our
‘ home Commodities, bringing back Silk, and other Materials for Manu-
‘ factures here. Another, between his Majeſty and the King of *Denmark*, 4.
‘ whereby thoſe other Impoſitions that were lately laid upon our Trade there,
‘ are taken off, and as great Priviledges granted to our Merchants, as ever
‘ they had in former Times, or as the Subjects of any other Prince or State do
‘ now enjoy. Another, upon a Treaty of Commerce with *Spain*, whereby 5.
‘ there is not only a Ceſſation and giving up to his Majeſty of all their
‘ Pretenſions to *Jamaica*, and other Iſlands and Countries in the *Weſt-*

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'*Indies*, in the Poſſeſſion of his Majeſty or his Subjects, but withal, 'free Liberty is given to his Majeſty's Subjects to enter their Ports for 'Victuals and Water, and Safety of Harbour, and Return, if Storm or 'other Accidents bring them thither; Priviledges which were never be-'fore granted by them to the *Engliſh* or any Others. Not to mention 'the *Leagues* formerly made with *Sweden* and *Portugal*, and the Ad-'vantages which we enjoy thereby; nor thoſe Treaties now depending 'between his Majeſty and *France*, or his Majeſty and the *States* of the '*United Provinces* touching Commerce; wherein his Majeſty will have 'a ſingular Regard to the *Honour* of this Nation, and alſo to the *Trade* 'of it, *which never was greater than now it is*. In a Word, almoſt all 'the Princes of *Europe* do ſeek his Majeſty's Friendſhip, as acknow-'ledging they cannot *Secure*, much leſs *Improve* their preſent Condition 'without it.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, His Majeſty is confident that you will not 'be contented to ſee him depriv'd of all the Advantages which he might 'procure hereby to his own Kingdoms, nay, even to all *Chriſtendom*, in 'the Repoſe and Quiet of it. That you will not be content alone to ſee 'your Neighbours ſtrengthening Themſelves in Shipping, ſo much more 'than they were before, and at home to ſee the Government ſtrugling 'every Year with Difficulties; and not able to keep up our Navies equal 'with Theirs. He finds that by his Accounts from the Year 1660, to 'the late War, the ordinary Charge of the Fleet *communibus Annis*, came 'to about five hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year, and it cannot be ſup-'ported with leſs. If that Particular alone takes up ſo much, add to it 'the other conſtant Charges of the Government, and the Revenue '(although the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury have manag'd it with all 'imaginable Thrift) will in no degree ſuffice to take off the Debts 'due upon Intereſt, much leſs give him a Fund for the ſetting out of 'this Fleet, which by common Eſtimation thereof, cannot coſt leſs 'than eight hundred Thouſand Pounds. His Majeſty in his moſt graci-'ous Speech hath expreſs'd the great Senſe he hath of your Zeal and Af-'fection for him, and as he will ever retain a grateful Memory of your 'former Readineſs to ſupply him in all Exigencies, ſo he doth with par-'ticular Thanks acknowledge your Frank and Chearful Gift of the new 'Duty upon Wines, at your laſt Meeting: But the ſame is likely to fall 'very ſhort in Value of what it was conceiv'd to be worth; and ſhou'd 'it have anſwer'd Expectation, yet far too ſhort to eaſe and help him 'upon theſe Occaſions. And therefore ſuch a Supply as may enable him 'to take off his Debts upon Intereſt, and to ſet out this Fleet againſt the 'Spring, is that which he deſires from you, and recommends it to you, as 'that which concerns the *Honour* and *Support* of the Government, and 'the *Welfare* and *Safety* of your Selves, and the whole Kingdom. Now, '*my Lords and Gentlemen*, you may perceive by what his Majeſty hath 'already ſaid, that he holds it requiſite that an End be put to this *Meet-'ing* before *Chriſtmaſs*. It is ſo, not only in reference to the Preparation 'for the Fleet, which muſt be in readineſs in the Spring, but alſo to the 'Seaſon of the Year. It is a Time when you wou'd be willing to be in 'your Countries, and your Neighbours wou'd be glad to ſee you there, 'and partake of your Hoſpitality and Charity, and you thereby indear 'your Selves to them, and keep up that Intereſt and Power among them, 'which is neceſſary for the Service of your King and Country; and a 'Receſs at that Time, leaving your Buſineſs unfiniſh'd till your Return, 'cannot either be convenient for You, or ſuitable to the Condition of 'his Majeſty's Affairs, which requires your *Speedy* as well as *Affectionate 'Conſideration*.

This

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This plauſible Speech, fill'd with ſo many Leagues and Treaties, Debts and Difficulties, had ſuch a ſenſible Effect upon the Houſe of Commons, who took all for granted, that they ſhew'd themſelves ready to give with both Hands, and, after a ſhort Adjournment, chearfully voted, 'That 'his Majeſty ſhou'd be ſupply'd proportionably to his preſent Occaſions.' Accordingly they went upon *Ways* and *Means* of all Sorts, and in a ſhort Time began to form three ſeveral Mony-Bills; the Firſt was for raiſing eight hundred thouſand Pounds by Way of *Subſidies* upon Real and Perſonal Eſtates: The Second was an Additional *Exciſe* upon Beer, Ale, *&c.* for ſix Years; and the laſt was for laying Impoſitions on *Proceedings at Law*, which was to continue nine Years. In managing of theſe, they proceeded with Unanimity and good Temper till near *Chriſtmaſs*, when they had a ſhort Receſs: Only they were a little interrupted and diſcompos'd by an Affair of a different Nature, relating to Sir *Samuel Sterling*, the laſt Lord Mayor of *London*, and Sir *Joſeph Sheldon*, and Sir *Andrew King*, with others of the Lieutenancy of the City, who had committed two Gentlemen to Priſon, Mr. *Hayes* and Mr. *Jekell*, for attempting to bribe the Magiſtrates in Caſe of the Act againſt Conventicles. The Matter being brought before the Houſe of Commons, and debated, it was thus Reſolv'd, 'That this Houſe doth give Approbation to what was 'done by the late Lord Mayor, Sir *Samuel Sterling*, and the Lieutenancy 'of *London*, in committing Mr. *Hayes* and Mr. *Jekell*; and that it was 'done in order to the Preſervation of the King, and Peace of the King-'dom.' Notwithſtanding this Vote, Mr. *Jekell* ſoon after ventur'd to ſue Sir *Andrew King* at Law; of which Information being given to the Commons, they fell into a Heat, and Reſolv'd, 'That Mr. *Jekell* be 'ſent for in the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, to anſwer his Contempt 'in proſecuting his Suit at Law againſt Sir *Andrew King*, after the Vote 'of this Houſe, whereby it was declared, *That the Commitment of the 'ſaid Mr.* Jekell *was in order to the Preſervation of the King, and 'Peace of the Kingdom.*' And further, they order'd Mr. *Burton*, Counſel for Mr. *Jekell*, and Mr. *Ogden* his Attorney, to be likewiſe ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for their Contempt in moving and acting for Mr. *Jekell*, after the forementiond Vote. Being all brought to the Bar of the Houſe, and making a full Submiſſion, they were diſcharg'd; and ſo on the 20th of *December*, before they had finiſh'd any Bills, the Commons roſe up in their former good Humour, and had a Receſs for about a Month.

The Commons are very bountiful.

They have a ſhort Receſs.

5. Shortly after the Sitting of the Parliament, the Nation was entertain'd with the News of the Arrival of his Majeſty's Nephew the Prince of *Orange* from *Holland*: who, not long before at eighteen Years of Age, had been choſen firſt Nobleman of *Zealand*, and began now to ſhew himſelf very forward, and to deſerve the Character of a Prince of extraordinary Hopes. About the Beginning of *June* he had been there introduc'd into the *Council of State*, and that with all the pleaſing Circumſtances of being ineffectualy oppos'd, and of his prevailing by the Affections of the People. At this happy Juncture he reſolv'd upon a Journey into *England*; but before he ſet out, he was very earneſt with Sir *William Temple*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, to have his Opinion, whether he was likely to procure any Satisfaction in his Pretenſions there; alledging, *That all his beſt Friends in* Holland *were of Opinion, That in Caſe that ſhou'd wholly fail him, his Journey wou'd prove of great Prejudice to his Affairs at home, by letting his Friends ſee how little he was conſider'd by his Uncle, whoſe Countenance wou'd be a great Support to him in the Courſe of his Fortunes.* Theſe Pretenſions of his were ſuppos'd

The Prince of Orange deſigns for England.

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to be ſome Mony owing from *England* upon the Account of his Mother's Fortune; for the Ambaſſador's Anſwer to him upon this Subject was, *That he was wholly ignorant of all his Majeſty's Affairs, beſides what related to that Country, and particularly of the preſent State of the Revenue, or how much the late Supplies had contributed towards the Eaſe of it.* Upon which the Prince ſeem'd very deſirous that Sir *William* ſhou'd touch on it to one of the chief Miniſters in *England*, ſo as to receive his Thoughts upon it before he began his Journey. This Motion was thought chiefly to have proceeded from the Princeſs Dowager, who ſome Weeks before poſitively declared her Opinion to Sir *William* upon that Matter to the ſame Effect, and for ſome Time perſiſted in it. This private Affair might be one Motive, and the more profeſs'd Reaſon of his going into *England*; but it was not to be doubted, but that even then, he had ſome more publick Thoughts and Cares upon him, relating to his own Honour and Hereditary Claims, the Intereſt of his Country, and the common Good of *Europe*, which now ſeem'd to be near a Criſis.

But whatever were the main Expectations and Deſigns of his Journey, it was diſcourag'd and protracted from Time to Time, and at laſt deferr'd to the Sitting of the *Engliſh* Parliament. At length with a Spirit not eaſily diverted from any Reſolution, he embark'd at the *Bril* in one of his Majeſty's Yatches, that waited there for him, and arriv'd in *England* on the 29th Day of *October*. He immediately took Poſt for *Canterbury*, and lay that Night at *Rocheſter*; and the next Morning arriving at *Grave's-End*, he was attended by Sir *Charles Cotterel*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, with his Majeſty's Barges, and ſo conducted to *White-Hall*; where landing, he was receiv'd at the Foot of the Stairs by the Lord Chamberlain, and conducted to the Preſence of the King and Queen, who receiv'd him with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection, as likewiſe did their Royal Highneſſes, the Duke and Dutcheſs, to whom he was in like Manner conducted, and thence to the Apartment prepared for him in the *Cock-Pit*. A few Days after his Arrival, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London* came and complimented his Highneſs upon this pleaſing Occaſion, as if preſaging his being the future Reſtorer and Preſerver of their Rights and Liberties. After he had been a few Weeks at the Court, the Lord *Arlington*, in one of his Letters to Sir *William Godolphin* Ambaſſador in *Spain*, has theſe Words: 'The Prince of *Orange* hath been now theſe three Weeks amongſt us, much to the Satisfaction of the King, and all that have ſeen him; *being a young Man of the moſt extraordinary Underſtanding and Parts*, beſides his Quality and Birth, that makes him ſhine the better. His Majeſty hath promis'd to pay his Debt, or aſſign it upon a good Fund before he goes, which he hopes will be an Encouragement to the Queen of *Spain* to do the like, *&c.*

His Arrival and Reception

At London,

About the End of *November* his Highneſs repaired to *New-Market*, from whence he viſited the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was nobly receiv'd by that venerable Body, entertain'd in *Congregation* with ſeveral Speeches, and treated at a ſplendid Dinner by Dr. *Fleetwood* Provoſt of *King's* Colledge. Returning to *London*, on the 6th of *December*, he was treated in *Drapers-Hall* by the Lord Mayor and City of *London* with more than ordinary Magnificence. On the 18th he went to *Windſor*, and the next Day to *Oxford*, where he was receiv'd at the Eaſt Gate by the Mayor and Aldermen, and at St. *Mary*'s was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and the whole Body of the Univerſity, and at the great Gate of *Chriſt-Church* was receiv'd and complimented by the Dean, Canons and whole Society, and by them conducted to his Apartment in that Colledge, where his Highneſs and his Train were nobly treated by the gene-

At Cambridge,

And Oxford.

generous Dean Dr. *Fell.* The next Morning his Highneſs went to view the ſeveral Colledges, and found the Heads with their reſpective Societies ſtanding at the Gates in a Readineſs to receive him. After Noon he viſited the Schools, the Library and Theatre, in which laſt Place a *Convocation* was held, where his Highneſs was complimented in a Speech by the Orator Dr. *South*, and, as well as others of his Train, did the Univerſity the Honour of accepting of a Degree, and an Invitation from the Vice-Chancellor to his Colledge of St. *John's*, where he was entertain'd with an excellent and liberal Dinner. After he had ſtaid in *England* above three Months, on the 15th of *February*, he took his Leave at *White-Hall*, in order to his Return for *Holland*, infinitely ſenſible of the great Tenderneſs and Affection expreſs'd to him by both their Majeſties, during the whole Time of his Stay, and no leſs ſatisfy'd with the univerſal Eſteem and Reſpects of the Court and People.

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His Return.

6. Before the Prince's Arrival in *England*, Sir *William Temple* return'd from his Embaſſy in *Holland*, being more and more apprehenſive of the new and different Meaſures taken in the *Engliſh* Court. Arriving at *London*, he went immediately to the Lord *Arlington*, according to his Cuſtom: But whereas, upon his ſeveral Journeys over in the late Conjunctures, his Lordſhip had ever quitted all Company to receive him, and always did it with open Arms, and in the kindeſt Manner, he now made him ſtay an Hour and Half in an outward Room before he came to him, while he was in private with the Lord *Aſhley*, the Chief of the *Cabal*; and then receiv'd him with a Coldneſs, at which Sir *William* was ſurpriz'd: So that after a Quarter of an Hour's Talk about indifferent Matters, and not a Word of the Occaſion of his being recall'd from his Embaſſy, Sir *William* went away. However the next Morning he went to his Lordſhip again, deſiring to be introduc'd by him to kiſs the King's Hand, as he had us'd upon his former Journeys: He perform'd that Part of his Office without much Ceremony, bringing Sir *William* to his Majeſty as he was walking in St. *James's Park*; where the King ſtopp'd to give Sir *William* his Hand, ask'd him half a Dozen Queſtions about his Journey, and about the Prince of *Orange*, and ſo walk'd on. After this he went to ſee the Lord Keeper, and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*; and found the Firſt uneaſy and apprehenſive of the preſent Counſels; but the latter confident that no Endeavours cou'd break the Meaſures between *England* and *Holland*, as being ſo neceſſary abroad, and ſo rational at home. But Sir *William*, who had more Penetration, perceiv'd them both to be barely in the Skirts of Buſineſs, and only in Right of their Poſts; and found that the Secret of it lay wholly in the *Cabal* formerly mention'd.

Sir William Temple *leaves* Holland.

It is obſervable, that however different Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Thomas Clifford* had always been in their Schemes and Notions, ſo that there never was any great Commerce between them; yet now he receiv'd him with wonderful Graciouſneſs and Civility, and ſome Time after deſir'd a private Conference with him, about the Affairs of *Holland*. Being both met, Sir *Thomas* began with great Compliments on Sir *William*'s Services to the King, in his Employments abroad; went on with the Neceſſity of preſerving their Meaſures with *Holland*, and concluded with wondering, 'Why the *States* ſhou'd have ſhew'd ſo much Difficulty 'upon thoſe two Affairs, of *Surinam* and the *Eaſt-India* Company, 'wherein our Demands ſeem'd ſo reaſonable; and how it came about that he 'had fail'd in Compaſſing his Majeſty's Satisfaction in thoſe two Matters, 'after having ſucceeded ſo well in all his other Negotiations.' Sir *William*, thinking he did not underſtand the Bottom of thoſe Affairs, laid it open to him, with the *Dutch* Reaſons, which ſeem'd to be but too well grounded.

His Diſcourſe with Sir Thomas Clifford.

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grounded. Sir *Thomas* was unſatisfy'd with them all, and told Sir *William*, He muſt undertake the Matter again, and bring it to a Period; and ask'd him, *Whether he did not think he cou'd bring the* Dutch *to Reaſon?* Sir *William* anſwer'd plainly, *He believ'd he never cou'd, to what they call'd ſo, and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it; That he had ſpent all his Shot in vain, and therefore thought it the beſt Way to employ ſome Perſon in it that had more Wit or Ability than himſelf.* Upon which Sir *Thomas*, a little mov'd, reply'd, *That for Wit and Ability they all knew he had enough; and all the Queſtion was, Whether he was willing to employ them upon this Occaſion, which ſo much concern'd the Service of the King, and the Honour of the Nation?* Hereupon Sir *William* at large let him know how he had us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to no purpoſe; and being a little heated after ſo long and unpleaſant Diſcourſe, ask'd him, *In the Name of God, what he thought a Man cou'd do more?* To this, in a great Rage, Sir *Thomas* anſwer'd; *Yes, I'll tell you what a Man might do more, and what you ought to do more; and that is, to let the King and all the World know, how baſely and unworthily the* States *have us'd Him; and to declare publickly, how their Miniſters are a Company of* Rogues *and* Raſcals, *and not fit for his Majeſty, or any other Prince to have any Thing to do with: And this is a Part that no Body can do ſo well as you.* Sir *William*'s Anſwer was very calm, *That he was not a Man fit for* Declarations; *that whenever he did ſpeak upon any Occaſions, he ſhould ſpeak of all Men what he thought of them; and ſo he ſhou'd do of the* States, *and the Miniſters in* Holland; *which was all he cou'd ſay of the Buſineſs:* And ſo their Converſation ended. Upon theſe, and ſome other Paſſages, Sir *William* fix'd his Judgment of the Affairs and Counſels then in Agitation; and foreſeeing, as he wrote to his Father, 'Weather coming that he ſhou'd have no Mind to go abroad in, 'he therefore reſolv'd to get a warm Houſe over his Head: and neither 'apprehend Uneaſineſs of Mind or Fortune in the private Life he pro-'pos'd to himſelf; unleſs ſome Revolutions ſhould draw both upon him, 'which cou'd not touch him alone, but muſt be born like a common Ca-'lamity.

7. Before the Adjournment of the Parliament, the City and Neighbourhood was ſtrangely allarm'd by a barbarous and inhumane Attempt made upon the Perſon and Life of his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, in the open Streets; of which I find the moſt perfect Account in a Manuſcript written by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*. The chief Contriver and Manager of this audacious Enterprize was one *Blood*, the Son of a Black-Smith in *Ireland*, a notorious Villain, who always thought ſmall Crimes below him. He firſt ſignaliz'd Himſelf in Reſcuing one of his wicked Comrades in *Yorkſhire* out of the Hands of the Sheriff's Men, as they were leading him to the Gallows. After which he laid a Deſign in *Ireland* to ſurprize the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and the Magazine there, and to uſurp the Government: But being diſcover'd by the Duke of *Ormond* the Night before the intended Execution, ſome of his Accomplices were apprehended and executed as Traytors, whoſe Deaths *Blood* and the reſt of the ſurviving Rogues bound themſelves by ſolemn Oath to revenge upon the Perſon of the Duke. His Grace now living at *Clarendon* Houſe, was obſerv'd by *Blood* uſually to go late home, attended with two or three Footmen at the moſt; therefore with five or ſix more of his Aſſociates, all well Mounted and Arm'd, on the 6th of *December*, he ſtay'd at the *Bull-Head* Tavern, near *Charing-Croſs*, till the Duke came by. He was no ſooner paſs'd, but they all took Horſe and gallop'd after him; and coming up with his Coach, before he got to his own Gate, they knock'd down his Footmen,

A ſtrange Attempt upon the Duke of Ormond,

Footmen, took him out of the Coach, and forc'd him up behind one of the Horſemen, and were riding away with him as far as *Berkley-Houſe*. The Coach-man and Servants crying out, the Porter came forth with his long Cane; but the Duke ſuſpecting that they might act their intended Miſchief upon him, before any Reſcue cou'd come, forceably threw himſelf off the Horſe, with the Villain who had ty'd his Grace faſt to him. The reſt turn'd back, and fearing leſt their Prey might eſcape them, diſcharg'd two Piſtols at him, but taking their Aim in the Dark miſs'd his Body; and finding the Porter and Neighbourhood coming in, they all fled, leaving the Duke much bruis'd with his Fall. Their Deſign, it ſeems, was to have carry'd him to *Tybourn*, and hang'd him there with a Paper pinn'd on his Breaſt, to have ſhewn the Reaſon of their Diabolical Proceeding. The Authors of this prodigious Attempt were for a conſiderable Time unknown, and the King was pleas'd to offer a Thouſand Pounds Reward for the Diſcovery of any one of theſe Villains. 1670. Car. 22 Reſ. 11

And Sir John Coventry.

A few Days after another barbarous Attempt was made upon the Perſon of Sir *John Coventry*, Knight of the *Bath*, and a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and upon the Perſon of his Servant *William Wylkes*, by a conſiderable Number of Armed Men, both on Foot and Horſeback, by which the ſaid Sir *John Coventry* and his Servants then loſt ſeveral Goods, and Sir *John* Himſelf receiv'd divers Wounds, ſome of which were given in ſuch barbarous manner, that ſome of the Offenders held him while others wounded him. The Fact, by Bills of Indictment, was found to be committed by Sir *Thomas Sandys*, Knight, *Charles Orbian*, Eſq; *Simon Parry* and *Miles Reeves*, who all fled from Juſtice, not daring to abide a legal Tryal. The Cauſe of this Barbarity is not well known, but as to the Effects, it occaſion'd a new Act of Parliament, hereafter to be mention'd.

The Deaths of Biſhop Skinner;

For a Concluſion of the Year, we ſhall, as uſual, take Notice of the Death of ſeveral conſiderable Perſons; and firſt of two worthy Prelates, Dr. *Robert Skinner* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Dr. *John Hackett*, Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. The Firſt was educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was Fellow of *Trinity* College, and Tutor to ſeveral eminent Men, as Mr. *Chillingworth*, Judge *Newdigate*, &c. After which he became a noted Preacher, and by King *Charles* the Firſt made ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Briſtol* and *Oxford*, the laſt in 1641, when thoſe a little Puritanically inclin'd were moſt acceptable to the Parliament. Yet he was a Sufferer in the Times of the Troubles, and was almoſt the only Biſhop that conferr'd Orders in thoſe Times, and after the Reſtoration, above a Hundred receiv'd Orders from him at once; ſo that at his Death, which was at his See of *Worceſter*, it was computed that he had ſent more Labourers into the Vineyard, than all his Brethren he had left behind him.

Biſhop Hackett;

The next, Biſhop *Hackett* of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, was educated in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, where he made no ſmall Improvement of his Talents. Removing through ſeveral Stages, he became a ſtrenuous Aſſertor of the Hierarchy of the Church of *England* againſt the prevailing Powers in 1641, for which he was a common Sufferer. Being after the Reſtoration advanc'd to this Biſhoprick, he became a munificent Benefactor there, expending twenty Thouſand Pounds upon the Repairing, or rather Rebuilding his Cathedral. Beſides his Generoſity, he was very valuable for his penetrating and lively Parts, his ſolid Judgment, and his eaſy and entertaining Elocution, by which, with a very happy Memory, he became an extraordinary Philologer and Divine.

Dr. Tuckney;

The next Perſon to be mention'd is an eminent Divine of the *Presbyterian* Stamp, Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, Maſter of St. *John*'s College, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, one of the

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Assembly of Divines, and afterwards one of the Commissioners for the Conference at the *Savoy*. In 1661 he retir'd from his Places in the University, having an Allowance of a hundred Pounds a Year from his Successor Dr. *Gunning*, and afterwards dy'd in *London*, leaving behind him the Name of a Person eminent for Learning and Piety, as well as Humility and good Temper.

Sir Jeffry Palmer,

There are three others to be mention'd, as different from each other as is possible: The first was Sir *Jeffry Palmer* Baronet, a Gentleman brought up to the Law, and made Doctor at the University of *Oxford*, who first of all joyn'd with the long Parliament in 1641, but out of Principle turn'd Loyalist, and became a great Sufferer: He was a Man of great Worth and Eminency in his Profession, and after the Restoration he was made the King's Attorney-General, and Chief Justice of *Chester*, in which Places he dy'd this Year at *Hampsted*. The second was *Vavasor Powell*, a Man famous among the Dissenters, who often preach'd with great Vehemency in the Woods, Mountains and Fields, as well as Markets and Fairs, especially in *Wales* his Native Country: Yet it is hard to tell of what Religion he was; some holding him for an Anabaptist, others for a Fifth-Monarchy Man and a Millenary; he was certainly neither *Presbyterian* nor *Independent*, but a bold, dangerous and pestilent Man, a pragmatical and indefatigable Enemy to Monarchy and Episcopacy, who did a World of Mischief, as some say, or a World of Good, as others say, in his own Country. This restless Man, having been an Opposer of all Higher Powers, met with Imprisonment from different Parties, to whom he shew'd an invincible Spirit, and last of all dy'd a Prisoner in the *Fleet*, and was bury'd in the Fields near *Bunhill*, in the Presence of innumerable Multitudes of Dissenters. The Last was old *Henry Jenkins*, a poor Fisher-man of *Yorkshire*, who is mention'd purely upon the Account of his almost incredible Age, being accounted the oldest Man born upon the Ruins of this *Post-diluvian* World. He was born in 1501, the 16th Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, and liv'd a hundred and sixty nine Years, in the Reigns of eight Kings and Queens of *England*, being seventeen Years older than the noted *Thomas Parr*, who is mention'd in the Year 1635.

Vavasor Powell,

And Henry Jenkins.

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The TENTH SESSION *continu'd.*

IX. 1. Towards the latter end of *January* the Parliament met according to Adjournment, but the House of Commons very much discompos'd and out of Temper upon the Account of the barbarous Attempt lately made upon Sir *John Coventry*; and the Dissatisfaction arose to that Height, that they profess'd an Unwillingness to proceed upon any other Affairs, till they had pass'd a Bill against those they conceiv'd to be the Authors of the Injury done against their Members. Accordingly they drew up a Bill, in which they made the Criminals incapable of any Pardon but by particular Act of Parliament, and made it Death for the future for any Man maliciously to disable or dismember another, to put out an Eye, to cut off a Nose or Lip, *&c.* and concluded all with one peculiar Clause, 'That his Majesty's Royal Assent to this Bill shou'd not 'determine this Session of Parliament.' This was afterwards commonly call'd by the Name of *Coventry's Act*; which being sent up to the Lords, the Commons naturally and easily return'd to their former good Temper: Soon after his Majesty, on the 14th of *February* sent a Message by Mr. Secretary *Trevor* to acquaint them, 'That his Majesty was inform'd, 'that there had some Bills pass'd both Houses, and that there were 'others depending near their Dispatch, which he desir'd them to hasten, 'especially those for his Supply: And lest they shou'd not be ready for 'his

Rot. Parl. *Arlington.* The Case stated, *&c.*

'his Aſſent by the 22d of this Inſtant *February*, he had given Order for 'the Adjourning of the Seſſion until the 10th of *March* next. 1670. 71. Car. 23 Reſ. 11

Notwithſtanding this quickning Meſſage, they proceeded to other Matters as well as the Supplies, and more particularly to the Fears and Dangers ariſing from Popery, which gradually appear'd more threatning than formerly. Accordingly they drew up the following remarkable Addreſs, in which the Lords afterwards joyn'd: '*May it pleaſe your moſt Excel-* 'lent *Majeſty*, We your Majeſty's moſt humble and Loyal Subjects, the 'Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament, being ſenſible of your 'Majeſty's Conſtancy to the *Proteſtant* Religion, both at home and abroad, 'hold our ſelves bound in Conſcience and Duty to repreſent to your 'Majeſty the *Cauſes* of the dangerous Growth of Popery in your Maje-'ſty's Dominions, the ill Conſequence whereof we heartily deſire may 'be prevented. And therefore what we humbly conceive to be ſome 'preſent Remedies for the ſaid growing Miſchiefs, we have hereunto ad-'ded in our moſt humble Petitions.

The Addreſs of both Houſes againſt Popery.

Cauſes of the Growth of Popery.

'1. That there are great Numbers of Prieſts and Jeſuits frequenting 'the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and moſt of the Counties of this 'Kingdom, more than formerly, ſeducing your Majeſty's good Subjects. '2. That there are ſeveral *Chapels* and Places us'd for *Saying of Maſs* in 'the great Towns, and many other Parts of the Kingdom, beſides thoſe 'in Ambaſſadors Houſes, whither great Numbers of your Majeſty's Sub-'jects conſtantly reſort and repair without Comptrol; And eſpecially in 'the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, contrary to the Laws Eſtabliſh-'ed. 3. That there are *Fraternities* or *Convents* of *Engliſh* Popiſh Prieſts 'and Jeſuits at St. *James*'s, and at the *Combe* in *Herefordſhire*, and other Parts 'of the Kingdom; Beſides ſeveral *Schools* are kept in divers Parts of the 'Kingdom for the corrupt Educating of Youth in the Principles of Po-'pery. 4. The Common and Publick Selling of *Popiſh Catechiſms*, and 'other Seditious Books, even in the Time of Parliament. 5. The gene-'ral Remiſsneſs of the Magiſtrates and other Officers, Clerks of the Aſſize, 'and Clerks of the Peace, in not Convicting of Papiſts according to Law. '6. That ſuſpected Recuſants are free from all Offices chargeable and 'troubleſome, and do enjoy the Advantage of Offices and Places benefi-'cial; executed either by Themſelves, or Perſons entruſted for them. '7. That the Advowſance of Churches, and Preſentations to Livings are 'diſpos'd by *Popiſh* Recuſants, or by others entruſted by them as they di-'rect; whereby moſt of thoſe Livings and Benefices are fill'd with Scan-'dalous and Unfit Miniſters. 8. That many Perſons take the Liberty to 'ſend their Children beyond the Seas to be Educated in the *Popiſh* Re-'ligion; And that ſeveral young Perſons are ſent beyond the Seas, up-'on the Notion of their better Education, under Tutors and Guardians 'who are not put to take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and 'uſually corrupt the Youth under their Tuition, into Popery. 9. That 'there have been few Exchequer Proceſſes iſſu'd forth ſince the Act of 'Parliament *Againſt Popiſh Recuſants Convict*, tho' many have been cer-'tify'd thither. 10. The great Inſolencies of Papiſts in *Ireland* (where 'do publickly appear *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops*, reputed to be made ſo 'by the Pope, in Oppoſition to Thoſe made under his Majeſty's Autho-'rity, according to the Religion Eſtabliſh'd in *England* and *Ireland)* and 'the Open Exerciſe of Maſs in *Dublin*, and other Parts of that Kindom, 'is further a great *Cauſe* of the preſent Growth of Popery. That *Pe-*

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'ter *Talbot*, the Reputed *Archbiſhop* of *Dublin*, was Publickly Conſe-
'crated ſo at *Antwerp* with great Solemnity; from whence he came to
'*London*, where he exercis'd his Function; and was all along in his
'Journey to *Cheſter* treated with the Character of His *Grace* by the Po-
'piſh Recuſants whom he viſited: And at his Landing at *Dublin* was re-
'ceiv'd with very great Solemnity by thoſe of the Popiſh Religion there,
'where alſo he exercis'd his Function Publickly, great Multitudes then
'flocking to him, and ſtill continue to do the ſame. His preſent Reſi-
'dence is within three Miles of *Dublin*, at his Brother's Colonel *Richard*
'*Talbot*, who is now here ſolliciting your Majeſty as Publick Agent on
'the Behalf of the *Iriſh* Papiſts of that Kingdom.

Remedies againſt theſe growing Miſchiefs.

'We the Lords and Commons aſſembled in this preſent Parliament,
'do in all Humility repreſent to your Sacred Majeſty in theſe our Peti-
'tions following; 1. That your Majeſty by your Proclamation wou'd be
'moſt graciouſly pleas'd to Command, that all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits
'do depart this Realm, and all other your Majeſty's Dominions, on or be-
'fore a ſhort Day to be prefix'd, at their Perils; Except only ſuch Fo-
'reign Prieſts as attend her Majeſty's Perſon by the Contract of Marri-
'age, and Ambaſſadors, according to the Law of Nations: And that all
'Judges, *&c.* do cauſe the Laws now in Force againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants
'Convict, to be put in due Execution: And in the firſt place, for the
'ſpeedy convicting ſuch *Popiſh* Recuſants, That all Judges and Juſtices
'aforeſaid do ſtrictly give the ſaid Laws in Charge unto the Juries at all
'Aſſizes and Seſſions, under the Penalty of Incurring your Majeſty's
'higheſt Diſpleaſure. 2. That your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to reſtrain
'and hinder the great Concourſe of your Native Subjects from hearing
'of *Maſs*, and other Exerciſes of the *Romiſh* Religion, in the Houſes of
'Foreign Ambaſſadors or Agents, and in all other Chappels and Places
'of this Kingdom. 3. That your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to take care
'and cauſe, *That no Office or Employment of Publick Authority, Truſt*
'*or Command in Civil or Military Affairs, be committed to, or continu'd*
'*in the Hands of any Perſon being a Popiſh Recuſant, or juſtly reputed*
'*ſo to be.* 4. That your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to take notice of all
'*Fraternities* or *Convents* of *Engliſh*, and other *Popiſh* Prieſts, Jeſuits
'or Fryars, and *Schools* for the Educating of Youth in the Principles of
'Popery, erected within your Majeſty's Dominions, and to cauſe the
'ſame to be aboliſh'd, and the ſaid Prieſts, Jeſuits, Fryars and School-
'maſters to be duly puniſh'd for ſuch their Inſolencies. 5. That your
'Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd from Time to Time to require and cauſe,
'That all the Officers of, or relating to the Exchequer, iſſue forth Pro-
'ceſſes effectually againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants Convict certify'd thither. And
'that ſuch Officers as ſhall refuſe or neglect to do their Duty as afore-
'ſaid, be ſeverely puniſh'd for ſuch their Failures. 6. That your Majeſty
'wou'd be pleas'd to give Order for apprehending and bringing over in-
'to *England* one *Pluncket*, who goes under the Name of *Primate* of
'*Ireland*, and one *Peter Talbot*, who takes on him the Name of *Arch-*
'*biſhop* of *Dublin*, to anſwer ſuch Matters as ſhall be objected againſt
'them.

'To theſe our moſt humble Petitions, proceeding from our Duty and
'Zeal for the Glory of God, and the Good of your Sacred Majeſty,
'and from the Care incumbent on us for the Safety and Peace of theſe
'your Majeſty's Kingdoms, We do in all Humility beſeech your Majeſty

'to

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'to vouchsafe a Gracious Answer: And We your Majesty's most loyal 'and obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons in the present Parliament assembled, shall ever pray for your Majesty's long and happy Reign 'over us; and (as in Conscience we are oblig'd) shall constantly adhere 'to, and assist your Majesty in the Maintenance and Defence of your 'Majesty's *Supremacy*, and the true *Protestant* Religion now establish'd 'in your Majesty's Kingdoms, in Opposition to all *Foreign Powers*, and '*Popish Pretences* whatsoever.

When this Address was sent up to the Lords, they took some Time to consider of it, as not being well satisfy'd with the Certainty of some Matters of Fact therein mention'd, as particularly the *Chappels*, *Fraternities* and *Convents*, and the Advancement of *Peter Talbot*; but having afterwards in a Conference receiv'd Satisfaction, they joyn'd with the Commons, and together with them presented the Address to the King at the *Banquetting-House* in *White-Hall*. His Majesty made this most gracious Answer to them; '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I will take care of 'all these Things; I will cause a Proclamation to be issu'd out against the 'Priests; I will cause the Judges, and all other Officers to put the Laws 'against Papists in Execution, and all other Things that may conduce to 'to the Prevention of the *Growth of Popery*. But I suppose no Man 'will wonder, if I make a Difference between Those that have newly 'chang'd their Religion, and those that were bred up in that Religion, 'and serv'd my Father and Me faithfully in the late Wars.' The Houses return'd their Thanks for this Answer, and the King accordingly issu'd out his Proclamation, which began after the Manner that most of his Proclamations did upon this Occasion. The Substance was, 'Whereas 'the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, have by their Petition presented to his Majesty their Fears and Apprehensions of the *Growth* '*of Popery*, together with the *Causes* thereof, and also such *Remedies* 'as they conceive most proper to prevent such Mischiefs: Which Petition his Majesty having seriously consider'd, and with much Contentment approving the great Care of the said Lords and Commons, for 'the Preservation of the true Religion establish'd; to which his *Majesty* 'declares, *as he hath always adhered against all Temptations whatsoever*, '*so he will still employ his utmost Care and Zeal in the Maintenance and* 'Defence of it. And therefore strictly commands all Jesuits and *Romish* 'Priests to depart out of *England* before the first of *May*, upon pain of 'having the Penalties of the Laws of this Realm inflicted upon them. 'And his Majesty commands all Judges, &c. forthwith to put the Laws 'in Execution against all *Popish* Recusants, and such as are suspected to 'be so, in Order to their speedy Conviction, and due Process upon such 'Convictions. And because there may be some Priests imprison'd in this 'Realm, unknown to his Majesty; all Sheriffs, &c. are within twenty 'Days to advertise some of the Lords of the Privy-Council of their 'Names, and for what Cause they were committed, to the End Orders 'may be given for their Transportation.

The King's Answer.

His Proclamation against Papists.

2. As soon as the Commons began to foresee the Success of their Address, they proceeded with all Vigour upon the King's Supplies, the *Subsidy* Bill, the *Excise* Bill, and the *Law* Bill; to which Three they afterwards added a *Fourth* Bill *For Impositions upon Foreign Commodities*. This liberal, and as some thought profuse Way of Giving, met with some Check from the House of Lords; and when the Subsidy Bill was read there a second Time, the old loyal Lord *Lucas* stood up and oppos'd it in a bold and remarkable Speech, which he made when the King was present at the Debate. The Speech shews so much of the

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The Lord Lucas's warm Speech concerning Subsidies.

Times, that it cannot be here omitted, but is inserted for the Readers neceſſary Information: 'My *Lords*! When by the Providence of Almighty God, the Nation recall'd his Majeſty to the Exerciſe of the Regal Power, it was the Hopes of all Good Men, That we ſhou'd not only be reſtored to his Majeſty's Royal Preſence, and Divine Laws, but we ſhou'd be free from thoſe heavy Burthens under which we had lain ſo long oppreſs'd: We did believe that from thenceforth every Man ſhou'd *ſit under his own Vine*, enjoying the Fruits of Peace and Plenty; and *Aſtræa* her Self, long ſince for the Sins of Men fled up to Heaven, ſhou'd have been invited by his Majeſty's moſt gracious and happy Reign, to return hither, and dwell and converſe amongſt Mortals again. But alas! we are all fallen very ſhort of our Expectations, and our Burthens are ſo far from being made lighter to us, that they are heavier than ever they were; and as our Burthens are increas'd, ſo our Strength alſo is diminiſh'd, and we are leſs able to ſupport them.——It is evident there is a Scarcity of Money in the Nation; and yet if amidſt this Scarcity, the vaſt Sums given were all imploy'd for the King and Kingdom, it wou'd not ſo much trouble us: But we cannot without infinite Regret of Heart, ſee ſo great a Part of it pounded up in the Purſes of other private Men, and ſee them flouriſh in Eſtates, who in the Time of his Majeſty's moſt happy Reſtoration, were worth very little or Nothing: and now the ſame Men purchaſe Lands, and keep their Coach and ſix Horſes, their Pages and their Lacqueys; while in the mean Time thoſe that have faithfully ſerv'd the King, are expos'd to Penury and Want, and ſcarce ſufficient left to buy them Bread. And is this, *my Lords*, the Reward of our Services? Have we for this born the Heat of the Day, been Impriſon'd, Sequeſter'd, ventur'd our Lives and our Families, our Eſtates and our Fortunes? And muſt we after all this ſacrifice ſo much of our poor Remainder to the Will of a few particular Men, and the Maintenance of their Vanities?

'But ſuppoſe all the Mony given were employ'd for the Uſe of his Majeſty, and his Majeſty were not cozen'd, as without doubt he is, is there no Bounds to, or Moderation in Giving? Will you ſay that if we ſhall not plentifully ſupply his Majeſty, he will not be able to defend us, or to maintain the *Triple League*: and we ſhall thereby run the Hazar'd of being conquer'd? 'Tis true, *my Lords*, that this may be a Reaſon for giving Something, but 'tis ſo far from being an Argument for giving ſo Much, that it may clearly be made out to your Lordſhips, *That it is the direct and ready Way to be conquer'd by a Foreigner*. And it may be the Policy of the *French* King, by thoſe often Allarms of Armies and Fleets, to induce us to conſume our Treaſure in vain Preparations againſt him: And after he has by this Means made us poor and weak enough, he may then come upon us and deſtroy us. It is not the giving of a great deal, but the well managing the Mony given, that muſt keep us Safe from our Enemies. Your Lordſhips may be pleas'd to call to mind the Story of *Sampſon*, who while he preſerv'd his Hair wherein his Strength lay, was ſtill Victor over his Enemies; but when by the Intiſement of his *Dalilah*, his Hair was cut off, the *Philiſtins* came upon him, and overcame him: And ſo, *my Lords*, if we ſhall preſerve and husband well our Treaſure, wherein our Strength and Sinews of War lie, and apply it to the right Uſes, we ſhall ſtill be ſuperior to our Enemies; but if we ſhall vainly and imprudently miſpend it, we ſhall become an eaſy Prey to them. Beſides, *my Lords*, what is this but *Ne moriare mori*, and for Fear of being conquer'd by a Foreigner, to put our ſelves in a Condition almoſt as bad? pardon me, *my Lords*, if I ſay in ſome reſpect a great deal worſe; for when we are under the Power of

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'the Victor, we know we can fall no lower; and the Certainties of our 'Miſeries are ſome Sort of Diminution of them: But in this wild Way, 'we have no Certainty at all; for if you give thus much to Day, you may 'give as much more to Morrow, and never leave giving till we have gi-'ven all that ever we have away, and the Anxiety of Mind which ariſes 'from this doubtful Eſtate, is a high Addition to our Afflictions. All 'that I beg, *my Lords*, is that we may be able to make ſome Eſtimate 'of our Selves: Wou'd his Majeſty be pleas'd to have a Quarter of our 'Eſtates? for my Part he ſhall have it; wou'd his Majeſty be pleas'd to have 'Half? for my Part upon good Occaſions he ſhall have it: But I beſeech 'your Lordſhips then, that we may have ſome Aſſurances of the quiet 'Enjoyment of the Remainder, and know what we have to truſt to.

'*My Lords*, the Commons have here ſent up a Bill for the giving his 'Majeſty the Twentieth Part of our Eſtates at the full extended Value; 'and I hear there are other Bills for Money alſo preparing, which toge-'ther, according to the beſt computation, will amount to little leſs than 'Three Millions of Money; a prodigious Sum, and ſuch that if your 'Lordſhips will not afford Relief, we muſt of neceſſity ſink under the 'Weight of ſo heavy a Preſſure. *My Lords*, the Scripture tells, That 'God Almighty ſets Bounds to the Ocean, and ſays unto it, *Hither ſhall 'thy proud Waves come, and no further.* And ſo I hope your Lord-'ſhips, in Imitation of the Deity, will ſet ſome Bounds, ſome Limits to 'the over-liberal Humour of the Commons, and ſay to them, *Hither 'ſhall your Profuſeneſs come, and no further.* Either your Lordſhips 'can deny or moderate a Bill for Money coming from the Commons; or 'if you cannot, all your great Eſtates are wholly at their Diſpoſal, and 'your Lordſhips have nothing that you can properly call your own, and 'then let us paſs this Bill without further Examination; but if you can '*deny* or *moderate* (as without Queſtion you can) your Lordſhips never 'had, nor poſſibly will have ſuch a fair Occaſion to ſhew it. *My Lords*, 'upon the whole Matter, I moſt humbly propoſe to your Lordſhips, that 'you will be pleas'd to reduce the Twelve Pence in the Pound to Eight 'Pence. And truly I have ſome Reaſon to hope, that if your Lordſhips 'will duly reflect upon it, ye will find it to do accordingly; for in the 'firſt Place it will be ſo far from being a Diſſervice to his Majeſty, that 'your Lordſhips will do his Majeſty in it the higheſt Service in the World; 'for tho' you ſhall thereby take from his Majeſty a Part of the Sum, you 'will give him a great deal more in the Love and Hearts of his Subjects; '*and there his Majeſty muſt reign, if he will be great and glorious.* And 'next your Lordſhips will acquire to your Selves Eternal Honour; ye 'ſhall thereby indear your ſelves to the whole Nation, who for the future 'will look upon you as the Ancients did upon their *Tutelar Gods*; nor ſhall 'the *Houſe of Commons*, but the *Houſe of Peers*, be hereafter precious 'in their Sight. *My Lords*, give me leave to mind your Lordſhips, that '*Noble Acts* are the Steps whereby the Great Men of the World aſcend 'the Throne of Glory, and can there be a nobler Act than to *Releaſe a 'diſtreſſed Kingdom* which lies languiſhing under ſo many hard Oppreſſi-'ons, and about to be ſo much more oppreſs'd?

This Speech was ſpoke upon the 22d of *February*, and being printed ſhortly after, it was ſo diſtaſteful to the preſent Miniſtry, that it was or-der'd to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. How it affected the Heart of this loyal Lord is not eaſily known; but in a very ſhort Time after he departed this Life with the Reputation of one who had ever been faithful to his King and Country. However, it ſeem'd to have affected the Houſe of Lords ſo far, that they immediately began to examine this Subſidy Bill with more than uſual Strictneſs; and conceiving

The Lords make Proviſos to the Subſidy-Bill.

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The Commons Reasons against it.

that the *Diſtreſſes* allow'd and appointed in that Bill, ſuch as the breaking open of their Doors, were not agreeable to the ancient Priviledges of Peers, they made ſome Amendments by Way of *Proviſoe* to the Bill, in order to aſſert their particular Priviledge. The Commons refus'd their Amendments at this Time, not becauſe it was a Mony-Bill, but for theſe following Reaſons, which they deliver'd to their Lordſhips at a Conference: 'Firſt, the Priviledge demanded was againſt the King, and againſt 'the Execution for his Supply, which ought not to be clogg'd with any 'unneceſſary Circumſtances; it being it ſelf a *Non omittas propter ali-* 'quam Libertatem. Secondly, The Priviledge demanded is not due to 'their Lordſhips in Point of *Right*, nor can it be inſiſted upon in Point 'of *Honour*: 1. Becauſe there is as much Reverence paid to their Lord-'ſhips Priviledges in this Bill, as ever was paid in a Bill of Supply; there 'being a Proviſoe, *That the Taxes to be collected for the Perſonal Eſtates* 'and Offices of the Peers, ſhall be collected by a Collector of their own. '2. The Amendments agreed to: *That Nothing therein contain'd ſhall be* 'drawn into Example to the Priviledge of the Ancient Rights belonging 'to the Peers: So no Danger of any Ancient Right. 3. Their Lordſhips 'are the beſt Judges of their own Honour; but in the Bill for the *Royal* 'Aid, there is the ſame Clauſe as in this Bill, yet their Lordſhips did not 'then think fit to add ſuch a Qualification to that Clauſe. 4. It is true the 'Commiſſioners were nam'd in that Act: but that can make no Difference 'in the Caſe, unleſs their Lordſhips be affraid where the Nomination is 'truſted to the King. 5. It wou'd be a Diſhonour to your Lordſhips to 'have this Clauſe ſtand in the Bill: For it doth not concern the Tax up-'on Perſonal Eſtates or Offices, but ſuppoſes a Lord tax'd for his Land, 'and not a Hoof left upon the Land to diſtrain; and that after all this 'a Lord barricados up his Houſe to reſiſt a Diſtreſs; is it fit to ſuppoſe 'ſuch a caſe, or ſhou'd it be treated with Ceremony when it happens? '6. If the Lord be return'd into the *Exchequer*, the meaneſt Bayliff of the 'Sheriff may break open the Houſe of a Peer without more Ceremony; 'why ſhou'd a Commiſſioner be appointed in this Caſe, unleſs all Exche-'quer Proceſs be intended to be debarr'd by this Clauſe too? 7. *No Di-'ſtreſs can be upon a Peer without a Warrant under the Hands of two* 'Commiſſioners; which is Caution enough. 8. The Lords have no Privi-'ledge above the Commons as to *Execution* againſt their Eſtates; And 'therefore we hope this Occaſion ſhall not be taken to create Precedents 'for new Priviledges in Payment of Mony. 9. It wou'd diſcourage Perſons 'from being Commiſſioners, if they muſt be Officers to attend the Diſtreſs, 'and no Man will be willing to ſerve. 10. The *Act of Printing* leaveth the 'Lords and Commons, as to the Priviledges of Houſes; and no Bill of 'Mony did ever diſtinguiſh them. 11. The whole Duty may be avoid-'ed; for in truth there lies no Obligation upon any Commiſſioner to go 'with any Officer, and ſo the Matter may be wholly neglected. 12. If a 'Diſtreſs be wrongful, Why ſhou'd a Lord have a better Man to bring 'his Action againſt, than a Commoner; and who will ever go to ſubject 'Himſelf to the Action of a Peer, if he be diſpleaſed with the Diſtreſs?

However convincing theſe Reaſons were, their Lordſhips acquieſc'd; ſo that this and other Bills being ready, on the 6th of *March*, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd theſe following publick Bills:

Some Acts paſs'd.

1. An Act *for granting a Subſidy to his Majeſty for Supply of his Extraordinary Occaſions.* 2. An Act *for an Additional Exciſe on Beer, Ale, and other Liquors.* 3. An Act *for Regulating the making of* Kidderminſter *Stuffs.* 4. An Act *to prevent the malicious Burning of Houſes, Stacks of Corn and Hay, and Killing and Maiming of Cattle.* 5. An Act to *prevent malicious Maiming and Wounding.* 6. An Act for *Reveſting the*

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Power of granting Wine Licences in his Majeſty's Heirs and Succeſſors, and for ſetling a Revenue on his Royal Highneſs in lieu thereof; which amounted to twenty four Thouſand Pounds a Year. 7. An Act for Continuance of a former Act, entituled, *An Act to prevent Delays in Extending Statutes, Judgment and Recognizances.* 8. An Act for Continuance of a former Act, *to prevent Arreſts of Judgments, and Superſeding Executions.*

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The great Controverſy between the Lords and Commons concerning Mony-Bills.

3. Two Mony-Bills being paſs'd, there ſtill remain'd two more to be compleated; one for *Impoſitions on Proceedings at Law*, and the other for an *Additional Impoſition on ſeveral Foreign Commodities.* The former eaſily got through both Houſes, but the latter met with ſuch unexpected Impediments in the Lord's Houſe, as not only caus'd the Bill to be loſt, but occaſion'd one of the moſt famous Controverſies that happen'd throughout the whole Parliament. After this Bill had been finiſh'd by the Commons, and ſent up to the Lords for their Conſent, the *London* Merchants preſented a Petition to the Lords againſt many Particulars in that Bill, 'ſhewing the Inequality and Diſproportion of 'the Rates impos'd upon certain Commodities to be ſuch, as if not al-'ter'd, and ſome which were too high, brought down to hold a true 'Proportion with others, which the Houſe of Commons had ſet low, 'wou'd utterly ruin the whole Trade of thoſe Commodities, and bring 'an irreparable Prejudice upon all the *Engliſh* Plantations, and conſe-'quently upon the whole Kingdom; that of thoſe Commodities being 'the principal Trade of the Plantations, and that of the Plantations a 'moſt conſiderable Part of the Trade of the Kingdom.' The Lords, convinc'd with the Arguments and Demonſtrations of the Merchants, judg'd it abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome Alterations in the Bill, and to lower ſome of thoſe Rates; and return'd the Bill ſo alter'd and amended to the Commons; withal giving their Reaſons for thoſe Amendments and Alterations, which was done at a Conference between both Houſes. This was reſented by the Houſe of Commons, who preſently paſs'd a Vote, 'Declaring it to be a *Fundamental Right* lodg'd in their 'Houſe alone, to impoſe Rates upon Merchandize, as to *Matter, Mea-'ſure* and *Time*, and to paſs Bills for that Purpoſe, and this in *Excluſi-'on* of the Houſe of Lords.' Which Reſolution of theirs was by them deliver'd back at another Conference, together with ſome particular Reaſons given to juſtify their Rates impos'd, in Oppoſition to the Alterations made by the Lords: But the main Argument, which they ſtill urg'd, and with which they clos'd almoſt every Period of their Diſcourſe was, *That the Lords had nothing to do with the altering of any Rate impos'd upon Merchandize:* And they further ſaid, *That this was a Right ſo fundamentally ſettled in the Commons, that they cou'd not give Reaſons for it, without weakning their Rights and Priviledges.*

The Lords Reaſons for altering Mony-Bills.

This brought all to a Criſis, and the Lords, *nemine Contradicente*, came to this poſitive Reſolution, 'That the Power exercis'd by the Houſe 'of Peers, in making the Amendments and Abatements in the Bill, en-'tituled *An Act for an Additional Impoſition on ſeveral Foreign Commo-'dities*, both as to the *Matter, Meaſure* and *Time*, and concerning the 'Rates on Impoſitions and Merchandize, is a *Fundamental, Inherent* 'and *Undoubted* Right of the Houſe of Peers, from which they cannot 'depart, for theſe following Reaſons: 1. The great Happineſs of the 'Government is, *That nothing can be done in order to the Legiſlature, 'but what is conſider'd by both Houſes, before the King's Sanction be gi-'ven unto it*; and the greateſt Security of all the Subjects of this King-'dom, is, *That the Houſes by their Conſtitution, do not only give Aſſi-*

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'*ſtance, but are mutual Checks to each other.* 2. In the Writs of Summons to Parliament, the Lords are excluded from none of the *Great and Arduous Affairs of the Kingdom, and Church of* England, but are call'd *to treat, and give their Counſel upon them all,* without Exception. 3. We find no Footſteps in Record or Hiſtory for this new Claim of the Houſe of Commons: We wou'd ſee that *Charter* or *Contract* produc'd, by which the Lords diveſted themſelves of this Right, and appropriated it to the Commons, with an Excluſion to themſelves: Till then, we cannot conſent to ſhake or remove *Foundations*, in the laying whereof it will not be deny'd, *That the Lords and Grands of the Kingdom had the greateſt hand.* 4. If this Right ſhou'd be deny'd, the Lords have not a Negative Voice allow'd them in Bills of this Nature; for if the Lords, who have the Power of *Treating, Adviſing, Giving Counſel,* and *Applying Remedies,* cannot *Amend, Abate* or *Refuſe* a Bill in Part, by what Conſequence, or Reaſon, can they enjoy a Liberty to reject the Whole? when the Commons ſhall think fit to queſtion it, they may pretend the ſame Grounds for it. 5. In Caſe of *Judicature,* which is undoubtedly and indiſputably the *Peculiar* Right and Priviledge of the Houſe of Lords; if their Lordſhips ſend down a Bill to the Commons for giving Judgment in a *Legiſlative Way,* they allow and acknowledge the ſame Right in the Commons to amend and alter ſuch Bills, as the Lords have exercis'd in this *Bill of Impoſitions* ſent up by the Commons. 6. By this new Maxim of the Houſe of Commons, a hard and ignoble Choice is left to the Lords, either to refuſe the Crown Supplies when they are moſt neceſſary, or conſent to Ways and Proportions of Aid which neither their own Judgment, nor Intereſt, nor the Good of the Government and People, can admit. 7. If poſitive Aſſertion can introduce a Right, what Security have the Lords, that the Houſe of Commons ſhall not in other Bills (pretended to be for the general Good of the Commons, whereof they will conceive themſelves to be the fitteſt Judges) claim the ſame peculiar Priviledge in Excluſion of any *Deliberation* or *Alteration* of the Lords, when they ſhall judge it neceſſary or expedient. 8. And whereas you ſay, *This is the only poor Thing, whereupon you can value your ſelves to the King,* their Lordſhips ſay, that they rather deſire to encreaſe, than any Ways to diminiſh the Value and Eſteem of the Houſe of Commons, not only with his Majeſty, but with the whole Kingdom: But they cannot give way that it ſhou'd be rais'd by the *Undervaluing of the Houſe of Peers,* and an Endeavour to render that Houſe *unuſeful to the King and Kingdom,* by the denying of it thoſe juſt Powers which the Conſtitution of this Government, and the Laws of the Land, have lodg'd in it for the Service and Benefit of both.

Their Precedents, Theſe Reaſons were deliver'd to the Commons in a Conference, together with many Precedents annex'd; the Deſign of which were to prove, '1. That the Lords and Commons have conſulted together, and conferr'd with one another upon the Subject of *Supplies* to the King, and of the *Manner* how the ſame might be levy'd. 2. That in *Aids* and Subſidies, the Lords have anciently been *expreſly* join'd with the Commons in the *Gift*. 3. That in Subſidies of this Nature, *viz. Cuſtoms,* the Lords have join'd with the Commons in the *Grant* of them; and that in the very Beginning of theſe Impoſitions. 4. And more particularly in Impoſitions of this very Species, *Tonnage* and *Poundage,* the Lords were even at the firſt Beginning join'd with the Commons in the *Grant*. 5. That the Lords may make Amendments and Alterations in the Bills which grant *Tonnage* and *Poundage,* which was the very Queſtion between them.' For all which Particulars they produc'd their ſeveral Precedents. After which they proceeded to a more expo-

ſtulatory Way; in theſe Words: ‘ We have ſeriouſly conſulted our Judg- 1671.
‘ ments and Reaſons to find Objections, if it were poſſible, againſt the Car. 23
‘ Power of the Lords, and are ſo far from finding any, That we are fix'd Reſ. 12
‘ in Opinion, that the Want of it wou'd be deſtructive to the Govern-
‘ ment and Peace of the Kingdom, and the Right of the Crown in Bal- *And general Arguments.*
‘ lancing and Regulating of Trade, and the making and preſerving
‘ Leagues and Treaties with Foreign Princes and States; and the Exer-
‘ ciſe of it cannot but be for the Security of all, and for the Eaſe and
‘ Benefit of the Subject. The Modeſty of your Anceſtors in thoſe *Ar-*
‘ *duous Affairs* gave great Deference to the Wiſdom of the Lords. Their
‘ Lordſhips are very far from deſiring to obſtruct this Gift, no not for a
‘ Moment of Time, much leſs *for ever*, as was hinted to them at the laſt
‘ Conference. And therefore they deſire the Houſe of Commons to lay
‘ it to heart, and conſider, if it ſhou'd happen that there ſhou'd be an
‘ Obſtruction upon Occaſion of this Difference, at whoſe Door it muſt
‘ lye, Theirs that aſſume to themſelves more than belongs to them, to
‘ the Prejudice or Diminution of the other's Right; or Theirs that exer-
‘ ciſe that *Juſt*, *Lawful* and *Neceſſary* Power, which by the very *Na-*
‘ *ture* and conſtant *Practice* of Parliaments is, and for many Ages hath
‘ been veſted in both Houſes. Their Lordſhips had under their Conſi-
‘ deration and Debate, the deſiring of a *Free Conference* with your
‘ Houſe, upon the Reaſons of the Amendments in Difference between
‘ the Houſes; but when they found that you had interwoven your *Ge-*
‘ *neral* Poſition with every Reaſon you had offer'd upon *Particulars*, it
‘ ſeem'd to them *That your Judgments were prepoſſeſs'd:* And they hold
‘ it in vain, and below the Wiſdom of Parliament, to reaſon or argue a-
‘ gainſt *Fix'd Reſolutions*, and upon Terms of *Impoſſibility* to perſwade;
‘ and have therefore apply'd themſelves only to that Point which yet re-
‘ mains an Impediment in the Way of Free and Parliamentary Debates
‘ and Conferences, which muſt neceſſarily be firſt remov'd, That ſo we
‘ may come to a *Free Conference* upon the Bill it ſelf, and part with a
‘ fair Correſpondence between the two Houſes.

On the other Side the Houſe of Commons gave in a large Anſwer, *The Anſwer of the Commons.* in drawing up of which, they chiefly employ'd the ingenious Sir *Heneage Finch*, lately made Attorney General in the Room of Sir *Jeffrey Palmer*. In this Anſwer, ‘ The Commons confeſs, that the beſt Rule for decid-
‘ ing Queſtions of Right between the two Houſes, is the *Law* and *Uſage*
‘ of Parliament; and that the beſt Evidence of that Uſage and Cuſtom of
‘ Parliament, are the moſt frequent and authentick Precedents. There-
‘ fore the Commons will firſt examine the Precedents your Lordſhips
‘ ſeem to rely upon, then they will produce, thoſe by which their Right
‘ is aſſerted; and in the laſt Place they will conſider the Reaſons upon
‘ which your Lordſhips ground your ſelves. By the Nature of the Pre-
‘ cedents which your Lordſhips produce there is an evident Departure
‘ from the Queſtion as the former Conference left it: There the Doubt
‘ was narrowed to this ſingle Point, *Whether your Lordſhips cou'd retrench*
‘ *or abate any Part of the Rates which the Commons had granted*; Here
‘ the Precedents reach a joint Power of *Impoſing* and *Beginning* of Taxes,
‘ which we have not yet heard your Lordſhips pretend to, tho' this pre-
‘ ſent Difference prepares for it. Therefore either theſe Precedents
‘ prove too much, by proving a Power of *Impoſing*; or they prove no-
‘ thing at all, by not proving the Power of *Leſſening*. And yet they do
‘ not prove a Power of *Impoſing* neither: For theſe Words, *the Lords*
‘ *and Commons grant*, muſt either be underſtood *reddendo ſingula ſingu-*
‘ *lis*, that is, the Lords grant for themſelves, and the Commons grant
‘ for the Counties, Cities and Boroughs whom they repreſent; or elſe

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'the Word *Grant* must be understood only of the Lords *Assent* to what 'the Commons grant, because that the Form of Law requires that both 'join in one Bill to give it the Force of a Law.' Then they proceeded to examine the Lords Precedents, and to produce several of their own, too long to be here specify'd, and after that to consider the Reasons themselves, which they thus introduced.

Their particular Reasons.

'Before the Commons answer to your Lordships Reasons in Particu-'lar, they desire first in General, That it is a very unsafe Thing in any 'settled Government to argue the Reasons of the *Fundamental Consti-'tution*, for they can tend to nothing that is profitable to the whole. 'And this will more sensibly appear to your Lordships, if the Grounds 'and Foundations of *Judicature* be examin'd. If Usage for so long a 'Time hath silenc'd all Disputes touching that; shall that Usage be of 'no Force to preserve the Priviledges of the Commons from all further 'Questions? But to come to Particulars: 1. Your Lordships first Reason 'is from the Happiness of the Constitution, that the two Houses are 'mutual Checks upon each other. So they are still, for your Lordships 'have a Negative to the whole. But on the other Side, it wou'd be a 'double Check to his Majesty's Affairs, if the King may not rely upon 'the *Quantum*, when once his People have given it. And therefore 'the Priviledge now contended for by your Lordships, is not of Use to the 'Crown, but much to the contrary. 2. Your Lordships Reasons drawn 'from the Writ of Summons, are as little concluding: For tho' the Writ 'do not exclude you from any Affairs, yet it is only *de quibusdam arduis 'Negotiis*, and must be understood of such as in Course of Parliament are 'proper; else the Commons, upon the like Ground, may intitle them-'selves to *Judicature*, for they are also called *ad faciendum & consenti-'endum de quibusdam arduis, & super Negotiis antedictis.* 3. Your 'Lordships demand where is that Record or Contract in Parliament to 'be found, where the Lords appropriate this Right to the Commons in 'Exclusion of themselves? To this Rhetorical Question the Commons 'pray they may answer by another Question; Where is that Record or Con-'tract by which the Commons submitted that *Judicature* should be appro-'priated to the Lords, in Exclusion of themselves? Wherever your Lord-'ships find the last Record, they will shew the first endorsed upon the 'Back of the same Roll. Truth is, Precedents there are where both Sides 'do exercise their several Rights, but none how either Side came by them. '4. If the Lords may deny the Whole, why not a Part? else the Commons 'may at last pretend to barr a Negative Voice: The Lords and Com-'mons must accept the whole in a *General Pardon*, or deny it; yet this 'takes not away their Negative: The Clergy have a Right to tax 'themselves, and it is Part of the Priviledge of their Estate; doth 'the Upper Convocation House alter what the Lower House grant; or 'do the Lords and Commons ever abate any Part of their Gift? yet 'they have Power to reject the whole. But if *Abatement* shou'd be made, 'it wou'd insensibly go to a *Riseing*, and deprive the Clergy of their an-'cient Rights to tax themselves. 5. Your Lordships say that you allow 'the Commons to amend and alter Bills of *Judicature*, therefore you ex-'pect the same in Mony-Bills. If Contracts were now to be made for 'Priviledges, the Offer might seem fair: But yet the Commons shou'd 'profit but little by it; for your Lordships do now industriously 'avoid all Bills of that Nature, and chuse to do any Thing by your own 'Power, which ought to be done by the Legislative; of which we for-'bear the Instances, because your Lordships we hope will *Reform* them. '6. As to your Lordships Complaint of an ignoble Choice, *&c.* We de-'sire to observe, that this Reason, first makes your Lordships Judgments

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'to be the Welfare of the Commons of *England*: ſecondly, it gives you Power to raiſe and encreaſe Taxes, as well as to abate. It is an ignoble Choice put upon the King and his People, that either his Majeſty muſt demand, and his Commons give ſo ſmall an Aid that can never be diminiſh'd; or elſe run the Hazard of your Lordſhips Examination of the Rates, whoſe Proportions in all Taxes (in Compariſon to what the Commonwealth pay) are very inconſiderable. 7. Your Lordſhips ſay, if poſitive Aſſertions can introduce a Right, you have no Security, but the Commons may extend a Right as they judge neceſſary. We hope no Aſſertions or Denyals, tho' never ſo poſitive, ſhall give or take away Right; but we rely upon Uſage on our Side, and Non-Uſage on your Lordſhips Part as the beſt Evidences, by which your Lordſhips or we can claim any Priviledges. 8. Your Lordſhips profeſs a Deſire to raiſe our Eſteem with his Majeſty and the whole Kingdom, but not by the Undervaluation of the Houſe of Peers. We have ſo great Confidence in his Majeſty's Goodneſs, That we aſſure our ſelves nothing can leſſen his Majeſty's Eſteem of our Dutiful Affections to him; and we hope we have deſerv'd ſo well of our Country, that we ſhall not need your Lordſhips Recommendation to any who wiſh well to his Majeſty, or the preſent Government.——To conclude, the Commons have examin'd themſelves, and their Proceedings, and find no Cauſe why your Lordſhips ſhou'd put them in mind of that Modeſty by which their Anceſtors ſhew'd a great Deference to the Wiſdom of the Lords; and will obſerve the Modeſty of their Anceſtors, and doubt not but your Lordſhips will alſo follow the Wiſdom of yours.' 1671. Car. 23 Reſ. 12

To theſe the Lords proceeded to make ſome Replys, and particularly as to their having no Power to alter the Subſidies of the Clergy, nor an Act for a General Pardon: They ſaid 'theſe were Things eccentrick to Parliaments, and had their Motion in another Sphere: The Convocation gave one, and the King of his free Grace beſtow'd the other; and the Parliament only gave them the Force of Law, and might chuſe whether they wou'd do it or not; and conſequently this was no Ways to the Caſe in Diſpute. But to read the Commons Mony-Bill three Times in their Houſe, and to commit it, without any Power of debating upon it, was a ſolemn Piece of Pageantry, beneath the Dignity of a Parliament.' As to the Point of *Judicature*, they alledg'd, 'It belong'd to the Peers before the very Being of a Houſe of Commons, rather as the Grand Council of the Nation, than Part of the Parliament; and being veſted in the King, as well as themſelves, might poſſibly exiſt without the Sitting of a Parliament.' As to Precedents, they alledg'd, 'We have ſeveral for us; but it were enough for our Juſtification, if there be none againſt us; and there cou'd be one of theſe Kinds, either that we have of our ſelves diſclaim'd ſuch a Power, or that it hath been deny'd them when they have claim'd it, and whoſoever ſheweth one of either, *Erit nobis magnus Apollo.*' *The Lords Replys.*

But before they cou'd finiſh their Arguments, or put any Period to this great Controverſy, on the 22d of *April*, his Majeſty, who had been us'd to cut thoſe Knots that were not eaſily unty'd, came to the Houſe of Peers, in order to a Prorogation. But before that the two Houſes found ſo much Time as to preſent his Majeſty with an Addreſs, 'That his Majeſty wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd by his own Example to encourage the conſtant wearing of the Manufactures of his own Kingdom and Dominions, and diſcountenance the Wear of any Manufactures made in Foreign Countries.' His Majeſty very graciouſly accepted their humble Motion, and was pleas'd to declare, 'That he willingly comply'd with their Deſires therein; and did aſſure them, that as he had already put it in Practice in his own Perſon, ſo he wou'd for the future *The Commons Addreſs.* *The King's Anſwer.*

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He passes several Acts.

'future take Care, that it shou'd be observ'd by himself, and those of his 'Family.' After which he gave his Royal Assent to the several Bills that were presented to him, fourteen private Acts and eighteen publick, of which last were, 1. An Act *to prevent the Delivery up of Merchant Ships, and for the Encrease of good and serviceable Shipping.* 2. An Act *for exporting of Beer, Ale, and Mum.* 3. An Act for *laying Impositions on Proceedings at Law.* 4. An Act for *the better settling of Intestate Estates.* 5. An Act for *Determining of Differences touching Houses burnt within four Years since the late dreadful Fire of* London. 6. An Additional Act for *ascertaining the Measures of Corn and Salt.* 7. An Act for *the more certain Recovery of Fines and Forfeitures due to his Majesty.* 8. An Act for *the better Paving and Clearing the Streets and Shores in and about* London. 9. An Act for *the Relief and Release of poor Prisoners for Debt.* 10. An Act for *the Discovery of such as have defrauded the Poor of* London *of the Monies given them at the Times of the late Plague and Fire.* 11. An Act for *the better Regulating of Work-Houses, for setting the Poor on Work.* 12. An Act for *the better Settlement of the Maintenance of the Parsons, Vicars and Curates in the Parishes of* London, *burnt by the late dreadful Fire.* 13. An Act for *vesting certain Fee-Farm Rents, and other small Rents, in Trustees.* 14. An Act *to prevent Frauds in the buying and selling Cattle in* Smithfield *and elsewhere.* 15. An Act for *the better Preservation of the Game, and for the securing Warrens not enclosed, and the several Fishings of the Realm.* 16. An Act for *the taking Accounts of sixty thousand Pounds, and other Moneys, given to the loyal Indigent Officers.* 17. An Act *to prevent the planting Tobacco in* England, *and for regulating the Plantation Trade.* 18. An Act to revive a former Act, Intituled, *An Act to prevent the Disturbances of Sea-Men and others, and to preserve the Stores belonging to his Majesty's Royal Navy.* Upon passing these Acts, his Majesty, without any Speech, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 16th of *April* next, and afterwards, from Time to Time, to the 4th of *February* 167$\frac{1}{2}$. And thus ended the tenth Session of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had sate this last Time about three Months; in which Session more Mony is believ'd to have been granted, tho' not all at once, than in any before. After which there was the longest Recess that had been in this Reign, namely a Year, and above nine Months.

The End of the Tenth Session of the Second Parliament.

X. 1. During this long Interval and Intermission, the Ministry having Opportunity to act without Inspection or Controul, more bold as well as false Steps were made, and more dark Designs carry'd on and effected, than had been known in all the Reign before. But before we come to any Particulars, we are to begin the Year 1671 in Mourning for the Death of *Anne* Dutchess of *York*, the eldest Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord Chancellor of *England:* After a growing Corpulency that cast her into a long Indisposition of Health, she dy'd in the 34th Year of her Age at the Palace of St. *James* on *Friday* the 31st of *March*, while the Parliament was Sitting; and five Days after was interr'd in a large Vault in *Westminster* Abbey, on the South side of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel; her Body being accompany'd from the *Painted Chamber* in the old Palace by his Highness Prince *Rupert*, who appear'd as chief Mourner, and by most of the Nobility who follow'd in Order: The Kings and Officers of Arms gave their Attendance, and his Majesty's and Royal Highnesses Servants, and several Gentlemen and Persons of Quality preceded the Corps to the Place of Interrment, with all the Ceremonies usually practis'd on the like great Solemnities. This Lady, who had liv'd a firm and zealous Member of the Church of *England*, was in the Time of her long Weakness importun'd and overpower'd

Sandford. MSS. Temple. Gazettes. Talbot. Wood. Collier. Pope.

The Death and Progeny of the Dutchess of York.

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to declare her ſelf a *Roman* Catholick; and ſhe left a Paper written not long before her Death, in which ſhe attributed her Converſion chiefly to the Reading Dr. *Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation*. Yet her Change of Religion is moſtly imputed to the Zeal of the Duke her Husband, who prevail'd upon her, notwithſtanding all the Care of her Father, who fearing her Deſertion, wrote two pathetick and expoſtulatory Letters to prevent, or at leaſt to lament the Misfortune. She had in all, four Sons and four Daughters, namely, *Charles*, born *October* 22, 1660. *Mary*, born *April* 30, 1662. *James*, born *July* 12, 1663. *Anne*, born *February* 6, 1664. *Charles*, born *July* 4, 1666. *Edgar*, born *September* 14, 1667. *Henrietta*, born *January* 13, 1668. and *Catharine*, born *February* 9, 1670. Of theſe, *Charles*, *James*, *Charles*, and *Henrietta* dy'd before their Mother; and *Edgar* and *Catharine* dy'd ſhortly after. The two ſurviving Daughters, *Mary* and *Anne*, now nine and ſeven Years of Age, afterwards prov'd two great Queens, the Glory and Happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation, and both the Bulwark and Ornament of the Reformation. 1671. Car. 23 Reſ. 12

The Duke Abjures the Proteſtant Religion.

Shortly after the Death of the Dutcheſs, his Royal Highneſs the Duke thought fit to abjure the Proteſtant Religion in Form, which he did before Father *Simons* an *Engliſh* Jeſuit. He had long been of the *Romiſh* Religion, even before the Reſtoration, and ever continu'd a true Member of that Church; but by the Advice of the King, a more imperfect Votary than Himſelf, and ſome few Friends, he was prevail'd upon to conceal his Religion, for ſome Years; tho' of late he began more and more to be ſuſpected. The *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, whoſe Influence and Intereſt daily increas'd at Court, were not content with his bare Profeſſion, but expected a more open and ſolemn Declaration of his Faith; and to ſecure ſo illuſtrious a Convert, they at length engag'd him to the foremention'd Abjuration, which he had often promis'd, but had long deferr'd, as having no great Inclination to enter upon a ſolemn Form, when there was no Neceſſity for it. But now he met with a peculiar Inducement, which is proper to be remember'd in this Place, and is one of the great Secrets of the Reign. The King, it ſeems, had for ſome Years entertain'd a ſecret Deſign of being Divorc'd from his Queen, whoſe Perſon he had ever diſlik'd, upon the Account of her Bodily Infirmities, as well as her unfortunate Barrenneſs. Many Reaſons were invented, and Pretences made to give Colour and Plauſibility to the Divorce. One Pretence was, that the Queen had been preingag'd to another Perſon; another was, that ſhe had made a Vow of Chaſtity before her Marriage; and beſides, her Incapacity of bearing Children was thought a ſufficient Reaſon for Diſſolving the Marriage: And we are told by ſome, that even Treachery it ſelf was not forgotten, in order to effect the intended Divorce; and Snares were ſaid to be laid to betray her Majeſty into ſuch kind of Freedoms, as might be the Ground of a dangerous Accuſation. Whatever was ſaid and done, the Papiſts themſelves had the greateſt Hand in it, and brought it to the greateſt Forwardneſs; and what is more ſurprizing, the Court of *Rome* ſeems to have had the greateſt ſtroke of all in it. This I have been aſſured by a Noble Man of unqueſtion'd Fidelity, who being at *Venice* in the Year 1670, he was there told by the Pope's Nuncio, *That the Divorce was then concluded on, and as good as compleated at* Rome. At his Return into *England*, he found the whole Deſign at an End; and being acquainted with ſome Secrets in the Court, his Father being a Privy-Counſellor, he ſoon found the Cauſe of the Change. The *Romiſh* Eccleſiaſticks, not thinking themſelves abſolutely ſecure of their Convert, had often urg'd the Duke to an Abjuration, and at laſt ſolemnly ingag'd upon That, to undertake to put a total Period to the Divorce that had been ſo long in projecting. From which

The King's intended Divorce.

Time

1671. Car. 23 Ref. 12

Time the whole Deſign was for ever laid aſide, and a ſecond Marriage reſolv'd on, for the Encreaſe of the Duke's Family.

As the Duke's Religion began gradually to appear to the Eyes of the World, the great Love and Eſteem of the Nation, eſpecially of one Party, began ſenſibly to diminiſh, and the Height of his Glory to be in ſome Proportion abated: And as his Power and Intereſt decreas'd, ſo that of the Duke of *Monmouth* did manifeſtly increaſe with the ſame Party, and among the Populace; ſo that theſe two by Degrees became the Heads of thoſe two Parties that afterwards ſo unhappily divided and diſtracted the Nation. The Duke of *Monmouth* was now about twenty two Years of Age, and not long ſince admitted into the Privy-Council. To give ſome ſhort Account of him at once, he was the eldeſt and belov'd Natural Son of the King by Mrs. *Lucy Barlow* alias *Walters*, bearing the Name of *James Crofts* till his Majeſty's Reſtoration; educated chiefly at *Paris* under the Eye of the Queen Mother, and the Government of Mr. *Roſs*, afterwards Keeper of the King's Library, and Groom of the Privy Chamber. At Thirteen Years of Age, in the Bloom of his Youth and Beauty, he was brought over into *England*, and receiv'd by the King with wonderful Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection. He had an Apartment fitted up for him in the Privy Gallery at *White-Hall*; he had his Gentlemen and Pages to attend him, with a noble Equipage, Train, and Penſion ſuitable to his Birth and Royal Relation. The ſame Year, 1662, he was created Duke of *Orkney* in *Scotland*, and ſoon after Duke of *Monmouth*; and the next Year was inſtall'd Knight of the Garter with the uſual Solemnities, at *Windſor*. In 1665 he was enter'd a Member of *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, having been before Incorporated a Maſter of Arts in both Univerſities. In the ſame Year he was made Maſter of the Horſe; and ſhortly after, at the King's own Procuring, he marry'd *Anne* Daughter and Heir to *Francis* Earl of *Buccleugh* in *Scotland*, generally eſteem'd the greateſt Fortune and fineſt Lady in the three Kingdoms. His Majeſty after that loaded him with ſeveral other Places of Honour and Profit, as General of the Land Forces, Captain of his Life Guard of Horſe, Lord Lieutenant of the *Eaſt Riding* in *Yorkſhire*, Governor of the Town and Citadel of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, Chief Juſtice in *Eyre* on the South ſide of the River *Trent*; and in right of his Lady, he made him Duke of *Buccleugh*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *Scotland*: And, what was above all other Titles, he became every Day more and more a Favourite of the King, and of the People. His Face and Perſon was beautiful and majeſtick, his Mien and Behaviour graceful and engaging; ſo that he often captivated the Affections of both Sexes. He was of an intrepid Courage and Bravery, and his Heart was always divided between Love and Glory: He had, in ſhort, all the Accompliſhments of a fine Gentleman, but allay'd with too much Ambition; and not having a profound reach of Judgment, he became too ſuſceptible of the Inſinuations of Deſigning Men; ſo that he was a fit Inſtrument to promote other Mens Ambition, as well as his own, and as ſuch was us'd by Him who was the Soul of the *Cabal*, to which Council it is time to return.

The Duke of Monmouth's *Riſe and Character.*

The Proceedings of the Cabal.

2. All this while the *Cabal* proceeded in their Deſigns with Vigour, the chief of which they pretended to, was to make his Majeſty a Great King. This was to be effected by the new Alliance with *France*, by the Breach of the *Triple Alliance*, and by a War to humble the *States* of the *United Provinces*. The better to effect which, Mr. *Henry Coventry*, who had aſſiſted in the Treaty of *Breda*, was ſent Ambaſſador to the Court of *Sweden*, and Sir *George Downing* to the *Hague*, in the room of Sir *William Temple*; but all Things ſtill were carry'd on with the utmoſt Secrecy and Artifice.

tifice. The *French* King, as *Primi* assures us, sent his *Britannick* Majesty a sufficient Sum of Money for fitting out a considerable Fleet; and the better to conceal the Confederacy, advis'd him to signify to the *Dutch*, 'That he design'd to keep up a good Understanding with them, 'to appear firm to the Treaty of the *Triple Alliance*, and to give out that 'he wou'd not have fitted out a Fleet, if his Neighbours, and *France* in 'particular, had not made great Naval Preparations in all their Ports upon 'the Ocean.' All Things being dispos'd towards a Rupture with the *Dutch*, Occasion was sought for a plausible Beginning, and particularly the *East-India* Company were summon'd to know, whether they had any Thing to object against them. Some Insolencies were discover'd, and certain scandalous Pictures, reflecting upon the King and his Government, were complain'd of now, and afterwards insisted on as a Cause of the Breach. 1671. Car. 23 Ref. 12

In the Month of *August* a fair Occasion was offer'd towards an open Quarrel: Sir *William Temple* being totally recall'd from his Embassy, one of the King's Yatchts was sent to bring over his Lady; while the *Dutch* Fleet was floating in the narrow Seas, to shew, as it was suppos'd, that they were in a Condition to meet those Dangers they began to suspect from the Motions of *France*, and the late Conduct of *England*. The Captain of the Yatcht, that was appointed to bring over the *English* Ambassadress, had publick Orders given him at Court, if he came in sight of the *Dutch* Fleet, he shou'd sail through them, and shoot at those Ships that were next him; either till he made them strike Sail, or till they shot at him again, and then pursue his Course. He pass'd into *Holland* without seeing them; but as he return'd he met the Fleet, and sailing through them, made several Shots at those near him: Upon which they seeming, at least, not to know what he meant, and to believe that he might be in some Distress, the Admiral sent a Boat on Board him to inquire. The Captain told them, *That he had been sent to bring back the* English *Ambassadress with her Family from* Holland; *and had Orders to make the* Dutch *Fleet strike, where-ever he met them in those Seas.* Upon which unexpected Message, Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* went himself on Board the Yatcht, as upon a Compliment to the Lady *Temple*; which being handsomly perform'd, he desired to speak with the Captain, of whom he inquired the Reason of his Shooting; and receiving the same Answer, he said *It was a Point wherein they had receiv'd no Orders from their Masters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed between his Majesty and the* States: *But tho' it were settled, the Captain cou'd not pretend the Fleet and Admiral shou'd strike to a Yatcht; which was but a* Pleasure Boat, *and cou'd not pass for one of the King's Men of War.* The Captain said *He had his Orders, and was bound to follow them.* After *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain, in great Perplexity, came to the Lady *Temple*, and desired to know, *What she pleas'd he shou'd do in the Case; which she saw he did not like very Well, and wou'd be glad to be extricated by her Help.* Her Ladyship told him, *he knew his Orders best, and what he was to do upon them; which she left him to follow as he thought fit, without any Regard to Her or her Children.* However the Captain pursu'd his Course, and landed her safe in *England*.

The Beginning of the Breach with Holland.

Immediately after the Lady repair'd to Court, where she was well receiv'd, and much commended for her Part in what had pass'd; and the same Night Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, Judge of the Prerogative, was sent to take her Examination in Form, upon the whole Matter of Fact. When Sir *William Temple* went next to the King's Levee, his Majesty began to speak of his Lady's Carriage at Sea, and to extol it as much as he blam'd that of the Captain, declaring *That the Lady had shew'd more Courage than*

Sir W. Temple's *Discourse with the King.*

1671. Car. 23 Ref. 12

than the Captain. Then falling upon the Inſolence of the *Dutch*, Sir *William*, with a pleaſant Air, ſaid, *That however Matters went, it muſt be confeſs'd that there was ſome Merit in my Family, ſince I had made the* ALLIANCES *with* Holland, *and my Wife was like to have the Honour of making the* WAR. The King ſmil'd, as well as Sir *William*, who rightly judg'd this to be the only Way to turn the Diſcourſe into good Humour. When he went into the King's Cloſet, he deſired to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand upon the Concluſion of his Embaſſy; which the King gave him very graciouſly, and told him, *He had all the Reaſon that cou'd be, to be ſatisfy'd with his Services.* And upon Sir *William*'s Deſire, *That his Majeſty wou'd give him ſome Help in the Diſpatch of his Payments due from the Exchequer, ſince he was reſolved to ask him nothing elſe; and without them had been at ſo great and long Expence to maintain his Family at the* Hague; his Majeſty told him, *He wou'd ſpeak to the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury to do him Juſtice, and in the mean Time wou'd give him the Plate belonging to his Embaſſy*, which he had ſtill in his poſſeſſion. For which he return'd his humble Thanks to his Majeſty, who ſeem'd very much pleas'd to ſee he took it kindly, and was ſo eaſily contented. 'And thus, to uſe Sir *William*'s own Words, an Adventure 'has ended, which had for almoſt three Years made ſo much Noiſe in 'the World, reſtor'd and preſerv'd ſo long the General Peace, and left 'his Majeſty the Arbitrage of all Affairs among our Neighbours, by the 'Emperor and *Spain*'s Reſolutions, as well as *Sweden* and *Holland*'s, to 'follow his Meaſures for the common Peace and Safety of *Chriſten-*'*dom.*

The King celebrates the Feaſt of St. George.

3. Tho' Preparations were daily making for War, yet ſtill all Things were carry'd on with Secrecy and Artifice, and the King ſeem'd wholly taken up with the Arts and Pleaſures of Peace, and particularly in making Progreſſes through ſeveral Parts of his Dominions, which ſerv'd both for Uſe and Delight. But before he undertook theſe, he thought fit to celebrate ſome great Solemnities relating to the Honour of the *Garter*, at his Palace of *Windſor*, where noble Preparations were made. Accordingly on *Sunday* the 28th of *May*, being now the Eve of the Feaſt of St. *George*, as it was this Year appointed to be obſerv'd, upon the Account of the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Birth and Reſtoration, the King as Sovereign of the Order, accompany'd by his Royal Brother the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert* and other Companions of the ſame Order, all in their Habits proceeded in the Afternoon to the Chappel of St. *George* in *Windſor* with extraordinary Solemnity, were before the Divine Service began, the Earl of *Carliſle*, introduc'd between his Royal Highneſs and Prince *Rupert*, was Inſtall'd as Proxy of the King of *Sweden*; and the Earl of *Winchelſea*, between the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham*, as Proxy for the Elector of *Saxony*, both which Princes had been inveſted with the full Habit of the Order in the Year 1669; and after them the Duke of *Albemarle*, introduc'd between the Earls of *Sandwich* and *Oxford*, was likewiſe inveſted and plac'd in his Stall. The next Day the grand Feaſt was celebrated with unuſual Splendor and Magnificence; and the Day following, the Sovereign Proceeding to the Chappel, after he had taken his Stall, the Companions, before they aſcended to theirs, offer'd in Order the Atchievements of Arms, *viz.* the Banners, Swords and Creſts of ſeven deceaſed Knights, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas* Earl of *Berks*, *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *Mountague* Earl of *Lindſey*, and *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*.

Not

Not long after, the King began to make his ſeveral Progreſſes, beginning firſt at ſuch Places as he had formerly viſited, as *Portſmouth* and the Iſle of *Wight*; from whence his Majeſty went by Sea to *Plymouth*, and coming back by *Exeter* and *Wilton*, he return'd to *Windſor* and *White-Hall* within leſs than a Month. In the Month of *September* he undertook a new Progreſs to ſuch Places as he had never ſeen before, being attended by his Royal Brother, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and other of the Nobility, and ſome Part of the Way with the Queen her ſelf. On the 26th the noble Train ſet out from *Newmarket* to the Lord *Arlington*'s Houſe at *Euſton-Hall*, and from thence to the Town of *Yarmouth*, where his Majeſty was receiv'd with all poſſible Expreſſions of Joy, and with the Diſcharge of above twelve Hundred Pieces of Ordnance from the Ships and the Town. His Majeſty was infinitely pleas'd with the Town and the Port, and ſaid *He did not think he had had ſuch a Place in his Dominions*; and having receiv'd a noble Treat from the Magiſtrates, he went to viſit the City of *Norwich*, where at the Bounds of the City Liberties he was met by the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen on Horſe-back, beſides the Biſhop, Dean and Chapter, attended by a numerous Train of the Country Clergy, and likewiſe the Lord *Henry Howard* with his Coaches: His Majeſty was complimented by the Recorder, and ſo conducted through the Militia of the City, rank'd on both Sides the Streets, to the *Duke's Place*, the Paſſages being throng'd with incredible Numbers of People. About two Hours after the Queen alſo arriv'd, attended by ſeveral Ladies of the chiefeſt Quality of her Court, from the Lord *Arlington*'s Houſe at *Euſton*: And at Eight in the Evening, both their Majeſties, together with the whole Court, which was very numerous, were treated with a magnificent Supper, in a very large Room, beautifully illuminated with Wax Flambeaux. The next Day, having viſited the Cathedral and Biſhops Palace, and every where attended with the loud Acclamations of the People, their Majeſties were treated by the City with a glorious Banquet at the New Hall; and before the King parted from the City, he conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon the famous Phyſician, Dr. *Thomas Brown*. Then, viſiting Sir *John Hubbert*'s at *Blecking*, and Sir *Robert Paſton*'s at *Oxney*, the Court return'd to *Newmarket*.

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He makes a Progreſs through ſeveral Parts of his Kingdom.

After a ſhort Stay there, his Majeſty thought fit to make a Viſit to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where his Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham* had been lately choſen Chancellor in the Room of the deceas'd Earl of *Mancheſter*. On the fourth of *October* he went thither, attended with a great Train of the Nobility; and was firſt met without the Town by the Mayor and Aldermen, and the Train'd-Bands. The whole Body of the Students according to their ſeveral Orders and Degrees in their Habits, attended in the Streets from his firſt Entrance to the Publick Schools; and as he paſs'd by the Market Place, the Conduit ran with Claret Wine. At the Schools he was receiv'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Chancellor of the Univerſity, attended by the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, who preſented him with a fair Bible, while Dr. *Widdrington* the Orator complimented him with a ſhort Speech. The King view'd the Publick Library, and took eſpecial Notice of the rare Eaſtern Manuſcript given by the late Duke of *Buckingham*, as alſo of the many fair Volumes bought by the annual Beneficence of Mr. *Tobias Ruſtall*, one of his Majeſty's preſent Servants. From thence he paſs'd to *King*'s Colledge Chappel, where he heard an Anthem; and from the Top of the Leads had a fair Proſpect of the whole Town and Country. After this he walk'd through the Streets to St. *John*'s and *Trinity* Colledges, where he view'd their Libraries, and heard Speeches from the Maſters of both, as he had before done at *King*'s Colledge. Immediately after he was entertain'd in

He viſits the Univerſity of Cambridge.

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Trinity-Colledge-Hall with a Splendid Dinner, ſerv'd up by Maſters of Arts, being Regents, in their Habits, where plentiful Tables were alſo ſpread for the Nobility, and all belonging to the Court. After Dinner his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Charles Cæſar* Eſquire, Son of Sir *Henry Cæſar*, who brought up the firſt Diſh: And having ſeen a Comedy acted there, with which his Majeſty ſhew'd himſelf exceedingly pleas'd, as alſo with the good Order of the whole Univerſity, he return'd the ſame Night to *Newmarket*.

He is treated by the City of London.

The King being return'd to *White-Hall*, on the 30th of *October*, the City of *London*, being now recover'd out of the late deplorable Ruins to a greater Beauty and Splendor than before, made a ſolemn Invitation to both their Majeſties to honour their Feaſt on the Lord Mayor's Day, for which they made more than ordinary Preparations. The King and Queen were pleas'd to honour the City with their Royal Preſence, firſt at the Show in *Cheapſide*, under a rich Canopy of State, and afterwards at the *Guild-Hall* at Dinner. Their Majeſties were attended by his Royal Highneſs the Duke, Prince *Rupert*, the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne*, Daughters to the Duke, the greateſt Part of the Nobility, both Lords and Ladies, the Judges and Serjeants at Law, beſides all Foreign Ambaſſadors, and publick Miniſters. The Entertainment was magnificent beyond Expreſſion; the whole Service was manag'd with admirable Order, and with as much Quiet and Decency, as the Place and Number of People cou'd poſſibly admit; and nothing was omitted by the City, that might expreſs their Joy and Exultation, as well as the Duty and Affection to their Majeſties, for this particular Favour. Before Dinner his Majeſty was pleas'd to conferr the Honour of Knighthood upon thoſe noted Gentlemen, *Jonathan Dawes*, and *Robert Clayton* Eſquires, the preſent Sheriffs; and in the Evening return'd to *White-Hall*, infinitely pleas'd at the extraordinary Reſpects with which the City receiv'd the Honour of his Preſence; which was accompany'd with the univerſal Joy and Acclamations of the People, who on this Occaſion had throng'd all the Streets where their Majeſties paſs'd, in moſt incredible Numbers.

A particular Account of Blud's *Attempt upon the Crown.*

4. Before we conclude this Year, we are to give an Account of a ſtrange and prodigious Attempt made by *Blud*, formerly mention'd, and his abominable Confederates. This ſuperlative Villain, after he had been diſappointed in his former Attempts, and laſt of all in that upon the Life of the Duke of *Ormond*, in a ſhort Time enter'd upon a more deſperate Deſign, that might fully recompence all former Miſcarriages with an immenſe Gain, and the Reputation of the moſt daring Wickedneſs; and this was to ſeize upon the Crown and *Regalia* of the Kingdom. The Particulars and Conſequences of this unparallel'd Contrivance are little known to the World; therefore a full Account of both is here given from a Manuſcript of Sir *Gilbert Talbot*'s, Maſter of the Jewel-Houſe, who made a ſtrict Enquiry into the whole Affair; and may be entertaining, as well as uſeful to a curious Reader.

About three Weeks before this *Blud*, the chief Undertaker, made his Attempt upon the Crown, he came to the *Tower* in the Habit of a Clergy-Man, with a long Cloak, Caſſock, and Canonical Girdle; and brought a Woman with him whom he call'd his Wife, tho' his Wife was then ſick in *Lancaſhire*. This pretended Wife deſired to ſee the Crown; and having ſeen it, pretended to have a Qualm come upon her Stomach, and deſired the Keeper of the Crown, old Mr. *Edwards*, to ſend for ſome Spirits, who immediately caus'd his Wife to fetch ſome; of which when ſhe had drunk, Mrs. *Edwards* invited her to repoſe her ſelf upon a Bed, which ſhe accepted of, and ſoon recover'd: At their Departure they declar'd

clar'd themſelves very thankful for this Civility. About three Days after, *Blud* came again to Mr. *Edwards* with a Preſent of four Pair of fine Gloves from his Wife; and having thus begun the Acquaintance, made frequent Viſits to improve it, profeſſing, *That he ſhou'd never ſufficiently acknowledge her Kindneſs.* Having made ſome ſmall Reſpit of his Compliments, he return'd again and told Mrs. *Edwards*, *That his Wife cou'd diſcourſe of Nothing but of the Kindneſs of thoſe good People in the* Tower: *That ſhe had long ſtudy'd, and at length bethought her Self of a handſom Way of Requital. You have*, ſaid he, *a pretty Gentlewoman to your Daughter, and I have a young Nephew who has two or three Hundred Pounds a Year Land, and is at my Diſpoſal: If your Daughter be free, and you approve of it, I will bring him hither to ſee her, and we will endeavour to make it a Match.* This was eaſily aſſented to by old Mr. *Edwards*, who invited the pretended Parſon to dine with him that Day, and he as readily accepted of the Invitation, who taking upon him to ſay Grace, perform'd it with ſingular Devotion, and lifting up of Eyes, and concluded his long-winded Bleſſing with a hearty Prayer for the King, Queen and Royal Family. After Dinner he went up to ſee the Rooms; and diſcovering a handſome Caſe of Piſtols there, he expreſs'd a great Deſire to buy them *to preſent to a young Lord who was his Neighbour*; probably to diſarm the Houſe againſt the Time he intended to put his Deſign in Execution. At his Departure, which was with a Canonical Benediction of the good Company, he appointed a Day and Hour to bring his young Nephew to his Miſtreſs, which was that very Day that he made his bold Attempt, the 9th of *May*, about ſeven in the Morning. 1671. Car. 23 Reſ. 12

The Progreſs of it.

At that Time the old Man was got up ready to receive his Gueſts, and the Daughter had put her Self into her beſt Dreſs, to receive her Gallant; when, according to Appointment, Parſon *Blud* with three more came to the Jewel-Houſe, all arm'd with Rapier Blades in their Canes, and every one a Dagger, and a Pair of Pocket Piſtols: Two of his Companions enter'd in with him, and the third ſtaid at the Door, for a careful Watch. The Daughter thought it not modeſt for her to come down, till ſhe was call'd; but ſent her Maid to take a view of the Company, and to bring her a Deſcription of the Perſon of her Gallant. The Maid imagin'd that he who ſtaid at the Door was the intended Bridegroom, becauſe he was the youngeſt of the Company, and return'd to her young Miſtreſs with the Character ſhe had form'd of his Perſon. In the interim, *Blud* told Mr. *Edwards* that they wou'd not go up Stairs till his Wife came; and deſired him to ſhew his Friends the Crown *to paſs the Time till then.* As ſoon as they were enter'd the Room where the Crown was kept, and the Door, as uſually, was ſhut behind them, they threw a Cloak over the old Man's Head, and clapt a Gag into his Mouth, which was a great Plug of Wood with a ſmall Hole to take breath at, that was ty'd on with a waxed Leather which went round his Neck. At the ſame Time they faſtned an Iron Hook to his Noſe, that no Sound might paſs from him that Way. Having thus ſecured him from crying out, they plainly told him, *That they were reſolv'd to have the Crown, Globe and Scepter; and if he wou'd quietly ſubmit to it, they wou'd ſpare his Life, otherwiſe he was to expect no Mercy.* He thereupon forc'd himſelf to make all the Noiſe he poſſibly cou'd, to be heard above: Upon which they knock'd him down with a wooden Mallet, and told him, *That if he wou'd lye quietly, they wou'd ſpare his Life; but if not, upon the next Attempt to diſcover them, they wou'd kill him*, and pointed three Daggers at his Breaſt. Still he ſtrain'd himſelf to make the greater Noiſe; at which they gave him nine or ten Stroaks more upon the Head

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with the Mallet, and ſtabb'd him into the Belly. The poor Man, almoſt fourſcore Years old, fell and lay ſome Time entranc'd; when one of them kneeling on the Ground to try if he breath'd, and not perceiving any Breath to come from him, ſaid, *He is dead, I'll warrant him:* Mr. *Edwards* recovering a little, heard his Words, and conceiving it beſt for Himſelf to be ſo thought, lay very quietly. Concluding him dead, they omitted to tye his Hands behind him; and *Parret*, one of the Companions put the Globe into his Breeches, *Blud* kept the Crown under his Cloak; the Third was deſign'd to file the Sceptre in two, becauſe too long to carry conveniently, and then to put it into a Bag brought for that purpoſe.

The Diſappointment.

But before this cou'd be done, young Mr. *Edwards*, Son of the old Gentleman, juſt come from *Flanders*, chanc'd to arrive at the very Inſtant that this was acting; and coming to the Door, the Perſon who ſtood Centinel for the reſt, ask'd him *With whom he wou'd ſpeak?* He made Anſwer *He belong'd to the Houſe*; but perceiving by his Queſtion, that he himſelf was a Stranger, told him, *That if he had any Buſineſs with his Father, he wou'd go and acquaint him with it*, and went up Stairs, where he was welcom'd by his Mother, Wife and Siſter. In the mean Time the Centinel gave notice of the Son's Arrival, and they immediately haſted away with the Crown and the Globe, but left the Sceptre, not having Time to file it. The old Man returning to himſelf, got ſuddenly up, pull'd off the Gag, and cry'd out *Treaſon, Murder!* The Daughter hearing him, ran down, and ſeeing her Father thus wounded, ruſh'd out upon the Tower Hill, and cry'd *Treaſon, the Crown is ſtoln!* This gave the firſt Allarm; and *Blud* and *Parret* making great Haſte, were obſerv'd to jogg each other with their Elbows as they went, which caus'd them to be ſuſpected and purſu'd. By this Time young *Edwards* and one Captain *Beckman*, upon the Cry of their Siſter, were come down, and left their Father likewiſe to run after the Villains: But they were advanc'd beyond the main Guard, and the Allarm being given to the Warder at the Draw-Bridge, he put himſelf in a Poſture to ſtop them. *Blud* came up firſt, and diſcharg'd a Piſtol at him; the Bullet miſs'd him, but the Powder or Fear made him fall to the Ground, whereby they got ſafe to the little Ward-Houſe Gate, where one *Sill*, one of *Cromwell*'s Soldiers, ſtood Centinel, who, tho' he ſaw the other Warder ſhot, made no Reſiſtance, by which means the Villains got over that Draw-Bridge, and through the outward Gate upon the Wharf, and made all poſſible Haſte towards their Horſes, which attended at St. *Catharine*'s Gate, call'd the *Iron Gate*; crying themſelves, as they ran, *Stop the Rogues!* and the grave Canonical Habit made them thought innocent.

Immediately after, Captain *Beckman* got up to them, at which *Blud* diſcharg'd his ſecond Piſtol at the Captain's Head, but he ſtooping down avoided the Shot, and ſeiz'd upon him, with the Crown under his Cloak: Yet *Blud* had the Impudence, tho' he ſaw himſelf a Priſoner, to ſtruggle a long while for the Crown, and when it was wreſted from him, he cry'd *It was a gallant Attempt, however unſucceſsful, for it was for a Crown.* A Servant belonging to Captain *Shirburn* ſeiz'd upon *Parret*, before *Blud* was taken: And there was ſo much Conſternation in all Men, and ſo much Confuſion in the Purſuit, that it was a Miracle that ſeveral innocent Perſons had not ſuffer'd; for young *Edwards* overtaking one that was bloody in the Scuffle, and ſuppoſing him to be one of his Father's Murtherers, was going to run him through, had not Captain *Beckman* hinder'd him. And as this Captain himſelf made vaſt Haſte in the Purſuit, the Guards were going to fire at him, thinking him to be one of the Rogues; but one of them, who fortunately knew him, cry'd out, *He*

is

is a Friend! Blud and *Parret* being both ſeiz'd, *Hunt*, another of them, and Son-in-law to *Blud*, leap'd to Horſe with two more of the Conſpirators, and rid far away; but a Cart in the Street chanc'd to turn ſhort, *Hunt* run his Head againſt a Pole that ſtuck out, which made him fall aſtoniſh'd from his Horſe: But recovering his Legs, and putting his Foot in the Stirrup, a Cobler running in, cry'd *This is* Tom Hunt, *who was in the bloody Buſineſs againſt the Duke of* Ormond, *let us ſecure him!* A Conſtable being accidentally there, ſeiz'd him upon this Affirmation, and he was, with *Blud* and *Parret*, committed to ſafe Cuſtody in the *Tower*. *Parret* was a Silk Dyer in *Southwark*, and in the Rebellion had been Lieutenant to Major-General *Harriſon*. In the robuſtious Struggle for the Crown, the great Pearl, and fair Diamond fell off, and were loſt for a while, with ſome other ſmaller Stones; but the Pearl was found by a poor ſweeping Woman to one of the Warders, and the Diamond by a Barber's Prentice, and both faithfully reſtored. Other ſmall Stones were pick'd up by ſeveral Perſons, and brought in. The fair *Ballas* Ruby, belonging to the Sceptre, was found in *Parret*'s Pocket; ſo that nothing conſiderable was wanting; the Crown only was bruis'd, and ſent to be repair'd.

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Blud, &c. taken.

5. All Perſons were allarm'd with the Noiſe of this unparallel'd Tranſaction, and the King had the Curioſity to hear the Examination Himſelf; for which Reaſon the Priſoners were carry'd to *White-Hall*. Nothing but this Appearance before his Majeſty, cou'd poſſibly have ſav'd *Blud* from Execution; but that which ought to have been his ſurer Condemnation, prov'd to be his Safety. For all Men concluding that none but thoſe who had the Courage to venture upon ſuch a daring Villany as that of the Crown, cou'd be guilty of the Practice upon ſuch an eminent Peer as the Duke of *Ormond*; therefore, amongſt other Queſtions, it was thought fit to interrogate him *whether he had not a Part in that Aſſault*; for the Authors of it were yet in the dark. *Blud*, as if he valu'd himſelf upon the Action, and poſſibly ſuſpecting that the King might have made ſome Diſcovery of it, without Heſitation, confeſs'd he had. Being then ask'd who were his Aſſociates, he anſwer'd, *That he wou'd never betray a Friend's Life, nor deny a Guilt in Defence of his own.* He was next ask'd, What Provocation he had to make ſo bold an Aſſault upon the Duke of *Ormond?* He ſaid, *the Duke had taken away his Eſtate, and executed ſome of his Friends, and that he and many others had engag'd themſelves by ſolemn Oath to revenge it.* It was now more apparent from his forward Confeſſion of his Conſpiracy againſt the Caſtle of *Dublin*, that he aim'd at great Eſteem by the Extravagancy and Audacity of his Atchievements. And leſt the Concealment of any of his Villanies ſhou'd leſſen the Romance of his Life, in his Examination about the Crown, he voluntarily, tho' perhaps falſly, confeſs'd to the King, *That he had been engag'd in a Deſign to kill his Majeſty with a Carabine, from out the Reeds by the* Thames *Side, above* Batterſey, *where he often went to Swim: That the Cauſe of this Reſolution in Himſelf and Others, was his Majeſty's Severity over the Conſciences of the* Godly, *in Suppreſſing the Freedom of their Religious Aſſemblies. That when he had taken his Stand in the Reeds to that purpoſe, his Heart was check'd with an Awe of Majeſty; and he did not only relent himſelf, but diverted the reſt of his Aſſociates from the Deſign.* He further told his Majeſty, *That he had by theſe his Confeſſions ſufficiently laid himſelf open to the Law, and he might reaſonably expect the utmoſt Rigour of it; for which he was, without much Concern of his own, prepared.* But withal he declar'd, *That the Matter wou'd not be of that Indifferency to his Majeſty,*

Blud *examin'd by the King himſelf.*

His Impudent Plea.

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in as much as there were Hundreds of his Friends, yet undiſcover'd, who were all bound together by the indiſpenſible Oaths of Conſpirators, to revenge the Death of any of the Fraternity, upon thoſe who ſhou'd bring them to Juſtice; which wou'd expoſe his Majeſty, and all his Miniſters, to the daily Fear and Expectation of a Maſſacre. But on the other ſide, if his Majeſty wou'd ſpare the Lives of a few, he might oblige the Hearts of many; who, as they had been ſeen to act daring Miſchiefs, wou'd be as bold, if receiv'd into Pardon and Favour, in performing eminent Service to the Crown. And *Blud* pretended ſuch an Intereſt and Sway amongſt the Diſſenters and diſaffected Party, to diſpoſe them to their Fidelity, as if he had been their choſen General, and had them all enter'd in his Muſter-Roll.

Since this Villain's Crimes were ſo numerous and notorious, and his Merits inviſible and inconceivable, every Man took the liberty to conjecture, what Conſideration cou'd poſſibly beget his Pardon. It required a great Meaſure of Mercy in a Prince to forgive ſuch flagrant Injuries to Himſelf; but it was thought above his Mercy to pardon the Offences committed againſt others, without any kind of Satisfaction: Yet the Lord *Arlington* came in the King's Name to the Duke of *Ormond* to tell him, That he wou'd not have *Blud* proſecuted, *for Reaſons which he was commanded to give him.* The Duke bravely reply'd, *That his Majeſty's Commands was the Only Reaſon that cou'd be given, and therefore he might ſpare the reſt: And the King ſhou'd ſee, that he valu'd his Life as little as his Majeſty did his Crown.* It was a gallant Anſwer of his Grace, and ſuch as became the Loyalty of his Family; but it is pity that the World ſhou'd want the Knowledge of his Lordſhip's Reaſons, which had weight enough to ſmother a Matter ſo much to the Diſhonour of Juſtice, and the Detriment of Peerage. How myſterious ſoever it was, *Blud* and his Aſſociates were not only pardon'd, and ſet at liberty, but the Arch-Villain Himſelf had five Hundred Pounds a Year in Land conferr'd upon him in *Ireland*; and that meritorious Perſon admitted into all the Privacy and Intimacy of the Court. No Man was more aſſiduous than he in both the Secretary's Offices; and if any one had a Buſineſs in Court that ſtuck, he made his Applications to *Blud*, as the moſt induſtrious and ſucceſsful Solicitor. On the other ſide, tho' many had been ſolicited for old Mr. *Edwards*, yet all that cou'd be obtain'd for his Fidelity and Sufferings, was a Grant of two Hundred Pounds out of the Exchequer, and a Hundred to his Son; the Payment of which was ſo long delay'd, and his Surgeons daily calling upon him for Satisfaction for their Drugs and Pains, he was forc'd to ſell his Order, and likewiſe his Son, for juſt Half the Money, and liv'd not long to enjoy the Remainder. Sir *Gilbert Talbot* makes ſeveral Reflections upon the whole, and particularly obſerves, 'That nothing cou'd more betray the Weakneſs of a Govern-'ment, than that it ſhou'd have recourſe to ſuch Inſtruments to ſupport 'it, nor cou'd any Thing render the Authority more deſpicable, than 'that it ſhou'd be terrify'd from the Execution of Juſtice upon the 'greateſt Malefactor recorded in Hiſtory, for Fear that *Blud*'s Ghoſt 'ſhou'd riſe, or his ſurviving Confederates meditate Revenge.' Such was the Condition of the State under the Management of the famous *Cabal*; for the Cure of whoſe Diſtempers, bold and Quack Remedies daily became more in Uſe and Practice, than ſafe and wholeſome Phyſick.

He and his Aſſociates are pardon'd.

In this Year we are to take Notice of the Deaths of ſeveral Perſons of Note and Fame, among which we ſhall begin with two Noblemen, one having an *Engliſh* and the other a *Scotch* Title. The firſt was *Edward Mountague*, Earl of *Manchester*, before mention'd, a Perſon whoſe Character

The Deaths of the Earl of Manchester,

Character has been given in the laſt Volume, who prov'd a great and a publick Inſtrument in the Miſeries of the late Wars, and afterwards a very conſiderable one in the Reſtoration, when he ſhew'd himſelf the moſt real and unaffected Penitent of any of his Party, and declar'd ſome Things much to the Honour of the late King; for which he was made Lord Chamberlain by his preſent Majeſty, and choſen Chancellor of *Cambridge*, by which he had Opportunity of making Amends for the Damages he had done to that Univerſity. The other was *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, Baron of *Camerone* in *Scotland*, a Perſon who happen'd to have a greater Power and Intereſt than the laſt, and did more effectually caſt the Scale, both in the Civil Wars and the Reſtoration. But as to the King's Death, he was outwitted by *Cromwell*, and always declar'd his utter Abhorrence of that Parricide with Tears; and tho' his martial Fame had reſounded throughout all *Europe*, yet the retired Part of his Life gave him greater Satisfaction than all his former Victories, when he many Years liv'd at Eaſe at his Houſe at *Nun-Appleton* in *Yorkſhire*, where he dy'd in Peace, in the 60th Year of his Age. The two next were two Reverend Prelates of the Church, one of *England*, and the other of *Scotland*. The former was Dr. *William Nicolſon*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, a Perſon educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who after ſeveral ſmall Preferments, aroſe to this Biſhoprick ſoon after the Reſtoration; where he continu'd the reſt of his Life, with the Reputation of a right learned Divine, well read in the Fathers and Schoolmen, a Man of great Prudence, Charity and Moderation; but yet more particularly diſtinguiſh'd for his excellent Skill in the critical Part of Grammar, in which Faculty none in his Time, or perhaps any before, ever exceeded him. The *Scotch* Prelate was Dr. *Robert Wiſhart*, Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, Son of the learned and famous Dr. *George Wiſhart*, a Perſon who had ſuffer'd a long and diſmal Impriſonment at *Edinburgh*, in the Regency of the *Covenant*, and afterwards accompany'd the victorious Marqueſs of *Montroſs:* Upon his Patron's Declenſion he became Chaplain to the famous Queen of *Bohemia*, and after the King's Return, Miniſter of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, where he was held in great Veneration for his Learning and Loyalty. From thence he was remov'd to the Biſhoprick of *Edinburgh*, where he diſplay'd both his Piety and Charity; and particularly, remembring the Miſeries of a Priſon, he took Care, at each Dinner that he made, to ſend his firſt Diſh from his Table to the Priſoners.

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The Lord Fairfax.

Biſhop Nicolſon.

Biſhop Wiſhart.

After theſe Prelates, we ſhall mention two other celebrated Divines, the firſt was Dr. *Meric Caſaubon*, Son of the moſt learned *Iſaac Caſaubon*, born in *Geneva*, but educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and afterwards made Prebendary of *Canterbury*, and Rector of *Ickham* four Miles from thence. He was a noted and general Scholar, and wrote many Books, but moſt of all excell'd in Criticiſms, which was likewiſe his Father's great Talent: He was taken Notice of by ſeveral Foreigners, and was courted by *Cromwell* to write his Hiſtory, but he continu'd loyal and faithful to the laſt. The other was Dr. *John Worthington*, ſometime Maſter of *Jeſus* Colledge in *Cambridge*, Vice-Chancellor of that Univerſity, and Rector of *Fen-Ditton* in the ſame County; afterwards Rector of *Ingoldsby* in *Lincolnſhire*, and Prebendary in the Cathedral Church, but at laſt remov'd to *Hackney* near *London*. He was an admirable Man both for Piety and Learning, and highly eſteem'd by all that knew him: His Parts and Induſtry were both extraordinary, and he was eminently ſkill'd in the learned Languages, as well Oriental as Occidental. But he is particularly noted for thoſe uſeful Pains he took for ſeveral Years, in collecting, reviſing and publiſhing the elaborate Works of the famous Mr. *Joſeph Mede*, one of the great Glories of the Church and Nation. We ſhall

Dr. Caſaubon,

Dr. Worthington,

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Judge Keeling,

shall next mention that eminent Lawyer Sir *John Keeling* Knight, Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of the *King's-Bench*, who after a long Weakness and Decay of Strength, dy'd at his House in *London*, much lamented for his great Integrity and Worth. His Majesty was pleas'd to confer that important Place upon the famous Lord Chief Baron *Hales*; who left his Seat in the *Exchequer* to be fill'd with Sir *Edward Turner*, Solicitor General, and Speaker of the House of Commons; who was succeeded in his Place of Solicitor General, by the Lord *North*'s Son, Sir *Francis North*. In the last Place we shall mention Mr. *Edward Bagshaw*, a turbulent and ungovernable Dissenter, but of what Denomination is hard to know, any more than *Vavasor Powel*, mention'd in the last Year, between whom there seem'd much Resemblance. He was a Man of notable Parts and Abilities, and of no small Learning, but of a pragmatical and unmanagable Disposition, opposite to all Rule and Government; for which he had been a Sufferer from more than one Party, and was last of all sent to *Newgate* for refusing the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, where he ended his Life. He was buryed, as *Powel* was before him, in the noted Place near *Bunhill*, being accompany'd by a thousand *Protestant* Dissenters, and had a memorable Epitaph made by one of the chief of them. These sort of Persons ought not to escape in History; and a few of such Men, under the Notion of painful and powerful Preaching, have been able to seduce Multitudes, and do incredible Mischief.

And Mr. Bagshaw.

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The bold Steps made by the present Ministry.

XI. 1. All things being just ripe for Execution, and according to the Alliance with *France*, a War determin'd against *Holland*, this Year began with three such bold Stretches of the King's Prerogative and common Justice, as had not been known before in the Reign, all proceeding from the now reigning Ministry, the prolifick *Cabal*. As the King had enter'd upon the Design of a Second War, contrary to the Interest and Humour of the Nation, and without the Advice and Consent of his Parliament, which was prorogu'd to the next Year, so his Majesty was oblig'd to carry it on without their Assistance, and to depend upon the Purse of his Brother the King of *France*, and upon the Inventions of his secret and select Ministers. Therefore the first Project and Attempt was to procure Mony, which, notwithstanding the Liberalities of the Parliament, was still very much wanting. The *French* King is said to have remitted seven hundred thousand Pounds, which was paid in Mr. *Chiffin*'s Name; but that was found not sufficient to answer the Expence of a new League, and a lavish Court. Therefore a new Thought was form'd with Relation to the Exchequer, wherein the Bankers, who had furnish'd the King upon all Occasions at very excessive Interest, had lodg'd mighty Sums of other Subjects Mony. As to the secret Steps and Progress towards this Attempt, we have the fullest Account from a Manuscript of Sir *Joseph Tyley*'s, which in part has already seen the Light; and is the rather taken Notice of, because it agrees so well with some other Accounts we have receiv'd.

MSS. Arlington Primi. Tromp's Life. Calamy. Burnet.

His Majesty being under pressing Necessities, in a private Meeting with his Ministers, declared, *If any one of them cou'd invent a Method how to raise about fifteen hundred thousand Pounds, without a Parliament, he should have the White-Staff*, namely the Lord Treasurer's Place. Whereupon the next Day, the intriguing Lord *Ashley* told Sir *Thomas Clifford* in Confidence, *That there was a* WAY *to supply the King immediately with such a Sum; but it was hazardous to put it in Practice, and might draw a Train of ill Consequences along with it, by inflaming both the Parliament and People.* Sir *Thomas* was impatient to know the Secret, being

ing bold and couragious, intirely in the *French* and *Popiſh* Intereſt, and pleas'd with any thing that might render the King uneaſie with Parliaments. Therefore to diſcover this Politician's Project, he ply'd his Lordſhip with Viſits; and having one Night drunk him up to a proper Height, he inſenſibly led the Converſation into the King's great Wants; and the Lord *Aſhley* being warm and unguarded, dropt the important Secret, which was *The ſhutting up the Exchequer*. Sir *Thomas* immediately took the Hint, left his Lordſhip as ſoon as he handſomly cou'd, went directly to *White-Hall*, and without going to Bed, attended till the King roſe, fell on his Knees, and demanded the *White-Staff* according to Promiſe. His Majeſty cry'd out, *God's Fiſh! I'll be as good as my Word, if you can find the Mony*. Then Sir *Thomas* told him, *If he wou'd ſhut up the Exchequer, he might be ſure of fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds*. The King, who was as quick as any of his Miniſters, eaſily fell in with the Project; and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, after it was found effectual, was made Lord High-Treaſurer and a Peer. The Lord *Aſhley* was ſenſibly touch'd to be thus circumvented by his Pupil; but the Thing was done, and the Honour of the Invention appropriated; therefore to put the beſt Colour he cou'd on it, he ſaid, *That* Clifford *had plough'd with his Heifer*; and having been Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had the more Reaſon to expect the *White-Staff* himſelf. However, his Majeſty, not to be forgetful of ſuch an eminent Piece of Service, firſt made him Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and ſoon after Lord Chancellor of *England*. 167½. Car. 24 Reſ. 12

All Matters prepared, the grand Propoſal was made in Council by Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who declar'd, *That the King muſt have Mony to carry on the War againſt* Holland, *in which his Honour was ingag'd: That he knew of no other Means at preſent than ſhutting up the Exchequer*; *and he deſired none wou'd ſpeak againſt it without propoſing ſome Method more certain and expeditious*. To this no Reply was made; and ſo the Year began with a total Stop put to all publick Payments in the Exchequer, to the great Surprize and Wonder of the whole Kingdom. But to ſoften and mitigate a Practice ſo ſhocking and unjuſtifiable in it ſelf, his Majeſty, being preſent in Council, on the 2d of *January*, was pleas'd to make this following Declaration: 'That ſeeing all the Princes and the 'States his Neighbours, were making great Preparations for War, both 'by Sea and Land; his Majeſty, for the Safety of his Government and 'People, look'd upon himſelf as oblig'd to make ſuch Preparations as 'might be proportionable for the Protection both of the one and the 'other; and to that End had already given Orders for the fitting and 'preparing a very conſiderable Fleet, to be ready againſt the Spring. 'That by this inevitable Neceſſity, his Majeſty conſidering the great 'Charges that muſt attend ſuch Preparations, and after his ſerious De'bates and beſt Conſiderations, not finding any Poſſibility to defray ſuch 'unuſual Expences, by the uſual Ways and Means of borrowing Monies, 'by reaſon his Revenues were ſo anticipated and engag'd, he was neceſ'ſitated (contrary to his own Inclinations) upon theſe Emergencies, and 'for the publick Safety at the preſent, to cauſe a Stop to be made of the 'Payment of any Monies, now being, or to be brought into his Exche'quer for the Space of one whole Year, ending the laſt Day of *Decem'ber* next.— His Majeſty, as far as in him lyes, to take away Apprehen'ſions or Terror, that might poſſeſs any of his Subjects Spirits, decla'reth, That no Perſon whatſoever ſhall be defrauded of any thing that 'is juſtly due to him, nor ſhall this Reſtraint, which his Majeſty hath 'been compell'd to lay upon ſuch Monies, continue longer than the 'foreſaid laſt Day of *December*; and that then no new Orders, *&c.* ſhall 'intervene to break the Courſe of ſuch Payments. That nothing cou'd

1ſt. *The Shutting up of the Exchequer.*

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'have urg'd his Majesty to an Act of this Nature, *but such a Conjuncture* 'of Affairs, *when all the Neighbouring Princes and States were mak-* 'ing such threatning Preparations, *that his Government cou'd not be safe,* 'without appearing in the same Posture.

However tenderly the Matter was represented by the Publick, great Numbers were in a Consternation about it; and some did not fear to say, *That the Crown had publish'd it self a Bankrupt*; but by degrees, by the King's new Promises, Persons began to be appeas'd, tho' never reliev'd. Within seven Days after, the Lord *Arlington*, a Person too much concern'd in the Business, in a Letter to the Earl of *Sunderland* in *Spain*, gave this following Account of the Result of it: 'The Distempers have continu'd 'in the Town, and the angry Discourses about them; but his Majesty 'having Yesterday convened the Bankers before him at the Treasury, 'and after many kind and confident Assurances given them, *that he wou'd* 'punctually satisfy his Debt to them, *either out of what the Parliament* 'shou'd give him the next Session, *or out of his own Revenue*, he told them, 'He likewise required of them, *that without Delay they shou'd take off* 'the Stop they had made of paying the Merchants their current Cash, 'which lay deposited in their Hands, *not to be lent to his Occasions, or* 'for Interest, *but for the Security of keeping it*; because indeed, the 'Stop of this was the Occasion of the great Clamour; the Merchants 'not daring, or being able to accept or pay any Bills of Exchange, drive 'their Trade abroad, or clear their Ships at the Custom-House at Home. 'After many Things the King said to them, and very handsomly upon 'this Subject, they all went away better satisfy'd, promising his Majesty 'they wou'd this Day begin their Payments to the Merchants, which 'I hear they have accordingly done, and upon it, the Discontent is already visibly appeas'd; so that we do not doubt, but in a few Days it will 'quite wear out, and consequently his Majesty find himself in a Con-'dition of Arming out his Fleet with Ready Mony, and Supporting 'whatever shall happen to be his Game, with relation to the Affairs abroad 'this Summer.' But whatsoever the Expectations were at this Time, it appear'd afterwards that many Persons were utterly ruin'd, and all that had lent their Mony to the Exchequer were wholly without Remedy, to the great Dishonour of the Government, and the Disgrace of the present Ministry.

2d. *The Attempt upon the* Dutch Smyrna *Fleet.*

2. The second bold Step and Attempt made under the same Administration, was likewise for the gaining of Mony and Profit, to which the *French* King and Monsieur *Colbert* gave particular Incouragement. And this was to fall upon and seize the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, before any War was declared, which Fleet had already pass'd the *Straits Mouth*, and was daily expected home. This the *French* look'd upon as a favourable Opportunity to fix the *English* in an inevitable War. With which View they gave his *Britannick* Majesty to understand, 'That such a Prize as 'this wou'd furnish him with more in one Day, than his Revenues amount-'ed to in a whole Year; that it was possible this might serve his Occa-'sions during the whole War, without obliging him to have recourse to 'his Parliament: But an Attempt of this Nature wou'd admit of no De-'lay, especially since he well knew that let it succeed as it wou'd, his 'People elated with Prosperity, and sensible of Affronts, wou'd now 'spare nothing either to carry on the War, and raise the Nation by hum-'bling the *Dutch*, or to be reveng'd upon the Merchants that had taken 'such Advantages of them, and dar'd to dispute with them the Empire 'of the Sea.' Upon this Incouragement, the King of *England* resolv'd upon the Attempt, and immediately sent out thirty eight Men of War into

into the *Channel*, in three ſeparate Squadrons, to wait for the *Dutch* Fleet that was oblig'd to paſs that Way. Theſe were no ſooner got into the *Channel*, but the *Smyrna* Fleet was ſeen off the Iſle of *Wight*, being ſeventy two Sail of Merchant-Men, the richeſt they ever had, under the Convoy of ſix Men of War, and ſeveral Privateers, all drawn up in Line of Battle and prepared to ingage. 1671. Car. 24 Reſ. 12

On the 13th of *March*, the *Engliſh* Squadron under Sir *Robert Holms*, to the Numberof nine Frigates and three Yatchts, ſail'd a Head to come in with them, without being ſtartled at their Appearing in Line of Battle, becauſe the *Dutch* were uſually upon their Guard, eſpecially when laden with Goods of Value. The *Engliſh* did not know that the *Dutch* Admirals had receiv'd Intelligence of their Deſign by *de Clarges* the States Agent at *Calais*, and that thereupon they had ſtrengthen'd their Fleet by the Junction of ſome *Spaniſh* Ships, and an *Amſterdam* Man of War, that they met in their Paſſage; reſolving, if Occaſion were, to defend themſelves to the laſt Extremity. As ſoon as Sir *Robert Holms* came in view of the *Dutch* Fleet, he gave the Signals for forming of a Line; and ſoon after he came up with a Ship of eighty Guns, and ſent to deſire the *Dutch* Admiral to come on board of him. At the ſame Time he order'd the next commanding Officer to make the ſame Advance with his Ship, and invite the *Dutch* Rear-Admiral on board of him; deſigning, it ſeems, to ſeize on the principal Officers by Stratagem, and under the Pretence of Civility, and ſo make themſelves Maſters of the whole Fleet with greater Facility, either by Force or in an amicable Way.

Haes the *Dutch* Admiral deſiring to ſave his Fleet without Ingagement, endeavour'd to pacify the *Engliſh* by his Submiſſion, and to ſcour off with all Expedition; and having ſent his Excuſe for not daring to leave his Ship, order'd his Pilot to wait upon the *Engliſh* Admiral, and pay him all Manner of Reſpects. But *Boes* the Rear-Admiral acted with leſs Caution, and roughly anſwer'd the *Engliſh* Commander, *If he had any Thing to ſay to him, he might come on board him.* The *Engliſh* provok'd at the Diſappointment, and having no other Captive but a poor Pilot, preſently began the Fight. The *Dutch* Fleet threw themſelves into the Form of a *Creſcent*, and for ſome Hours maintain'd the Fight ſo vigorouſly, that Sir *Robert Holms* thought fit to ſtand off towards Night: But the next Day, having receiv'd a Re-inforcement of four or five Men of War, he came up with them again, and charg'd them a ſecond Time, but with no better Fortune; and the whole *Smyrna* Fleet had eſcap'd, had not the *Engliſh*, upon renewing the Fight a third Time, took one of their Convoy Ships whoſe Captain was kill'd, which was the Cauſe of the Loſs of four Merchant Ships which were cut off from a Squadron put into great Diſorder. But the main Body of the Merchant-Men, under the Protection of a ſudden Fog, in a little Time got ſafely into the deſired Ports. Such was the End of this Fight, and this was all the Advantage which the *Engliſh* gain'd by an Action that can never be vindicated: Yet it was palliated by the Account of it given at that Time by the Publick, which intimated as if this Battle began purely becauſe the *Dutch* refus'd to ſtrike, and lower their Top-Sails.

3. It was but two Days after this Attempt, that the third large Step was made by the preſent Miniſtry, which was the Granting of *Liberty of Conſcience* and a *Toleration* for all ſorts of Diſſenters, contrary to ſeveral Acts of Parliament, which were not to be under the Name of an *Abrogation*, but only that of a *Suſpenſion*. This had been long thought of by the Government, and ſometimes attempted, but with no great Succeſs. However it was now reſolv'd on; and on what Grounds, it ſhall 3d. *The Grant of Liberty of Conſcience.*

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be ſhewn from a foremention'd *French* Author, Father *Orleans*, who from King *James* ſeem'd to have had a clearer Information of this Affair than the common *Engliſh* Writers: 'The Diſſenters had put the King to 'ſome Trouble during the firſt *Dutch* War, being offended at the attack-'ing a People of their own Principles, and whom they look'd upon as 'their Support. For the removing any ſuch Obſtacle, and to pacify thoſe 'turbulent Spirits, *Shaftsbury* propos'd granting *Liberty of Conſcience*, 'agreed by the King's Declaration at *Breda*, and afterwards taken away 'by the Parliament.' For the clearing of this Point, he tells us, 'There 'were great Debates in the Beginning of this Parliament about Liberty 'of Conſcience, between the Proteſtants and the Catholicks, the Church 'of *England* and the Presbyterians. The Catholick Party was ſupported 'by the Earl of *Briſtol*, a Man in great Repute, and Head of a potent 'Faction; the Proteſtant Party by Chancellor *Hyde*, Chief of an oppoſite 'Faction, and a Perſon of no leſs Conſideration, who putting himſelf 'at the Head of the prevailing Church of *England* Party in the Parlia-'ment, declar'd not only againſt the Catholicks, but againſt the Presby-'terians, and all thoſe call'd Nonconformiſts. The King, who was no 'good Chriſtian in his Actions, *but a Catholick in his Heart*, did all that 'cou'd be expected from his eaſy Temper, to maintain the common Li-'berty, that ſo the Catholick Church might have ſhare in it; but the 'Church of *England* prevail'd, and Chancellor *Hyde* was ſo warm upon 'that Point, that his Majeſty was oblig'd to yield rather to his Importu-'nity, than his Reaſons. It was the Reſtoring this Liberty of Conſcience, 'that *Shaftsbury* thought requiſite for carrying on the great Deſign in 'Hand. He communicated it to his Colleagues of the *Cabal*, who were 'of the ſame Opinion, not only on account of the Reaſon he urg'd, 'which was the Gaining of the Diſſenters, whom they fear'd; but upon 'Another, which he eaſily approv'd of, and was the Favouring of the 'Catholicks, for whom moſt of them had an Affection, and all an Eſteem. '*Clifford* and *Arlington* were ſo in private, and both dy'd in the Church; 'the Duke of *Buckingham* needed no Converſion as to Opinion, cou'd 'he have prevail'd with Himſelf as to Libertiniſm; *Shaftsbury* Himſelf 'was not very averſe to it, as long as Intereſt and Malice did not carry 'him over to another Party, from that to which he was inclined.—It is 'eaſy to believe the King readily comply'd with them, being Himſelf 'always of *that Opinion* till Death, bating that Policy prevail'd on him 'to act counter, and that the Duke of *York* us'd all his Intereſt to ſup-'port them. All the Debate was, concerning the Extent of that Liber-'ty, and the two Kings acting in Concert, that Affair was handled in 'their Treaty: Several Propoſals were made, ſome more, ſome leſs ad-'vantagious to the Catholicks; *France* was for the more moderate, as ſa-'feſt and moſt ſeaſonable, and it was agreed, that the King ſhou'd grant 'Liberty of Conſcience to all his Subjects in General.

Such were the Diſcoveries made by this curious Jeſuit, of which the Nation, or even the Parliament, had but an imperfect Knowledge at this Time. According to this Agreement, on the 15th of *March*, a well penn'd Declaration was publiſh'd by his Majeſty, which, conſidering the critical Juncture, ought to be inſerted without any Degree of Mutilation. It was intituled *His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects*, begin-

The Declaration for it.

ning in this plauſible Way: 'Our Care and Endeavours for the Preſerva-'tion of the Rights and Intereſts of the Church, have been ſufficiently 'manifeſted to the World, by the whole Courſe of our Government, 'ſince our happy Reſtoration, and by the many and frequent Ways of 'Coercion that we have us'd for reducing all *erring* or *diſſenting* Per-'ſons, and for compoſing the unhappy Differences in Matters of Religi-

'on,

'on, which we found among our Subjects upon our Return: But it be- 167½.
'ing evident by the ſad Experience of Twelve Years, that there is very
'little Fruit of all thoſe forceable Courſes, we think our ſelves oblig'd Car. 24.
'to make uſe of that *Supream Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, which Reſ. 12
'is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recogniz'd to be
'ſo by ſeveral Statutes and Acts of Parliament: And therefore we do now
'accordingly iſſue out this our Royal *Declaration*, as well for the Quiet-
'ing the Minds of our good Subjects in theſe Points, for Inviting Stran-
'gers in this Conjuncture to come and live under us, and for the bet-
'ter Encouragement of all to a chearful Following of their Trade and
'Callings, from whence we hope, by the Bleſſing of God, to have many
'good and happy Advantages to our Government; as alſo for Prevent-
'ing for the future, the Danger that might otherwiſe ariſe from *Private*
'*Meetings*, and *Seditious Conventicles*.

'And in the Firſt Place, we Declare our expreſs Reſolution, Mean-
'ing and Intention to be, *That the Church of* England *be preſerv'd, and*
'*remain entire in its Doctrine, Diſcipline and Government, as now it*
'*ſtands Eſtabliſh'd by Law:* And that this be taken to be, as it is, the
'Baſis, Rule and Standard of the General and Publick Worſhip of God;
'and that the Orthodox conformable Clergy do receive and enjoy the
'Revenues belonging thereunto; and that no Perſon, tho' of different
'Opinion and Perſwaſion, ſhall be exempt from paying his Tythes, or
'other Dues whatſoever. And further, we Declare, *That no Perſon*
'*ſhall be capable of holding any Benefice, Living, or Eccleſiaſtical Dig-*
'*nity or Preferment of any Kind in this our Kingdom of* England, *who*
'*is not exactly conformable.* We do in the next place Declare our Will
'and Pleaſure to be, *That the Execution of all and all Manner of Penal*
'*Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, againſt whatſoever Sort of* Non-confor-
'miſts *or* Recuſants, *be immediately Suſpended*, and they are hereby Suſ-
'pended. And all Judges of Aſſize and Goal-Delivery, Sheriffs, Juſti-
'ces of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Officers whatſoever, whe-
'ther Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, are to take Notice of it, and pay due Obe-
'dience thereunto. And that there may be no Pretence for any of our
'Subjects to continue their illegal *Meetings* and *Conventicles*; we do De-
'clare, *That we ſhall from Time to Time allow a ſufficient Number of*
'*Places, as ſhall be deſired, in all Parts of this our Kingdom, for the*
'*Uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the Church of* England, *to meet and*
'*aſſemble in, in order to their publick Worſhip and Devotion*; which Pla-
'ces ſhall be open and free to all Perſons. But to prevent ſuch Diſorders
'and Inconveniencies as may happen by this our *Indulgence*, if not due-
'ly regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the Civil
'Magiſtrate, our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, *That none of our Subjects*
'*do preſume to meet in any Place, until ſuch Place be allow'd, and the*
'*Teacher of that Congregation be approv'd by us.*

'And leſt any ſhou'd apprehend, that this Reſtriction ſhou'd make
'our ſaid Allowance and Approbation difficult to be obtain'd, We do
'further Declare, That this our Indulgence, as to the Allowance of pub-
'lick Places of Worſhip, and Approbation of Teachers, *ſhall extend to*
'*all Sorts of* Non-Conformiſts *and* Recuſants, *except the* Recuſants *of*
'*the* Roman *Catholick Religion, to whom we ſhall in no Ways allow pub-*
'*lick Places of Worſhip, but only Indulge them their Share in the common*
'*Exemption from the Executing the Penal Laws, and the Exerciſe of*
'*their Worſhip in their private Houſes only.* And if after this our *Cle-*
'*mency* and *Indulgence*, any of our Subjects ſhall preſume to abuſe this
'Liberty, and ſhall preach Seditiouſly, or to the Derogation of the Do-
'ctrine, Diſcipline, or Government of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, or ſhall

'meet

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'meet in Places not allow'd by us; We do hereby give them warning, 'and Declare, *we will proceed againſt them with all imaginable Severity*: 'And we will let them ſee, *We can be as ſevere to puniſh ſuch Offenders, 'when ſo juſtly provok'd, as we are Indulgent to truely Tender Conſci-'ences.*

The Deſign of it. The Timing of this Indulgence ſeems to have been a particular Fetch of Policy: The Church Party in general were ſo loyal in their Affections to the King, that they were not forward in ſuſpecting the Intrigues of the Court, and therefore fell in with the Meaſures of aſſiſting the *French* and humbling the *Dutch* with an implicit Belief, that it was the Wiſdom of the Miniſtry ſo to do. But the Diſſenters, in the ſeveral Parties of them, had no ſuch Veneration for the Government, but were more jealous of the Adminiſtration of it; and therefore in this Juncture were naturally diſpos'd to murmur at the Politicks of the Court in eſpouſing the Cauſe of *France*, againſt their particular Friends in *Holland*, and ſhew'd their Apprehenſions very much upon this Occaſion. So that it was the more neceſſary to appeaſe the Clamours of theſe Men by an Indulgence, and divert them from the Proſpects of Popery and Arbitrary Power, which they conceiv'd they had in their View. And excepting this one Political Reaſon of giving Content and Quiet, there appears no other Cauſe of Indulging, but that of giving Liberty to Papiſts, and of gaining a new Precedent for a Diſpenſing Power, without which Popery cou'd never prevail in *England*. The wiſer Diſſenters were themſelves ſenſible, that this Favour was not granted purely for their ſakes; as they acknowledge in theſe Words: 'The Beginning of the *Dutch* War made 'the Court think it neceſſary to grant an Indulgence to the Diſſenters, 'that ſo there might be a Peace at home while there was War abroad: 'And upon this Occaſion they had Liberty given them, tho' much to the 'Diſſatisfaction of thoſe who had had a Hand in framing all the ſevere 'Laws againſt them.' However it was, tho' the Parliament was intirely againſt this Indulgence, yet there was little or nothing done againſt the Diſſenters, till upon new Provocations in the Year 1681: So that for about nine Years together they had their Meetings almoſt as publickly and regularly as the other had their Churches; and in all that Time, whatſoever private Hardſhips any of them might meet in ſome Corners of *England*, they had in moſt Parts the free Exerciſe of their Worſhip and Religion.

4. The three grand Things being conquer'd, the Miniſtry had nothing more to do than to make an open Declaration of War. They had waited a while for the Return of Sir *George Downing* out of *Holland*, who had made ſeveral Demands of the States, but not in a manner Satisfactory to the *Engliſh* Court: So that upon his Return home, after a private Examination by the Lords of the Council, and an Account given to his Majeſty, he was ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*, for not obeying Orders. Shortly after, on the 17th Day of *March*, the King in Council order'd the Publiſhing his *Declaration of War againſt the States-General of the United Provinces*, which begins in theſe Words: 'We have been 'always ſo zealous for the Quiet of *Chriſtendom*, and ſo careful not to 'invade any other Kingdom or State, that we hope the World will do us 'the Juſtice to believe, *that it is nothing but inevitable Neceſſity forceth 'us to the Reſolution of taking up Arms.*' The greateſt Part is Hiſtorical, and ſo artfully drawn up, that no Part of that ought to be omitted; and is as follows:

The King's Declaration of War againſt the Dutch.

'Immediately upon our Reſtoration to our Crowns, the firſt Work 'we undertook, was the Eſtabliſhing of Peace, and the Settling a good

'Correſpon-

'Correſpondence between Us and our Neighbours; and in particular, 1671.
'our Care was to conclude a ſtrict League with the *States-General* of
'the *United Provinces*, upon ſuch equal Terms, as wou'd certainly not Car. 24
'have been broken, if any Obligations cou'd have kept them within the Reſ. 12
'Bounds of Friendſhip or Juſtice. This League was maintain'd inviola-
'ble on our Part: But in the Year 1664, We were ſtirr'd up by the
'Complaints of our People, and the unanimous Vote of both Houſes of
'Parliament, finding it a vain Attempt to endeavour the Proſperity of
'our Kingdoms by peaceable Ways at home, while our Subjects were
'ſtill expos'd to the Injuries and Oppreſſions of the *States* abroad. That
'whole Summer was ſpent in Negotiations and Endeavours on our Side,
'to bring them to reaſonable Terms, which notwithſtanding all we cou'd
'do, prov'd at length ineffectual; for the more we purſu'd them with
'friendly Propoſitions, the more obſtinately they kept off from agreeing
'with us. Upon this enſu'd the War in the Year 1665, and continu'd
'to the Year 1667; in all which Time our Victories and their Loſſes
'were memorable enough to put them in mind of being more faithful to
'their Leagues for the future. But inſtead of that, the Peace was no
'ſooner made, but they return'd to their uſual Cuſtom of breaking Arti- 1.
'cles, and ſupplanting our Trade. For inſtance, the *States* were parti-
'cularly engag'd in an Article of the Treaty of *Breda*, to ſend Commiſſi-
'oners to us at *London*, about the Regulation of our Trade in the *Eaſt-*
'Indies; but they were ſo far from doing it upon that Obligation, that
'when we ſent over our Ambaſſador to put them in mind of it, he cou'd
'not in three Years Time get from them any Satisfaction in the material
'Points, nor a Forbearance of the Wrongs which our Subjects receiv'd
'in thoſe Parts.

'In the *Weſt-Indies* they went a little farther, for by an Article in the 2.
'ſame Treaty, we were to reſtore *Surinam* into their Hands, and by Ar-
'ticles upon the Place confirm'd by that Treaty, they were to give Li-
'berty to all our Subjects in that Colony, to tranſport themſelves and
'Eſtates into any other of our Plantations. In purſuance of this Agree-
'ment, we deliver'd up the Place, and yet they detain'd all our Men in
'it; only Major *Baniſter* they ſent away Priſoner, for but deſiring to
'remove according to the Articles. Our Ambaſſador complaining of
'this Behaviour, after two Years Solicitation, obtain'd an Order for the
'Performance of thoſe Articles: But when we ſent Commiſſioners, and
'two Ships to bring our Men away, the *Hollanders* (according to their
'former Practice in the Buſineſs of *Poleroon* for above forty Years toge-
'ther) ſent private Orders contrary to thoſe they own'd to us in publick;
'and ſo the only Effect of our Commiſſioners Journey thither, was to
'bring away ſome few of the pooreſt of our Subjects, and the Prayers
'and Cries of the moſt conſiderable and wealthieſt of them, for Relief
'out of that Captivity. After this, we made our Complaints by our Let-
'ter in *Auguſt* laſt to the *States-General*, wherein we deſired an Order
'to their Governors there, for the full Obſervance of thoſe Articles;
'yet to this time we cou'd never receive one Word of Anſwer or Satiſ-
'faction. But it is no wonder that they venture at theſe Outrages up- 3.
'on our Subjects in remote Parts, when they dare be ſo bold with our
'Royal Perſon, and the Honour of the Nation, ſo near us, as in their
'own Country, there being ſcarce a Town within their Territories that
'is not fill'd with abuſive Pictures, and falſe Hiſtorical Medals and Pil-
'lars; ſome of which have been expos'd to view by Command of the
'*States* themſelves, and in the very Time when we were joyn'd with them
'in united Counſels for the Support of the *Triple-League*, and the Peace
'of *Chriſtendom*. This alone were Cauſe ſufficient for our Diſpleaſure,

'and

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'and the Reſentment of all our Subjects. But we are urg'd to it by 'Conſiderations yet nearer to us, than what only relates to our Self; 'the Safety of our Trade, upon which the Wealth and Proſperity of our 'People depends, the Preſervation of them abroad from Violence and 'Oppreſſion, and the *Hollanders* daring to affront us almoſt within our 'very Ports, are the Things which move our juſt Indignation againſt 'them.

4. 'The Right of the *Flagg* is ſo ancient, that it was one of the Firſt 'Prerogatives of our Royal Predeceſſors, and ought to be the laſt from 'which this Kingdom ſhou'd ever depart. It was never queſtion'd, and 'it was expreſly acknowledg'd in the Treaty of *Breda*; and yet this laſt 'Summer it was not only violated by their Commanders at Sea, and that 'Violation afterwards juſtify'd at the *Hague*, but it was alſo repreſented 'by them in moſt Courts of *Chriſtendom*, as *Ridiculous for us to demand*. 'An ungrateful Inſolence! That they ſhou'd contend with us about the 'Dominion of theſe Seas, who even in the Reign of our Royal Father '(in the Years 1635, 1636, and 1637) thought it an Obligation to be per-'mitted to Fiſh in them, by taking of Licenſes, and for a Tribute; and 'who owe their being now in a Condition of Making this Diſpute, to 'the Protection of our Anceſtors, and the Valour and Blood of their 'Subjects. Notwithſtanding all theſe Provocations, we patiently expect-'ed Satisfaction, not being willing to expoſe the Peace of *Chriſtendom* 'for our particular Reſentments, while they ceaſed not on their Parts 'to endeavour to provoke the moſt Chriſtian King againſt us: of which 'they thought themſelves ſo ſecure, that for above theſe Twelve Months 'their Miniſters here have threatned us with it. At length, hearing 'nothing from them, we ſent another Ambaſſador to them, who af-'ter ſeveral preſſing Memorials in our Name, cou'd receive no Anſwer, 'till after he had declared his Revocation. Then they offer'd a Paper to 'this Effect, *That in this Conjuncture they wou'd condeſcend to Strike to us, 'if we wou'd aſſiſt them againſt the* French; *but upon Condition, that it 'ſhou'd never be taken for a Precedent hereafter to their Prejudice.* Since 'the Return of our ſaid Ambaſſador, they have ſent an Extraordinary 'One to us, who in a moſt extraordinary Manner has given us to under-'ſtand, *That he can offer us no Satisfaction, till he hath ſent back to his 'Maſters.* Wherefore deſpairing now of any good Effect of a further 'Treaty, we are compell'd to take up Arms in Defence of the Ancient 'Prerogative of our Crowns, and the Glory and Safety of our Kingdoms: 'And we put our Truſt in God, that he will give us his Aſſiſtance in 'this our juſt Undertaking, ſince we had no Way left to defend our Peo-'ple from the Artifice of that Nation in Peace, but by the Valour of our 'Subjects in War.

The reſt of the Declaration was only Form, and therefore unneceſſary to be inſerted; only the Concluſion muſt not be omitted, which was more ſtrange and ſurprizing to ſome than all the reſt. It runs in theſe Words; 'And whereas we are engag'd by a Treaty to ſupport the Peace made at '*Aix-la-Chapelle*, we do finally Declare, *That notwithſtanding the Pro-'ſecution of this War, we will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the 'ſaid Treaty, and that in all the Alliances, which We have or ſhall make 'in the Progreſs of this War, we have and will take care, to preſerve the 'Ends thereof inviolable, unleſs provok'd to the contrary.*

The War proclaim'd. This Declaration being publiſh'd, was immediately after publickly read and proclaim'd by the Heralds and Serjeants at the uſual Places both in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and with all the common Solemnities. Thus *England*, after it had a breathing Time and a Reſt of above four Years and an Half, was a ſecond Time involv'd in a hazardous and expenſive War,

War, and in a War much more againſt Reaſon and Policy than the former, tho' at this Time better ſupported by Foreign Alliances; a War manifeſtly againſt the general Bent of the Nation, which did in ſome meaſure appear at the Proclaiming of it, when the People were really encourag'd to Shouts and Acclamations, and the Lord Mayor invited the Heralds and Guards to a plentiful Dinner, that the World might imagine it to be undertaken at the Deſire, and with the Satisfaction of the City. In ſum, the firſt War was undertaken at the Deſire and Inſtigation of Parliament, City and Country; and this laſt, in a great Meaſure, without the Knowledge, and contrary to the Inclination of all of them. 167½. Car. 24 Reſ. 12

CHAP. IV.

From the Proclaiming the Second War againſt the Dutch, *to the Concluſion of the whole, and laſt War with that Nation.*

Containing the Space of 2 Years, wanting near 3 Weeks.

Temple. Primi. Philips. Coke. Tromp's Life. Ludlow. Arlington. Calamy. Ray. Wood, &c.

I. 1. THE Breaking out of this Second *Dutch* War, which was viſible from the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet, prov'd a great Surprize not only to *Holland*, but to all neighbouring States. The *Dutch* cou'd never be poſſeſs'd with a Belief that the *Engliſh* were in earneſt, till the Blow was given; but thought his *Britannick* Majeſty's Unkindneſs and Expoſtulations of late, wou'd end at laſt in Demands of Money, or the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſtoration to all the Dignities of his Predeceſſors. So that when Penſionary *de Wit* receiv'd a certain Account of the Rupture, in the Aſſembly of the *States*, in reading the Letter, he fell back upon his Chair almoſt in a Swoon; but in a Moment recovering his natural Vivacity, he incourag'd the *States* to make all neceſſary Preparations: The Princes concern'd in the Safety of *Holland*, cou'd not imagine, that after having ſav'd *Flanders* out of the Hands of the *French*, the King of *England* wou'd ſuffer *Holland* to fall into the ſame Danger. And the Lord *Arlington* told Sir *William Temple*, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themſelves, till the Blow was ſtruck in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet. Upon which they immediately ſet out their Declaration, which was of a different Stile from that of *England:* It ſets forth, 'That the Diſpleaſure his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty 'had receiv'd from the Carriage of the *States-General* of the *United* 'Provinces for ſome Years paſt towards him, was come to ſuch a Height, 'that his Majeſty cou'd not, without Diminution of his own Glory, any 'longer diſſemble the Indignation rais'd in him, by a Treatment ſo unſuitable to the great Obligations, which his Majeſty and the Kings his 'Predeceſſors had ſo liberally heap'd upon them: Therefore his Majeſty 'was at laſt provok'd to make this Declaration of War againſt them, both 'by Sea and Land.' The War was proclaim'd againſt them, both at *London* and *Paris* in one Day; and the Preparations were ſo great on the *French* ſide; that the United Provinces were never in ſuch apparent Danger ſince their firſt Foundation and Eſtabliſhment.

1672. Car. 24 Reſ. 13 *The Second* DUTCH WAR.

The French *King's Declaration.*

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The Dutch *Answer to the* Engliſh.

To divert or diſſipate this impending Storm, the *States* made uſe of all proper Methods and Expedients: And firſt they undertook to anſwer the Reaſons in the King of *England*'s Declaration; and particularly declared, 'That as to *Trade* they had made no unjuſt Inroads upon any of 'the *Engliſh* Factories or Plantations: And as to the *Engliſh* Planters 'in *Surinam*, they themſelves were not willing to forſake their Effects and Subſiſtance, and therefore ſtaid there behind upon their 'own Choice. As to the *Pictures* and *Medals*, they ſay they knew 'of none, except one Medal, which might be liable to any ill Con'ſtruction; but as ſoon as they knew of it, they caus'd the Stamp 'to be broken. As to the Honour of the *Flagg*, they diſown'd the 'Refuſal of it, and offer'd however to make any reaſonable Satisfa'ction.' It muſt be own'd that they had of late aſſum'd too much to themſelves, particularly with Reſpect to the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and that *de Wit* and the *Louveſtein* Faction had been too inflexible in anſwering the Demands of the *Engliſh*, as to the *Flagg*, and other Points of Honour. But now, all being in extream Danger, the *States*, contrary to the Struggles of that Faction, had recourſe to the young Prince of *Orange*, and ſeem'd to depend upon him as born for their Defence and Protection; and tho' he was now but twenty two Years of Age, they preſented him with the Command of their Armies by Land, and with the Title of Admiral of the *United Provinces*. They were the more induc'd to this upon a Proſpect of ſoftning the *Engliſh* Court, and diſcours'd of ſending an Extraordinary Ambaſſador thither *to purchaſe Good-Will*; expecting, as they ſaid, *That the Prince's Promotion, and Satisfaction given upon the* Flagg, *wou'd certainly appeaſe them*; to which, it ſeems, they were then incourag'd by their own Ambaſſador ſtill at *London*.

They advance the Prince of Orange.

Whatever their Expectations were, the Court of *England* proceeded in the War with a Reſolution not to be diverted, and began firſt with a ſolemn Faſt throughout the Kingdom; which indeed prov'd a Day of Sorrow and Humiliation to many diſcerning Perſons. Under ſo great a Diſaffection of his Subjects, his Majeſty choſe to make himſelf more popular by taking into his Council theſe four Perſons of good Reputation among the People; *Henry* Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, Lord Preſident of the Council of *Wales*; *Arthur* Earl of *Eſſex*, whom his Majeſty declar'd he was ſending into *Ireland* as Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom; *Thomas* Viſcount *Falconbridge*, Captain of his Majeſty's Band of Penſioners, and *George* Viſcount *Hallifax*, whom he afterwards made an Earl and a Marqueſs; who being admitted on the 17th of *April*, took the uſual Oaths and their Places at the Board. But the *Cabal* or Cabinet Council were diſtinguiſh'd with more peculiar Favours; for on the 20th of the ſame Month, his Majeſty was pleas'd to create *John* Earl of *Lauderdale*, Principal Secretary of State of *Scotland*, Duke of *Lauderdale* in that Kingdom; *Henry* Lord *Arlington*, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary, Earl of *Arlington*, and Viſcount *Thetford*; *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley Cooper*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Baron *Cooper* of *Paulet*; and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold, Baron *Clifford* of *Chudleigh*. And about the ſame Time the Duke of *Lauderdale* was made Knight of the Garter; as likewiſe the Earl of *Arlington* in another Chapter held not long after. About which Time another able Miniſter was rais'd up, Sir *Thomas Osborn* Baronet, who was admitted into his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council on the 3d of *May*. This Summer, four other Perſons were inſtall'd Knights of the Garter, *Henry* Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, the Earl of *St. Albans*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oſſory*, Son to the famous Duke of *Ormond*.

Advancements in England.

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Preparations for the War.

As to the War, the Preparations were carry'd on with the utmoſt Diligence; and as the King enter'd upon it with a Diſpenſation of the Laws, relating to Religion, *by vertue*, as he claim'd, *of his Supreme Power in Matters Eccleſiaſtical*, ſo he now proceeded to diſpenſe with another Law in a Matter purely Civil. For on the 10th of *May*, ſoon after the Fleet was gone out, his Majeſty was pleas'd in Council to order and declare, 'That 'the Act of Parliament made in the 12th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, '*For the Encouraging and Encreaſing of Shipping and Navigation*, be 'totally ſuſpended and diſpens'd with; as likewiſe another Act made 'in the thirteenth Year of his Majeſty's Reign, entituled, *An Act for the 'Encouragement of Trade:* His Majeſty declaring, That the Suſpenſion 'of thoſe Laws ſhall continue during his own Royal Will and Pleaſure; 'and that when his Majeſty ſhall think fit to determine this Diſpenſation, 'he will by Proclamation give ſix Months Notice thereof.' Tho' the diſpenſing in theſe particular Matters, under the Neceſſities of a War, was in all Probability for the Common Good, yet the doing of it by Royal Will and Pleaſure, without Advice and Conſent of Parliament, was thought a very ill Precedent, which might inſenſibly grow into more dangerous Acts of Power. This ſeems a further Strain of the *Cabal*, whoſe Buſineſs was to Advance the Prerogative, and, as before hinted, to make his Majeſty a great King; when in Concluſion they only made themſelves firſt Great, and afterwards Deſpiſed Subjects.

The War begins.

2. In the Month of *May* all the Fleets appear'd at Sea, and the War began with all Vigour. About the Beginning, the Duke of *York*, Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of near a hundred Ships, twenty thouſand Men, and four thouſand Guns, having gain'd the Wind of the *Dutch*, who had endeavour'd to prevent their getting out of the *Thames*, join'd the Navy of *France*, commanded by the Count *d' Eſtrees*, which conſiſted of forty Men of War, thirteen thouſand Men, and two thouſand Guns: And the King of *England* being then at *Portſmouth*, had the Complaiſance to go on Board the Count *d' Eſtrees'* Ship, to ſhew the mutual Confidence of the two Nations. Being join'd they both compos'd one noble Fleet, which was divided into three Squadrons: The Duke of *York*, as Lord High Admiral of *England*, had the Command of the main Battel, or the *Red* Squadron; the Count *d' Eſtrees* Vice-Admiral of *France*, commanded the Right Wing, or the *White* Squadron; and Admiral *Montague*, Earl of *Sandwich*, had the Conduct of the Left Wing, or *Blue* Squadron. On the other Side appear'd the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of above fourſcore large Men of War, and fifty ſmall Rates, twenty two thouſand Men, and four thouſand Guns; under the Command of the famous *de Ruyter*, to whom was join'd *Cornelius de Wit*, Brother to the Penſionary, who appear'd in a Magiſtrate's Robe, and all the outward Marks of Grandeur. And thus the greateſt Naval Powers in the Univerſe were prepared to contend for the Empire of the Seas. On *Sunday* the 19th of *May*, the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleet got their firſt Sight of the *Dutch* about eight Leagues off the *Gun-Fleet*, and put themſelves in Readineſs for Engagement the next Morning; but being again ſeparated and hinder'd by hazy Weather, the *Engliſh* ſtood into *Sould-Bay* in *Suffolk*, and lay there at Anchor for ſeven or eight Days, with too much Signs of Security. For the Day before the Engagement there was great Jollity and Feaſting; and many Country Gentlemen were on Shipboard, and many Sea-Officers were on Shore at *Sould*, *Dunwich* and *Alborough*. In this Poſture the Earl of *Sandwich* was obſerv'd to ſay, *That as the Wind ſtood, the Fleet rode in danger of being ſurpriz'd by the* Dutch, *and therefore he thought it adviſable to weigh Anchor and get out to*

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Sea. The Duke of *York*, who was not in perfect Friendſhip with him, ſlighted the Advice, and retorted upon the Earl, as if *he had ſpoke this out of Fear*; which Reflection his Lordſhip is thought to have ſo far reſented, as the next Day out of Indignation to have ſacrific'd his Life, which he might have otherwiſe preſerv'd.

The Firſt BATTEL.

On *Whitſun-Tueſday*, *May* the 28th very ſoon in the Morning, the *Dutch* Fleet appear'd with the Advantage of the Weather-Gage; which put the *Engliſh* into ſome Confuſion, and forc'd many of them to cut their Cables. Having got into Order, in a little Time the two mighty Fleets fac'd each other, and was firſt the moſt glorious, and then the moſt terrible Sight in the World. The *Dutch* began the Fight ſoon after Break of Day; Admiral *de Ruyter* diſpos'd himſelf to attack the *Red* Squadron, Lieutenant Admiral *Bankert* the *White*, and Lieutenant Admiral *de Ghent* the *Blue*; and the two Vans, the Rears, and the Centres, even to the leaſt Ships, were ſo nicely matcht juſt oppoſite to one another, and that with ſo equal a Motion, as if it had been mutually concerted. Immediately their Blood began to riſe, the Squadrons fell in furiouſly upon each other, and the Air was fill'd with Fire and Smoak, with vaſt Cries, and with the prodigious Thunder of the Artillery, whoſe Sound was carry'd many Miles into the Country, to the great Terror of infinite Numbers of the Common People. The Duke of *York* and *de Ruyter* fell in cloſe with each other, and for above two Hours pour'd in great and ſmall Shot with uncommon Fury and Bravery; but the *Dutch* Admiral being aſſiſted by a Ship of the *Maeſe* Squadron, and having ſhot down the Duke's main Top Maſt at the *Flag*, his Royal Highneſs was oblig'd to leave his Ship, and remove his Flag to the *London*, which, as *Primi* ſays, he did with great Intrepidity. However *de Ruyter* declared afterwards, *that he was never in ſo hot an Action in his Life.* The Admiral of the *Blue*, the Earl of *Sandwich*, with his Squadron, made ſuch vigorous Attacks, that Admiral *de Ghent* was kill'd in the Beginning of the Fight, and was like to make a greater Impreſſion upon the Enemy; but being ſingled out, he was attack'd by four Fireſhips, and after he had ſunk three of them, he was grapled by the fourth; when Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, his Vice-Admiral, who might have diſengag'd the Earl, ſail'd up to the *Red*, to the Duke's Aſſiſtance: So that here the noble Earl, with his brave Ship the *Royal James*, that had a thouſand Men on board, of whom ſix hundred were ſlain upon the Deck, drew near their End; for the Ship at laſt being ſet on Fire, the Earl retired to his Cabbin, where he was follow'd by Sir *Richard Haddock*, then his Captain, who finding him with a Handkerchief before his Eyes, he told him of the Danger, and adviſ'd him to ſave himſelf in his Boat; but he anſwer'd *He ſaw how things went, and was reſolv'd to periſh with the Ship.* The Ship was blown up, and he and ſeveral brave Men were drown'd in the Sea. The *French* Squadron were at firſt warmly ingag'd with fifty Ships under *Bankert*; but fighting more at a Diſtance, and perhaps with Deſign, much leſs Damage was done there, than in the reſt of the Fleet. The Fight continu'd till nine at Night, when Sir *Joſeph Jordan* getting the Weather-Gage of the *Dutch*, they ſtood off, and the Duke ſailing after, got the Appearance of a Victory.

The next Morning after this ſevere Fight, the two Fleets ſeem'd like to engage again; the Duke hoiſting up his Bloody Flag, and bearing towards the Enemy, when on a ſudden there fell ſuch a Miſt, that none cou'd ſee a Ship's Length; and at the ſame Time the Wind riſing, made the Sea run high, then the *Dutch* making the beſt of their Way to their own Coaſt, the *Engliſh* ſtood after them, till the Duke, finding himſelf near the *Oyſter-Banks*, tack'd about and ſtood away four Leagues, then

came

came to an Anchor, and ſo continu'd all Night; but about ten next Morning, having no Hopes of ſeeing the Enemy, he return'd with the Fleet into the *Engliſh* Harbours. Thus ended the firſt Battel, and in Effect the whole Summer's Expedition. Both Sides challeng'd the Victory, or rather the Advantage, but neither of them had reaſon to boaſt; but it is generally believ'd the *Engliſh* were conſiderable Sufferers by relying ſo much upon the *French*, who were certainly defective in their Service, tho' they loſt in the Battel their Rear Admiral *De la Rabiniere*. The *Engliſh* loſt, beſides the noble Earl of *Sandwich*, Mr. *Digby*, the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Son, Captain of the *Henry*, Sir *Fretchville Hollis* Captain of the *Cambridge*, Sir *John Cox* Captain of the *Prince*, Captain *Pearce* of the *George*, Captain *Waterworth* of the *Anne*, Captain *Hannam* of the *Triumph*, Captain *Tennes* of the *Allice* and *Frances* Fireſhip; and of the *Engliſh* Voluntiers, the Lord *Maidſtone*, Mr. *Mountague*, Mr. *Richard Nicholls*, and Mr. *Roger Vaughan*, both of his Royal Highneſs's Bed-Chamber, Mr. *Trevanian* his Gentleman-Uſher, Sir *Philip Cartwright*, Sir *Charles Harbord*, Captain *Bromeley*, Captain *Bennet*, Mr. *Cotterel*, Mr. *Burgh*, Captain *Barry*, Mr. *Napier*, Brother to a *Scotch* Lord of that Name, Mr. *Bowles*, and very many wounded. The Body of the Earl of *Sandwich*, which was known by his *George*, was diſcover'd by one of his Majeſty's Ketches, and was taken up and brought into *Harwich*, where it was receiv'd and embalm'd by the Governor Sir *Charles Littleton*, who ſending Notice of it to *White-Hall*, his Majeſty generouſly declar'd, 'That out of his Princely Regard to the great Deſervings of the ſaid Earl, 'and his unexampled Performances in this laſt Act of his Life, he reſol-'ved to have his Body brought up to *London*, there at his Charge to 'receive the Rites of Funeral due to his great Quality and Merits:' All which were afterwards celebrated with great Splendor and Solemnity.

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The Loſs of the Engliſh.

3. Tho' the *French* had done very little at Sea againſt the *Dutch*, yet their Progreſs and Conqueſts by Land were formidable and amazing. Their aſpiring Monarch having, in the beginning of *May*, drawn together a noble Army of a hundred and twenty thouſand effective Men, divided them into three Bodies: The firſt, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand, he took under his own peculiar Command. At the Head of the ſecond, which was of forty thouſand, he plac'd the Prince of *Conde*; and gave about ten thouſand more to the Count de *Chamilly*, to ſerve as a flying Camp. All theſe Forces directing their March towards *Maeſtricht*, a Council of War was held, and a Debate ariſing about beſieging that Place, it was adjudg'd to be an Enterprize ſo full of Hazard and Difficulty, by reaſon of the numerous Garriſon and ſtrong Fortifications, that they reſolv'd to make their Advances towards the *Rhine*, where the Places were not in ſo good a Condition; yet it was thought convenient to leave *Chamilly* near *Tongeren*, to prevent the Excurſions of the Garriſon of *Maeſtricht*. This done, the two Armies commanded by the King and Prince of *Conde* march'd ſeveral Days without ſeeing an Enemy, except two hundred Men, who had intrench'd themſelves on the Side of the *Rhine*, and yielded themſelves Priſoners after a ſmall Reſiſtance. From thence the Prince of *Conde* was ſent to beſiege *Weſel*, while the King himſelf inveſted *Orſoy*, and the Mareſchal *Turenne* did the ſame by *Burick*. Theſe three Sieges being undertaken at the ſame Time, caus'd a general Allarm; but when they ſaw that *Orſoy* had hardly held out twenty four Hours, and that *Burick* and *Weſel* had been ſurrender'd in a little more than the ſame Time, the Conſternation vaſtly increas'd. The Governor of *Weſel*, which was accounted a ſtrong Place, was afterwards ſen-

The French *Conqueſts by Land.*

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ſentenc'd to loſe his Head; but having ſome Friends, the Executioner was order'd only to paſs the Sword over him; and the Count *D'Eſtrades*, in Conſideration of his great Services in *Holland*, was made Governor of the Place. *Rhineberg*, *Reez*, *Emerick*, *Vltz* and *Dotekom*, ſoon follow'd the Example; and *Culcar* and *Cleve* ſet open their Gates to the Victor. At the ſame Time the Biſhop of *Munſter*, a Confederate with the *French*, took *Loken*, *Borkelo* and *Grol*: ſo that in the Beginning of *June*, all the Country beyond the *Yſſel*, the *Rhine* and the *Wael*, as far as the *Maeſe*, ſubmitted to the Will of the Conquerors.

The French *King paſſes the* Rhine,

The *French* King reſolving to puſh on his Victories, form'd a Deſign of paſſing the *Yſſel*, in order to attack the Places on the other Side of that River, and communicated it to the Prince of *Conde*, and the Mareſchal *Turenne*; but being diſſwaded from that Attempt, it was reſolv'd to try to paſs the *Rhine*, which they thought more practicable. In purſuance of this Reſolution, they procur'd the beſt Advice, and were inform'd by a Betrayer of his Country, that there was a Place where the Water was neither very deep nor rapid: Which being try'd and found true, the King expreſs'd a mighty Satisfaction, becauſe he cou'd as well enter the Country that Way as by the *Yſſel*. The *Dutch* ſuſpecting the Place, had already ſent an Officer to ſecure the Paſſage; but he finding himſelf too weak, abandon'd the Poſt with the Conſent of the States Deputies; and Lieutenant-General *Wurtz* was ſent by the Prince of *Orange* with a greater Force. By this Means much Time was loſt, and the *French* King had leiſure to erect Batteries, which gall'd *Wurtz*'s Horſe in ſuch a Manner, that they found themſelves oblig'd to take ſhelter in the Woods. All Things being prepared, Part of a Regiment of *French* Horſe ſwam the River, and were receiv'd ſo warmly by *Wurtz*, that they were forc'd back into the Water; but being ſupported by greater Numbers, they ſoon made good their Ground, and repell'd the *Dutch* Horſe: However in this Paſſage the Duke of *Longueville*, Nephew to the Prince of *Conde*, was kill'd, and the Prince himſelf wounded by a Muſquet-Ball. Upon this the *French* took the Caſtle of *Tolhuys* juſt by, and laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*; which ſo terrify'd the *Dutch*, that they abandon'd all their Intrenchments; ſo that the King found his Work more eaſy than he expected. After which he reſolv'd to paſs the *Yſſel*, and was not a little ſurpriz'd to find the Paſſage ſo clear, and quite otherwiſe than had been repreſented to him. Having beſieg'd and taken *Doesburg*, Deputies arriv'd in his Camp from *Utrecht*, offering to deliver the Town and Dependencies. The Duke of *Orleans* took *Zutphen*, *Turenne* poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Arnheim*, *Nimiguen*, Fort *Knotſemburg* and *Graven*; *Bonnel* and *Sckincken Scans* fell alſo into the Hands of the *French*; the Biſhop of *Munſter* took *Deventer*, and the Marqueſs of *Rochefort* made himſelf Maſter of *Naerden* and ſome other Places. While the *French* King, in the Beginning of *July*, took poſſeſſion of *Utrecht*, where he kept his Court for a conſiderable Time, in the very Heart of all the *United Provinces*.

And ſettles at Utrecht.

The aſtoniſhing Succeſs that attended the *French* in every Attempt, drove the common People of *Holland* into Rage and Deſpair. The *States* themſelves were in Diſorder, and irreſolute what to do; their Troops were at firſt without a General, and, which was worſe, without a Heart; and tho' *De Ruyter* by his admirable Conduct kept the Infection of theſe Evils out of the Fleet, yet Faction, Diſtruſt, Sedition and Diſtraction, made ſuch Entrances upon the State and Army, when the *French* began their Expedition, that they knew not how to make any Stand. During this ſurprizing Progreſs of their Enemies by Land, they found ſome Colour to publiſh that they had obtain'd a Victory over the Royal Fleets by Sea;

Sea; which News being ſpread at the *Hague* immediately after the Battle, not a little contributed to raiſe and revive the expiring Courage of the People. And it may be ſaid, that if the Confederate Fleets had been as ſucceſsful as their Land Armies, the *States* had been loſt without Retrieve, and the *United Provinces* muſt have entirely ſubmitted to a Foreign Yoke: But by reaſon that the *French* Fleet fought ſo little, and that the *Engliſh* truſting to their Aſſiſtance did not employ their full naval Power, and that *De Ruyter* by his Vigilance had ſurpriz'd them at a Diſadvantage, when they little expected him, that bare Succeſs was to him and the *Dutch*, at this nice Juncture of Affairs, as advantagious as an actual and compleat Victory at any other Seaſon; by keeping up the Hearts of the diſpirited People, ſecuring their Navigation, and preſerving their Coaſts from the like direful Deſolation with which their Land-Frontiers were afflicted. This was indeed a Critical Time, in which the *United Provinces* were in imminent Danger, and the Remainder was forc'd to depend chiefly upon their Situation, and to open their Sluces and lay their Country under Water. And yet they own themſelves more protected by Providence, than by any Skill of their own. For near the Time that the *French* King took poſſeſſion of *Utrecht*, when the two Royal Confederate Fleets appear'd before the *Dutch* Coaſt with deſign to make a Deſcent near the *Hague*, *Harlem*, or the *Texel*, a conſiderable *Dutch* Writer tells us, 'That the Enterprize was diverted by a Kind of 'Miracle: For on the very Day fix'd for that Deſign, as the *Engliſh* and '*French* were expecting the Coming in of the Tide, to ſend in their 'ſmall Veſſels and Boats to land their Soldiers, it hapned to alter its Courſe, 'and came twelve full Hours later than its natural Order, to the great 'Surprize and Aſtoniſhment of all that were vers'd in Sea Affairs. That 'Prodigy was look'd upon as one of the moſt ſenſible Marks of the Prote-'ction of God that began to declare it ſelf for the *States*: And this 'was likewiſe ſucceeded by a dreadful Tempeſt, which forc'd the 'Confederate Fleets with Terror to quit the *Holland* Coaſts, and retire 'homewards with great Loſs.

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The narrow Eſcape of the Dutch.

In the mean Time the Mob began to riſe in great Multitudes, and accus'd thoſe who had the Management of the Government, and principally the two Brothers the *de Wits*, of being the Authors of all the preſent Diſaſters, and charg'd them with Treaſon, and holding dangerous Correſpondence with the Enemies of the State. Nay they further openly declar'd, 'That there was no poſſibility of governing the State any lon-'ger, unleſs the *Louveſtein* Faction were pull'd down, and the perpetual 'Edict made by them in 1667 to the Prejudice of the illuſtrious Houſe 'of *Orange* were annul'd, and the Dignity of *Stadt-Holder* reſtored to 'the preſent Prince, *&c.*' So that in Concluſion they ſo far prevail'd, that on the 3d of *July*, that Prince, who before had been made Captain General and Admiral of the *States* Forces, was reſtored to the Power of *Stadt-Holder*, with all Advantages, and even ſome more than thoſe which had been exercis'd by his Anceſtors. This being ſtrenuouſly oppos'd by the *de Wits*, at a Time when the Prince's Friends were ſo very numerous, it ſhortly after caus'd the Ruin of theſe two noted Brothers. *Cornelius*, the Elder Brother, having lately left the Fleet with conſiderable Reputation, was accus'd of a Deſign upon the Prince's Life, and of endeavouring to hire one of his Highneſs's Domeſticks in this Attempt. But no other Witneſs appearing, he was ſentenc'd only to be baniſh'd; at which the People ſhew'd great Diſſatisfaction, as believing him worthy of a greater Puniſhment. The Morning he was to leave his Priſon, his Brother the Penſionary, againſt the Opinion of his Friends, went himſelf to bring him out with more Honour, and carry him out of the *Hague*; and

They make the Prince of Orange *Stadt-Holder.*

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and to that end appear'd with his Coach and four Horſes. This being unuſual to this Miniſter, caus'd the People to take more notice, and gather together tumultuouſly firſt in the Streets where he paſs'd, and then about the Court where the Priſoner was kept. Some of the Train'd Bands of the Town that were upon the Guard, mingled among them, and began to exclaim againſt the Judgment of the Court, the Crime of one Brother, and the Inſolence of the Other, *who pretended to carry him away in Triumph.* In the midſt of the Fury, the two Brothers came out into the Street, where they were immediately knock'd down, kill'd, drag'd about the Town, and torn in Pieces, after a Manner unknown to an *Engliſh* Mob. The Penſionary was one of the greateſt Genius and Politicians of the Age; but cannot well be acquitted as to his ſecret Correſpondence with *France*, and his inflexible Behaviour towards *England*.

The two De Wits *murder'd.*

As ſoon as the Prince of *Orange* was ſettled in his high Poſts, the *French* turn'd their Applications to him, and made his Highneſs the moſt plauſible Offers of Honour and Advantage to his Perſon and Family, provided he wou'd be content to depend upon them. The Bait which they conceiv'd cou'd not fail of taking place, and about which moſt Artifice was us'd, was, the Propoſal of making him Sovereign of the *Seven Provinces*, under the Protection of *England* and *France*. And at a Time when ſo little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in ſo imminent Danger upon the firſt Froſts, this ſeem'd a Temptation to which a meaner Soul than that of the Prince might well ſubmit. But he was above it, and his Anſwers always ſteady, *That he wou'd never betray a Truſt that was given him, nor ever ſell the Liberty of his Country, that his Anceſtors had ſo long defended.* Yet the Game he play'd was then thought ſo deſperate, that one of his neareſt Servants told Sir *William Temple*, he had long expoſtulated it with his Maſter, and at laſt ask'd him, *How he pretended to live after* Holland *was loſt?* To which the Prince anſwer'd, *He reſolv'd to live upon the Lands he had in* Germany; *and that he had rather paſs his Life in Hunting there, than ſell his Country, or his Liberty to* France *at any Price.* However it was, all Things began now to be calm'd at home, and he made the firſt Appearance of defending what was left of his Country. The State grew united, the Army more in heart, and Foreign Princes began to take Confidence in the Honour and Conſtancy of the young Prince; which they had in a manner loſt, upon the Diviſions and Misfortunes of the State.

The French *apply to the Prince of* Orange *in vain.*

4. The repeated News of the rapid Victories of the *French* had a very particular Effect in *England*; and tho' they were Allies, and engag'd in the ſame Cauſe, yet the *Engliſh* People were ſo diſpos'd to Murmurs and Complaints upon their vaſt Progreſs, that his Majeſty was neceſſitated to iſſue out his Proclamation, for 'Suppreſſing that unlawful and 'undutiful kind of Diſcourſe, by a moſt ſtrict and exemplary Puniſhment 'of all Perſons, who ſhou'd be found Spreaders of falſe News, or Pro-'moters of any malicious Slanders or Calumnies in any Coffee-Houſe, 'or any publick or private Meeting.' But this Proclamation rather irritating, than qualifying the general ill Humour and Diſcontents of the People, his Majeſty thought fit to publiſh a Declaration in favour even of the *Dutch*, viz. 'That notwithſtanding the War, if any of the *Low-'Country* Subjects, either out of Affection to his Majeſty or his Govern-'ment, or by reaſon of the Oppreſſion they met with at home from their 'Governors, ſhou'd come into the King's Dominions, they ſhou'd be, 'by his Majeſty, protected in their Perſons and Eſtates; his Majeſty con-'tinuing in the ſame gracious Inclination towards all ſuch of the Subjects 'of the *Low-Countries*, as wou'd deſire to deliver themſelves from the 'Calamity

Diſcontents in England.

'Calamity and Diſtreſs into which the ill Counſels of ſome prevailing 'Perſons in the Government of thoſe Countries had juſtly drawn 'them. 1672. Car. 24 Ref. 13

Under theſe dreadful Apprehenſions the *States-General* ſent over their Deputies to the King of *England*, to repreſent the common Dangers of *Europe*, in the inevitable Ruin of their own Country, and Neceſſity of putting a Stop to the overflowing Progreſs of the *French* Arms. Whereupon the King, on the 20th of *June* appointed the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Arlington* and *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Clifford*, to meet the *Dutch* Deputies at *Hampton-Court*, to know *what Propoſals they had to offer to his Majeſty*. They reply'd, *They had no Power or Inſtructions to make any Offer, but to hear what his Majeſty wou'd demand.* Upon which the King preſently appointed the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Lord *Hallifax*, to be his Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries, to treat jointly with ſuch as ſhou'd be appointed by the moſt *Chriſtian* King, with any Deputies or Commiſſioners from the *States-General*. Theſe Ambaſſadors within a few Days ſet Sail for *Holland*, and were receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction by the People, out of hopes that they came to conclude a Peace, and were met near the *Hague* by a Multitude of Men, Women and Children, who, as they paſs'd, joyn'd in their Acclamations of *God bleſs the King of* England! *God bleſs the Prince of* Orange! *and the Devil take the* States! The Ambaſſadors purſu'd their Journey to *Utrecht*, where they found the *French* King in the Height of his Grandeur and Exaltation; but of what paſs'd between them, we have but an imperfect Account. *The King ſends Plenipotentiaries to* Utrecht.

It was commonly believ'd in *England* and *Holland*, that the true End or Subject of this Embaſſy, was the Jealouſy the *Engliſh* had, of the *French* Conqueſts going on ſo faſt, while their own went ſo lame; and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to ſtop their Courſe or Extent: But theſe were ſoon daſh'd by the Return of the Ambaſſadors, after having renew'd and faſtned the Meaſures formerly taken between the two Crowns. However, the Ambaſſadors were deſirous, as they paſs'd through *Holland*, that the firſt ſhou'd be believ'd; which gave Occaſion for a very juſt Repartee of the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange* to the volatile Duke of *Buckingham*, who paid her a Viſit at the *Hague*; and talking much of *their being good* Hollanders, ſhe told him, *That was more than they ask'd; which was only that they ſhou'd be good* Engliſh *Men:* He aſſur'd her, they were *not only ſo, but good* Dutch-*Men too*; *That indeed they did not uſe* Holland *like a Miſtreſs, but they lov'd her like a Wife.* To which the Princeſs briskly reply'd, *Truly, I think you love Us juſt as you do yours.* It is likewiſe reported that the Duke had a long Conference with the Prince of *Orange* about the bad Poſture of the Affairs of his Country; and having us'd many Arguments to him for accepting the Sovereignty of it, under the Protection of *England* and *France*, his Grace told him at laſt, *He wonder'd what his Highneſs cou'd propoſe to himſelf in ſuch a deſperate Caſe; ſince according to the Humour he perſiſted in, he muſt unavoidably ſee the final Ruin of it.* To this the Prince reply'd, *That what his Grace ſaid concerning their dangerous Condition, was indeed true; but yet he had one Way ſtill, not to ſee its Ruin compleated; which was to lye in the laſt Dyke:* By which he meant the Fighting of it out to the laſt. When the *French* had loſt all Hopes of ſhocking the Conſtancy of this Prince, they bent all their Thoughts of ſubduing and ruining the Remainder of the Country; but his Highneſs with a Handful of Men, and the natural Advantages of the Country, put a ſtop to their Career, and in no long Time very much turn'd the Scale. *But to no great Effect.*

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The Meeting of the Parliament put off.

5. In *England* there were, in the mean Time, great Expectations of the Meeting of the Parliament, which had been Prorogu'd from the 16th Day of *April* laſt to the 30th of *October*; but juſt before the Time, when Mens Minds began to be fill'd with Hopes or Fears, a Proclamation came out for a further Prorogation; of which the Earl of *Arlington* gives this following Account in a Letter to Sir *Bernard Gaſcoyn*, then Reſident at *Vienna*: 'The laſt Week his Majeſty reſolv'd in Council a further Proro-'gation of the Parliament to the 4th of *February* next, by which a great 'Meaſure of the *Hollanders* is broken, having fancied to themſelves that 'they ſhou'd prevail with many of the Members of it, to make them cla-'morous upon his Majeſty for a Separate Treaty upon eaſy Terms, and 'with Excluſion to *France*; ſo that they ſeeing this Thruſt broken, and 'finding no great Eaſe to their preſent Calamity from the Auxiliary Forces 'of *Germany*, we perſuade our ſelves we ſhall find them very reaſonable 'in a ſhort Time; and in *February* his Majeſty bringing into Parliament 'a determinate Reſolution either of Peace or War, will much more 'eaſily obtain all the Ends there.' In the mean Time his Majeſty was to raiſe Men, and provide Mony, by his own Intereſt and Authority. On the 4th of *December* he was pleas'd to declare in Council, 'That he 'found it neceſſary, during the preſent War, to raiſe more Soldiers, and 'to form them into Regiments, and diſpoſe of them in ſeveral Quarters, 'until there ſhou'd be Occaſion for their Service againſt the Enemy.' And therefore he order'd a particular Proclamation, 'To forbid any Rude-'neſs or Miſdemeanor in their reſpective Quarters.' And that the Fund of the Exchequer might not be deficient for this Occaſion, a few Days after, he order'd a Declaration to be publiſh'd for a further Stop to the Payment of any former Debts, 'Confeſſing that he had before Declared 'the Stop of Payments ſhou'd not continue beyond the laſt Day of this 'Inſtant *December*. But notwithſtanding his Majeſty hath not been want-'ing on his Part to comply with all honourable Ways and Means that 'might operate ſuch happy Effects; yet the Continuance of thoſe inevi-'table Neceſſities which firſt inforc'd his Majeſty, contrary to his own 'Inclinations, to cauſe a Stop to be made of Payment of Monies, com-'pels him at this preſent to continue the ſame Stop of Payments of any Mo-'nies now being to be brought into his Exchequer, until the Firſt Day of '*May* next enſuing. Doubting not but that all his loving Subjects have 'ſuch Truſt and Confidence in his Juſtice, that it will take away all Appre-'henſions of their being in the leaſt defrauded of any Thing that is juſtly 'due to them.

The King puts a further Stop to the Exchequer.

His Majeſty by a particular Agreement with the *French* King, was to ſend Six Thouſand Men into his Service by Land. Theſe Forces, conſiſting of *Engliſh* and *Scots*, were commanded by the riſing Duke of *Monmouth*, who was this Year ſent abroad to diſtinguiſh himſelf by Arms, and to diſplay his Martial Qualifications. Theſe Forces arriv'd at the *French* Camp near *Charleroy* at the Beginning of the Campaign, and the Duke was graciouſly receiv'd by the *French* King and the Duke of *Orleans*. His Grace was preſent at the taking of *Orſoy*, *Rhineberg*, *Weſel*, *Emmerick*, *Doesburg*, and *Zutphen*, and was in the *French* King's Camp near *Utrecht*, when that City ſent her Keys to the Conqueror. Immediately after, the Duke, with the *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen Voluntiers, went to view the Town, and were honourably entertain'd by the Magiſtrates. In *July*, the Army broke up, and march'd back to *Flanders*; and the Campaign being over, the *French* King return'd to St. *Germains*, and the Duke to *England*. On his Arrival at *London*, he was receiv'd with univerſal Joy; for tho' the People were diſſatisfy'd with the War,

The Duke of Monmouth aſſiſts the French.

War, yet they were well pleas'd to hear how much his Grace was a Heroe in it. In *November* the Duke went again to *France*, on News that the Prince of *Orange* was ſet down before *Charleroy*; but the Prince leaving that Siege upon greater Deſigns, *Flanders* was quiet the reſt of the Winter. The Duke landed at *Calais*, and went thence to *Dourlens*, where his Regiment quarter'd. In his Way thither the Duke *de Elbeuf*, Governor of *Montrevil*, receiv'd him in an extraordinary Manner. At *Beville* the Militia were drawn up, and the Mayor complimented him at the Gates; and near *Dourlens* the Governor met him with his Coaches, attended with forty Horſe, waited upon him into the Town, entertain'd him ſplendidly for five Days, and receiv'd the *Word* from him every Night. Here the Duke made a Review of his Soldiers, which he found in good Order, and well diſciplin'd, from thence he went to *Paris*, and ſo to St. *Germains*, where he was receiv'd by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty with particular Honours. He made no long Stay at the *French* Court; but finding there was no Probability of any ſudden Action, he return'd to *England*, and remain'd there till the Opening of the Campaign. It is obſervable, that in whatever Place his Grace appear'd, he was very much reſpected, and no leſs admired. 1672. Car. 24 Reſ. 13

His Reception abroad.

We have little more to add this Year, beſides Promotions and Deaths of eminent Perſons. In the middle of the Summer, dy'd Sir *John Trevor*, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State; in whoſe Place *Henry Coventry* Eſquire, late Ambaſſador at the Court of *Sweden*, was ſworn; and was at the ſame Time, together with Sir *Robert Long* Knight and Baronet, admitted into the Privy-Council. The Earl of *Eſſex* having been appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the room of the Lord *Berkley*, began his Journey towards that Kingdom on the latter End of *July*, with a very noble Equipage; and arriving at *Dublin* ſhortly after, had the Sword of State deliver'd to him by the Lord *Berkley*, who the next Day embark'd for *England*. In *November*, by the Reſignation of Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to give the Great Seal to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of *England*; who was ſucceeded by Sir *John Duncomb* in the Place of Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer. A few Days after the Lord *Clifford* was made Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, which Place had been held in Commiſſion for about five Years, ever ſince the Death of the Earl of *Southampton*. His Place of Treaſurer of the Houſhold was conferr'd upon the Lord *Newport*, and that of Comptroller, formerly poſſeſs'd by his Lordſhip, given to the Lord *Maynard*. The Lord *Clifford* having receiv'd the *White Staff*, went with a mighty Solemnity and Attendance to be ſworn at *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where the new Lord Chancellor in a Speech to him diſplay'd his Eloquence in ſuch a Manner, as ought not to be wholly forgotten; after telling him the Nature of his Office, he proceeded thus: 'I may juſtly ſay you are in a Place of the very firſt Rank, 'as to *Dignity*, *Power*, *Truſt* and *Influence* of Affairs: A Place that re- 'quires ſuch a Man as our great Maſter's Wiſdom hath found for it; 'from whoſe natural Temper we may expect Courage, Quickneſs, and 'Reſolution; from whoſe Education, Wiſdom and Experience; and from 'whoſe Extraction, that noble and illuſtrious Houſe of the *Cliffords*, an 'heroick Mind, a large Soul, and an unſhaken Fidelity to the Crown. 'My *Lord*, 'Tis a great Honour, much beyond even the Place it ſelf, 'that you are choſen to it by this King, who, without Flattery I may ſay, 'is as great a Maſter in the Knowledge of Men and Things, as this, or 'any other Age hath produc'd: And let me ſay farther, it is not only 'your Honour, that you are choſen by Him, but it is your Safety too, 'that you have Him to ſerve; with whom no ſubtle Inſinuations of any

Promotions in England.

C. Shaftsbury's Speech to T. Clifford.

1672. Car. 24 Ref. 13

'near Him, nor the aſpiring Intereſt of a *Favourite*, ſhall ever prevail 'againſt Thoſe that ſerve him well. Nor can his Servants fear to be ſa-'crific'd to the Malice, Fury or Miſtake of a more ſwelling Popular 'Greatneſs: A Prince under whom the Unfortunate fall gently! a Prince, 'in a Word, that beſt of all Mankind deſerves the Title of *Deliciæ Hu-'mani Generis*. Let me end with this Wiſh, or rather Prophecy, That 'you may exceed all your Predeceſſors in this Place; the Abilities, and 'Fidelity of the renowned Lord *Burleigh*; the Sagacity, Quickneſs and 'great Diſpatch of his Son the Lord *Salisbury*; and the Uprightneſs, In-'tegrity and Wiſdom of that great Man that went laſt before you, the 'Earl of *Southampton*.

As to the Deaths of eminent Men, we ſhall firſt take notice of two Reverend Prelates, Dr. *John Coſen* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Dr. *John Wilkins* Biſhop of *Cheſter*. The firſt, Biſhop *Coſen*, had his Education in *Caius* College in *Cambridge*, and was afterwards Maſter of *Peter-Houſe* College in the ſame Univerſity, and ſoon after Dean of *Peterborough*. Being a very ſtrict Church-Man, and eminently loyal to the late King, he was charg'd with Popery, and ſuffer'd all the Extremities of Plunder and Sequeſtration; and during the Time of Uſurpation, he retired into *France*, where he declin'd joyning in Communion with the *French* Proteſtants; but yet by his exemplary Life, conſtant Preaching and learned Diſputes, he gain'd over ſeveral Papiſts to the Church of *England*. At the Reſtoration, in Conſideration of his Sufferings, and his Worth and Learning, he was advanc'd to the rich See of *Durham*, the Riches of which he the more deſerv'd, becauſe of his munificent Benefactions, and his leaving a great Part of his Eſtate to pious and publick Uſes. The Other, Biſhop *Wilkins*, was a Perſon of a different Temper, and a more extenſive Genius, who was no Looſer, but a conſiderable Gainer in the late troubleſome Times: He was educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was Warden of *Wadham* College, and from thence remov'd to the Maſterſhip of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge* by *Cromwell*, whoſe Siſter he had marry'd. Tho' he was depriv'd of this at the Reſtoration, yet afterwards, for his admirable Abilities, he was made Biſhop of *Cheſter*; and ſurely the Court cou'd never have found a Man of greater Ingenuity and Capacity, or of more univerſal Knowledge and Underſtanding; being diſtinguiſh'd, not only for his Theology, and his excellent Preaching, but for his Skill in Mathematicks, in Philoſophy, and in all ſorts of polite and valuable Learning, than whom none had a truer Taſte, or a more ſolid Judgment. The two next to be mention'd were Divines of the Diſſenting Party, both Independents, and both Incendiaries in the late Times, but not equally ſo, Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, and Mr. *Philip Nye*. The Former, who had the more moderate Spirit, having been educated in *Oxford*, became Preacher to the honourable Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, where he continu'd ſeveral Years with Good-liking and Applauſe: After which he became a frequent Preacher before the Long Parliament, a Licencer of their Books for the *Cauſe*, and one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and afterwards one of the *Triers* for the Approbation of Miniſters, in all which he ſhew'd himſelf a Man of conſiderable Parts and Learning, but a very great Bigot with reſpect to the Royal Martyr's Cauſe and Behaviour. After the Reſtoration he was ſilenc'd by the Act of *Uniformity*, and liv'd privately in *London*, where he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, beſides other Books, by his valuable *Expoſition*, &c. *on the Book of Job*. The other Independent Preacher, Mr. *Nye*, was likewiſe educated in *Oxford*, one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and a louder Trumpeter to the Long Parliament, and not without ſome infamous Marks of Villany and Deſign. So that at the Meeting of the firſt Parliament, it was debated for ſeveral Hours whether

The Deaths of Biſhop Coſen,

Biſhop Wilkins.

Mr. Caryl,

Mr. Nye,

He

He and *John Goodwin* as well as *Hugh Peters*, ſhou'd be excepted for Life; and the Reſult was 'That if *Philip Nye* ſhou'd hereafter accept 'or exerciſe any Office Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military, he ſhou'd to all 'Intents and Purpoſes in Law ſtand as if he had been totally excepted 'from Life.' After this he liv'd privately in *London*, and dy'd with the Name of a Man of uncommon Depth, who was ſeldom, if ever, out-reach'd: He was alſo noted for his great Labours in the Pulpit; but a painful Preacher, with an Antichriſtian Spirit, makes but a wretched Character. 1672 Car. 24 Reſ. 13

And Mr. Francis Willoughby.

After all theſe, we ſhall mention *Francis Willoughby* Eſquire, a Gentleman of *Middleton* in *Warwickſhire*, and one highly celebrated among the greateſt *Virtuoſi* in *Europe*. He was deſcended from two Branches of that ancient and famous Family of the *Willoughbys*, and prov'd a mighty Ornament to both. His rare natural Abilities, join'd with an indefatigable Induſtry, brought him to a very great Skill in all Parts of Learning, and particularly into thoſe Sciences which are moſt abſtruſe and uncommon to vulgar Capacities, the moſt ſubtle Parts of Mathematicks, and natural Philoſophy, and more particularly the Hiſtory of Animals, Birds, Beaſts, Fiſhes and Inſects, in which he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, almoſt beyond Example, and became the Glory of the Age. In order to which, he travell'd into many Countries, and left no Experiments untry'd; and laſt of all he was ſnatch'd away in the 37th Year of his Age, to the great Concern of all curious and inquiſitive Scholars, eſpecially thoſe of the *Royal Society*, and the great Loſs of all good Men who were acquainted with his Virtues, and of all learned Men who cou'd judge of his Labours.

Rot. Parl. Gazettes. *Burnet. Calamy. Orleans. MSS.*

II. 1. Never were greater Expectations of the meeting of any Parliament than at this Time: The long Receſs and Intermiſſion of a Year and above nine Months, and the many bold Things tranſacted during the Interval, fill'd all Men's Minds with Curioſity, and a Deſire to ſee the Event of this Meeting. On the fourth Day of *February* both Houſes met according to Prorogation, and this made the Eleventh Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament. Sir *Edward Turner*, the laſt Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, having been made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the firſt Thing they did was the Choice of a new Speaker; to this End Sir *Job Charleton* Serjeant at Law was recommended to them, and unanimouſly elected. This able Man being preſented to the King, deſired to be excus'd from ſo difficult and weighty a Concern; but the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury* in another Speech to him, let him know that no Excuſes wou'd be admitted, and particularly ſaid in the Preſence of the King and both Houſes, 'The Conjuncture of Time, and the King's 'and Kingdom's Affairs require *ſuch a Houſe of Commons, ſuch a Speaker*; 'for with Reverence to the Holy Scripture, the King may upon this 'Occaſion ſay, *He that is not with me is againſt me:* For he that doth 'not now put his *Hand* and *Heart* to ſupport the King in the common 'Cauſe of this Kingdom, can hardly ever hope for ſuch another *Opportunity*, or find a Time to make Satisfaction for the *Omiſſion of this*. 1672/3 Car. 25 Reſ. 13

The ELEVENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

Sir Job Charleton *the new Speaker.*

Immediately after, his Majeſty from the Throne made this following Speech to both Houſes of Parliament: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am 'glad to ſee you here this Day; I wou'd have call'd you together ſooner, 'but that I was willing to eaſe you and the Country, till there was an 'abſolute Neceſſity. Since you were laſt here, I have been forc'd to a 'moſt important, neceſſary and expenſive War; and I make no Doubt 'but you will give me ſuitable and effectual Aſſiſtance to go through 'with it. I refer you to my *Declaration* for the *Cauſes*, and indeed the '*Neceſſity* of this War; and ſhall now only tell you, that I might have 'dige-

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

1673. Car. 25 Ref. 13

'digeſted the Indignities to my own Perſon, rather than have brought 'it to this Extremity, if the *Intereſt*, as well as the *Honour* of the whole 'Kingdom had not been at Stake: And if I had omitted this Conjuncture, 'perhaps I had not again ever met with the like Advantage. You will 'find the laſt Supply you gave me, did not anſwer the Expectation for 'the End you gave it; the Payment of my Debts. Therefore I muſt 'in the next Place recommend them again to your eſpecial Care.

'Some few Days before I declared the War, I put forth my *Declara-* 'tion for Indulgence to Diſſenters, and have hitherto found a good Ef- 'fect of it, by ſecuring Peace at home, when I had War abroad. There 'is one Part in it that hath been ſubject to Miſconſtruction, which is 'that concerning the *Papiſts*; as if more Liberty were granted to them, 'than to the other Recuſants; when it is plain there is leſs: For the o- 'thers have publick Places allow'd them, and I never intended that they 'ſhou'd have any, but only have the Freedom of their Religion in their 'own Houſes, without any Concourſe of others. And I cou'd not grant 'them leſs than this, when I had extended ſo much more Grace to others, 'moſt of them having been Loyal, and in the Service of me, and of the 'King my Father; and in the whole Courſe of this Indulgence, I do not 'intend that it ſhall any way prejudice the Church, but I will ſupport its 'Rights, and in its full Power. Having ſaid this, I ſhall take it very ill 'to receive Contradiction in what I have done. And I will deal plainly 'with you, *I am reſolv'd to ſtick to my Declaration.* There is one Jea- 'louſie more that is maliciouſly ſpread abroad, and yet ſo weak and fri- 'volous, that I once thought it not of Moment enough to mention; but 'it may have gotten ſome Ground with ſome well-minded People, and 'that is, *That the Forces I have rais'd in this War were deſign'd to con- 'troll Law and Property:* I wiſh I had had more Forces laſt Summer, 'the want of them then convinces me I muſt raiſe more againſt the next 'Spring; and I do not doubt but you will conſider the Charge of them 'in your Supplies. I will conclude with this Aſſurance to you, *That I 'will preſerve the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, and the Church 'as it is now Eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom; and that no Man's Property 'or Liberty ſhall ever be invaded.* I leave the reſt to the Lord Chan- 'cellor.

The Lord Chancellor Shaftſbury's *Speech.*

Whereupon his Lordſhip deliver'd a Speech ſo remarkable and memo- rable, that not a Word of it ought to be omitted, and is as follows: '*My 'Lords, and you Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons,* 'The King hath ſpoken ſo fully, ſo excellently well, and ſo like himſelf, that 'you are not to expect much from me. There is not a Word in his Speech 'that hath not its *full Weight*: And, I dare with Aſſurance ſay, will 'have its *Effect* with you. His Majeſty had called you ſooner, and his 'Affairs required it, but that he was reſolv'd to give you all the Eaſe, and 'Vacancy to your own private Concerns; and the People as much Re- 'ſpit from Payments and Taxes, as the Neceſſity of his Buſineſs, or 'their Preſervation wou'd permit. And yet (which I cannot but here 'mention to you) by the crafty Inſinuations of ſome ill affected Perſons, 'there have been ſpread ſtrange and deſperate *Rumours*, which your 'Meeting together this Day hath ſufficiently prov'd both malicious, and 'falſe. His Majeſty hath told you, that he is now engag'd in an *impor- 'tant*, very *expenſive*, and indeed a War abſolutely *neceſſary*, and *una- 'voidable*. He hath referr'd you to his *Declaration*, where you will 'find the *Perſonal Indignities* by *Pictures*, and *Medals*, and other *Pub- 'lick Affronts*, his Majeſty hath receiv'd from the *States*, their *Breach 'of Treaties* both in the *Surinam*, and the *Eaſt-India* Buſineſs: And at

'laſt

'last they came to that Height of Insolence, as to deny the Honour 'and Right of the *Flag*, tho' an undoubted Jewel of this Crown, 'never to be parted with, and by them particularly own'd in the 'late Treaty of *Breda*, and never contested in any Age. And whilst 'the King long expected, and then solemnly demanded *Satisfaction*, they 'disputed his Title to it in all the Courts of *Christendom*, and made great 'Offers to the *French* King, if he wou'd stand by them against us. But 'the most Christian King too well remember'd what they did at *Mun-* 'ster, contrary to so many Treaties, and solemn Ingagements; and how 'dangerous a Neighbour they were to all *Crowned Heads*. The King 'and his Ministers had here a hard Time, and lay every Day under new 'Obloquies. Sometimes they were represented as selling all to *France* 'for Mony, to make this War: *Portsmouth*, *Plymouth* and *Hull*, were 'to be given into the *French* Hands for Caution. The next Day's News 'came, that *France* and *Holland* were agreed. Then the Obloquy was 'turn'd from *Treachery* to *Folly:* The Ministers were now *Fools*, that 'some Days before were *Villains*. And indeed the Coffee-Houses were 'not to be blam'd for their last Apprehensions; since if that *Conjunction* 'had taken effect, then *England* had been in a far worse Case than 'now it is, and the War had been turn'd upon us. But both Kings 'knowing their Interest, resolv'd to join against them, who were the 'Common Enemies to all *Monarchies*, and I may say especially to ours, 'their only Competitor for *Trade* and *Power at Sea*; and who only stand 'in their Way to an *Universal Empire*, as great as *Rome*. This the '*States* understood so well, and had swallow'd so deep, that under all 'their present Distress and Danger, they are so intoxicated with that 'vast *Ambition*, that they slight a *Treaty*, and refuse a *Cessation*. All 'this you and the whole Nation saw before the last War; but it cou'd 'not then be so well *Timed*, or our Alliances so well made. But you 'judg'd aright, *That at any Rate*, DELENDA EST CARTHAGO, '*that Government was to be brought down*. And therefore the King 'may well say to you *It is your War!* He took his Measures from you, 'and they were *just* and *right* ones: And he expects a suitable Assistance 'to so necessary, and expensive an Action; which he has hitherto main- 'tain'd at his own Charge, and was unwilling either to trouble you, or 'burden the Country, until it came to an *inevitable Necessity*. And his 'Majesty commands me to tell you, that unless it be a *certain Sum*, and '*speedily rais'd*, it can never answer the Occasion.

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'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, REPUTATION is the great Sup- 'port of War or Peace. This War had never begun, nor had the *States* 'ever slighted the King, or ever refus'd him Satisfaction, neither had 'this War continu'd to this Day, or subsisted now, but that the *States* 'were deceiv'd in their *Measures*, and apprehended his Majesty in that 'great Want of Mony, that he must sit down under many *Affronts*, and 'was not able to begin, or carry on a War. Nay, at this Day the *States* 'support themselves amongst their People by this only Falshood, *that* '*they are assured of the Temper of* England, *and of the Parliament*, *and* '*that you will not supply the King in this War*; *and that if they can* '*hold out till your Meeting*, *they will have new Life*, *and take new* '*Measures*. There are lately taken two of their principal Agents, with 'their Credentials and Instructions to this Purpose, who are now in the '*Tower*, and shall be proceeded against according to the Law of Nati- 'ons. But the King is sufficiently assured of his People; knows you bet- 'ter; and can never doubt his Parliament. This had not been men- 'tion'd, but to shew you of what Importance the *Frankness*, and *Season-*

'*ableness*

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'*ableneſs* of this Supply is, as well as the *Fulneſs* of it. Let me ſay, 'the King has brought the *States* to that Condition, that your hearty 'Conjunction, at this Time, in ſupplying his Majeſty, will make them 'never more formidable to *Kings*, or dangerous to *England*. And if 'after this you ſuffer them to get up, let this be remember'd, *The States* '*of* Holland *are* England's *Eternal Enemy*, *both by* INTEREST, *and* 'INCLINATION. In the next place to the Supply for carrying on 'the War, his Majeſty recommends to you the taking Care of his Debts. 'What you gave the laſt Seſſion did not near anſwer your own Expecta-'tion. Beſides, another conſiderable Aid you deſign'd his Majeſty, was 'unfortunately *loſt in the Birth*; ſo that the King was forc'd for the car-'rying on his Affairs, much againſt his Will, to put a Stop to the Pay-'ments out of the *Exchequer*. He ſaw the Preſſures upon Himſelf, and 'growing Inconveniencies to his People by great Intereſt; and the 'Difference through all his Buſineſs between *Ready Mony*, and *Orders*. 'This gave the King the Neceſſity of that Proceeding; to make uſe of 'his own Revenue, which hath been of ſo great Effect in this War. But 'tho' he hath put a Stop to the Trade and Gain of the Bankers, yet he 'wou'd be unwilling to ruin them, and oppreſs ſo many Families as are 'concern'd in thoſe Debts: Beſides, it were too diſproportionable a 'Burden upon many of his good Subjects. But neither the Bankers, nor 'They, have Reaſon to complain, if you now take them into your Care, 'and they have paid them what was due to them, when the Stop was 'made, with Six *per Cent.* Intereſt from that Time. The King is very 'much concern'd both in *Honour* and *Intereſt*, to ſee this done. And 'yet he deſires you not to miſ-time it; but that it may have only the '*Second Place*, and that you will firſt ſettle, what you intend about the 'Supply.

'His Majeſty has ſo fully vindicated his *Declaration* from that Calum-'ny concerning the *Papiſts*, that no reaſonable Scruple can be made by 'any good Man. He has ſufficiently juſtifiy'd it by the *Time* it was pub-'liſh'd in, and the *Effects* he hath had from it; and might have done it 'more from the *Agreeableneſs* of it, to his own Natural Diſpoſition, 'which no good *Engliſh* Man can wiſh other than it is. He loves not 'Blood, or rigorous Severities; but where mild or gentle Ways may be 'us'd by a wiſe Prince, he is certain to chuſe them. The Church of '*England*, and all good *Proteſtants* have Reaſon to rejoyce in ſuch a '*Head*, and ſuch a *Defender*. His Majeſty doth declare his Care, and 'Concerns for the Church, and will maintain them in all their Rights 'and Priviledges, equal, if not beyond any of his Predeceſſors. He 'was born, and bred up in it: It was that his Father dy'd for: We all 'know how great Temptations and Offers he reſiſted abroad, when 'he was in his loweſt Condition; and he thinks it the Honour of his Reign, '*That he hath been the Reſtorer of the Church*: 'Tis That he will ever 'Maintain, and hopes to leave to Poſterity, in greater *Luſtre*, and upon 'ſurer *Grounds*, than our Anceſtors ever ſaw it. But his Majeſty is not 'convinc'd that *Violent Ways* are the Intereſt of Religion, or the Church. 'There is one Thing more, that I am commanded to ſpeak to you of, 'which is the *Jealouſy* that hath been fooliſhly ſpread abroad, of the For-'ces the King hath rais'd in this War. Wherein the King hath open'd 'himſelf *freely* to you, and confeſs'd the Fault of the other Hand. For 'if this laſt Summer had not prov'd a Miracle of Storms and Tempeſts, 'ſuch as ſecured the *Eaſt-India* Fleet, and protected their Sea-Coaſt from 'a Deſcent, nothing but the true Reaſon, *Want of Mony*, cou'd have 'juſtify'd the Defect in the Number of our Forces. 'Tis that his Majeſty 'is providing for againſt the next Spring, having given out Orders for

'the

'the raiſing of ſeven or eight Regiments more of Foot, under the Com- 167⅔.
'mand of Perſons of the greateſt Fortunes and Quality. And I am earn- Car. 25
'eſtly to recommend to you, That in your Supplies, you will take into Reſ. 13
'your Conſideration this *Neceſſary Addition of Charges.*

The reſt of the Speech, tho' chiefly Rhetorick and Compliment, yet conſidering the Art and Character of the Inventer, is as much to be remember'd as the preceding Part. By Way of Addition to the Text and Subſtance he proceeds thus: 'And after his Majeſty's Concluſion of his *The Concluſion of it.*
'Speech, let me Conclude, nay let us all Conclude with Bleſſing God,
'and the King! Let us bleſs God, That he hath given us ſuch a King to
'be the *Repairer* of our *Breaches* both in Church and State; and the
'*Reſtorer of our Paths to dwell in:* That in the midſt of War and Mi-
'ſery, which rages in our Neighbour Countries, *our Garners are full,*
'and *there is no Complaining in our Streets*; and a Man can hardly know
'that there is a War. Let us bleſs God, that he hath given this King
'ſignally the Hearts of his *People*, and moſt particularly of his *Parlia-*
'*ment*, who in their Affection and Loyalty to their Prince, have exceed-
'ed all their Predeceſſors. A *Parliament* with whom the King hath ma-
'ny Years liv'd with all the *Careſſes* of a Happy Marriage. Has the King
'had a *Concern?* You have wedded it. Has his Majeſty wanted *Supplies?*
'You have readily, chearfully, and fully provided for them. You have
'rely'd upon the *Wiſdom* and *Conduct* of his Majeſty in all his Affairs;
'ſo that you have never attempted to exceed your Bounds, or to im-
'poſe upon Him: Whilſt the King on the other Hand, hath made your
'*Counſels* the Foundations of all his Proceedings; and hath been ſo tender
'of You, that he hath upon his own *Revenue* and *Credit* endeavoured to ſup-
'port even *Foreign Wars*, that he might be leaſt uneaſy to You, or burthenſom
'to his People. And let me ſay, That tho' this *Marriage* be according to
'*Moſes*'s Law, where the Husband can give a *Bill of Divorce*, put her away,
'and take another; yet I can aſſure you, It is as impoſſible for the King
'to part with *This Parliament*, as it is for you to depart from that *Loy-*
'*alty*, *Affection*, and *Dutiful Behaviour*, you have hitherto ſhewn to-
'wards Him. Let us bleſs the King for taking away all our *Fears*, and
'leaving no Room for *Jealouſies*; for thoſe *Aſſurances*, and *Promiſes* he
'hath made us. Let us bleſs God and the King, That our *Religion* is
'ſafe; That the *Church of* England is the Care of our Prince; That
'*Parliaments* are ſafe; that our *Properties* and *Liberties* are ſafe. What
'more hath a good *Engliſh* Man to ask, *but that this King may long reign,*
'*and that this Triple Alliance of King, Parliament and People, may ne-*
'*ver be diſſolv'd?*

Notwithſtanding this famous Speech, the Commons wou'd not immediately or intirely fall in with the Meaſures of the Court; and indeed they had already entertain'd ſome ill Opinion of the Speaker of it, whom they look'd upon as a forward Projector, who had particularly diſoblig'd them in iſſuing out Writs under the Broad Seal for Electing and Returning of Perſons to ſit in their Houſe, in the Places of ſuch as were dead or remov'd. This they loudly complain'd of as Undue and Irregular, even before their own Speaker was approv'd of by the King; which occaſion'd his Majeſty immediately after the two Speeches to declare to them, 'That he
'had given Order to the Lord Chancellor to ſend out Writs for the bet-
'ter Supply of their Houſe, having ſeen Precedents for it: But if any
'Scruple or Queſtion did ariſe about it, he left it to the Houſe to debate
'as ſoon as they cou'd.' Accordingly, the very next Day the Commons fell into warm and angry Debates concerning thoſe Writs and Returns, which ended in the Voting them Irregular, and turning out thoſe Members ſo elected, who were ſaid to be all Creatures of the Lord Chancellor. For this, and other large Steps, the Country Party began to

The Commons not pleas'd with the Chancellor.

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mark him out for an Impeachment; which is thought to be the chief Reason of the ſudden Turn of his Lordſhip, which appear'd within a ſhort Time after. However the Commons ſoon fell into a Conſideration of the King's Wants and Neceſſities; and tho' they did not approve of the preſent War, yet *to Supply his Majeſty's Extraordinary Occaſions*, they freely reſolv'd 'That a Supply be given of Eighteen Months Aſſeſsment, 'according to the Proportion of the laſt Royal Aid, not exceeding ſe-'venty Thouſand Pounds *per Menſem*;' which in all amounted to Twelve Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds.

They vote a Supply.

2. The Commons did no ways act like Penſioners, but freely took Notice of the late Tranſactions of the Court, and without Reſerve expreſs'd their Fears of Popery and an overgrowing Power; reſolving that the Redreſs of Grievances ſhou'd keep an even Pace with the Mony-Bill. They ſaw an Army encamp'd at *Black-Heath* under many Popiſh Officers, rais'd without Advice of Parliament, to ſend againſt a Proteſtant Country already too far ſwallow'd up by the *French*; and the Diſpenſing Power exercis'd in a *Declaration of Indulgence*, for the Sake of *Popiſh* Recuſants, as well as *Proteſtant* Diſſenters. Theſe Things having allarm'd them, they firſt agreed to this following Addreſs to his Majeſty: '*Moſt* '*gracious Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's moſt faithful and loyal Subjects, 'the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, do in the firſt Place, as in all 'Duty bound, return your Majeſty our moſt humble and hearty Thanks 'for the many gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances, which your Majeſty 'hath ſeveral Times (during this preſent Parliament) given unto us, *That* '*your Majeſty wou'd Secure and Maintain unto us the true Reformed Pro-*'*teſtant Religion, our Liberties and Properties*; Which moſt gracious 'Aſſurances, your Majeſty hath, out of your great Goodneſs, been pleas'd 'to renew unto us more particularly at the Opening of this preſent Seſ-'ſion of Parliament. And further we crave Leave humbly to repreſent, 'That we have with all Duty and Expedition taken into our Conſide-'ration ſeveral Parts of your Majeſty's laſt Speech to us, and withal the '*Declaration* therein mention'd for *Indulgence* to Diſſenters, dated the '15th Day of *March* laſt: and we find our ſelves bound in Duty to inform 'your Majeſty, *That Penal Statutes in Matters Eccleſiaſtical cannot* '*be ſuſpended but by Act of Parliament*. We therefore, the Knights, 'Citizens and Burgeſſes of your Majeſty's Houſe of Commons, do moſt 'humbly beſeech your Majeſty, That the Laws may have their Free 'Courſe, until it ſhall be otherwiſe provided for by Act of Parliament: 'And that your Majeſty wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd to give ſuch Directi-'ons herein, *That no Apprehenſions or Jealouſies may remain in the Hearts* '*of your Majeſty's good and faithful Subjects.*

They addreſs againſt the Declaration for Indulgence.

This Addreſs was deliver'd to the King on the 19th of *February*; to which his Majeſty anſwer'd, *That it was of Importance, and therefore he wou'd return his Anſwer in Writing.* Accordingly, four Days after, he ſent this Anſwer to the Houſe. '*Charles* Rex. His Majeſty hath re-'ceiv'd an Addreſs from you, and hath ſeriouſly conſider'd of it, and 'returneth you this Anſwer: That he is very much troubled That 'that *Declaration*, which he put out for Ends ſo neceſſary to the Qui-'et of this Kingdom, eſpecially in that Conjuncture, ſhou'd prove the 'Cauſe of Diſquiet, and give Occaſion to the Queſtioning of his *Pow-'er in Eccleſiaſtiques*, which he finds not done in the Reigns of any of 'his Anceſtors. He is ſure he never had Thoughts of uſing it otherwiſe, 'than as it hath been entruſted in him to the Peace and Eſtabliſhment of 'the Church of *England*, and the Eaſe of all his Subjects in General: 'Neither doth he pretend to Suſpend any Laws, wherein the *Properties*, '*Rights*

The King's Anſwer.

'*Rights* or *Liberties* of any of his Subjects are concern'd, nor to alter 1672.
'any Thing in the Eſtabliſh'd *Doctrine* or *Diſcipline* of the Church of
'*England*: But his only Deſign in this, was to take off the *Penalties* the Car 25
'Statutes inflict upon the Diſſenters, and which he believ'd, when well Ref. 13
'conſider'd of, you your ſelves wou'd not wiſh executed according to
'the Rigour and Letter of the Law: Neither hath he done this with any
'Thought of Avoiding or Precluding the Advice of his Parliament; and
'if any Bill ſhall be offer'd him, which ſhall appear more proper to at-
'tain the aforeſaid Ends, and ſecure the Peace of the Church and King-
'dom; when tender'd in due Manner to Him, *he will ſhew how readi-*
'*ly he will concur in all Ways that ſhall appear good for the Good of*
'*the Kingdom.*

The Commons immediately came to this ſhort Reſolution, 'That the
'Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty, for his gracious *Aſſu-*
'*rances*, and *Promiſes* in his Anſwer to the Addreſs.' But being ſtill un-
ſatisfy'd, they three Days after agreed upon this following Anſwer, or
Second Addreſs: '*Moſt gracious Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's hum- *The Commons Second Addreſs.*
'ble and loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parlia-
'ment aſſembled, do render to your Sacred Majeſty our moſt dutiful
'Thanks, for that, to our unſpeakable Comfort, your Majeſty hath been
'pleas'd to reiterate to us thoſe gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances of
'*Maintaining the Religion now eſtabliſh'd, and the Liberties and Proper-*
'*ties of your People*; And we do not in the leaſt Meaſure doubt but that
'your Majeſty had the ſame *gracious Intentions* in giving Satisfaction to
'your Subjects, by your Anſwer to our laſt Petition and Addreſs. Yet,
'upon a ſerious Conſideration thereof, we find, That the ſaid Anſwer is
'not Sufficient to clear the Apprehenſions, that may juſtly remain in the
'Minds of your People, by your Majeſty's having claim'd a *Power to ſuſpend*
'*Penal Statutes in Matters Eccleſiaſtical*; and which your Majeſty does
'ſtill ſeem to aſſert in the ſaid Anſwer, *to be entituled in the Crown, and*
'*never queſtion'd in any of the Reigns of your Anceſtors:* Wherein we hum-
'bly conceive, That your Majeſty hath been much miſ-inform'd; Since no
'ſuch Power was ever claim'd, or exercis'd by any of your Majeſty's
'Predeceſſors. And if it ſhou'd be admitted, might tend to the Inter-
'rupting the Free Courſe of the Laws, and Altering the *Legiſlative*
'*Power*, which hath always been acknowledg'd to *Reſide in your Maje-*
'*ſty, and your two Houſes of Parliament.* We do therefore, with an
'unanimous Conſent, become again moſt humble Suitors to your Sacred
'Majeſty, That you wou'd be pleaſed to give us a full and Satisfactory
'Anſwer to our ſaid Petition and Addreſs; and that your Majeſty wou'd
'take ſuch effectual Order, *That the Proceedings in this Matter, may*
'*not, for the future, be drawn into Conſequence, or Example.*

The King's Anſwer to this Addreſs was, *It is of Conſequence, and I*
will take it into Conſideration. But before this, there happen'd a particu- *Sir* Job Charle-
lar Change in the Houſe of Commons, where the Debates were ſo warm, ton *retires.*
and ſo unacceptable to the Court, that they are thought to have made the
Speaker weary of his Chair, before he was well ſettled in it. However
the Publick gave this ſoft Account of the unuſual Alteration, *viz. Satur-*
day, Feb. 15th, Sir *Job Charleton* Speaker, of the Houſe of Commons,
having been taken ill the Night before, ſo as not to be able to proceed
in the Service of the Houſe that Day; the Houſe, notwithſtanding the
great and preſſing Affairs now depending before them, thought fit to Ad-
journ till *Tueſday*; at which Time Mr. Speaker finding his Indiſpoſition
ſtill to continue upon him, did by Letter make his humble Suit to his
Majeſty that he might be eas'd of the Burden he was not able longer to
ſuſtain. The ſame Morning he ſent a Letter to the Houſe, deſiring

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Mr. E. Seymour choſen Speaker.

Leave to retire into the Country. Whereupon his Majeſty ſignify'd to the Commons, by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, his Permiſſion to them to chuſe a new Speaker; and immediately the Houſe did unanimouſly make choice of *Edward Seymour*, Eſquire, much to his Majeſty's Satisfaction, for his known Loyalty and great Abilities to diſcharge that Place, as it is there expreſs'd. He was undoubtedly very acceptable to the Court at this Time; and the Earl of *Arlington*, in a Letter to Sir *Bernard Gaſcoyn*, ſays, 'Mr. *Edward Seymour* by his Majeſty's Recommendation was 'choſen Speaker, who ſupplies the Place very well, and with much more 'Sufficiency than his Predeceſſor did.

Some of the Diſſenters againſt the laſt Indulgence.

3. In the midſt of the warm Debates concerning the King's *Declaration* for Indulgence, it is obſervable that no Man was more zealous in oppoſing it than Alderman *Love*, a City Member, and a noted Diſſenter, who declared, *He had much rather ſtill go without their deſired Liberty, than have it in a Way that wou'd prove ſo detrimental to the Nation.* Theſe Debates gradually introduc'd a new Act, ſince call'd *The Teſt Act*, then levell'd at the Papiſts; upon which, we are told, that the Lord *Clifford* got ſome in the Houſe to move in favour of the Diſſenters, hoping that wou'd have provok'd one Side or the other; and that either the Church Party might be offended with the Motion, or the Diſſenters with refuſing it: But it was ſtop'd by the fore-mention'd Alderman, who deſir'd, tho' his Perſuaſion was well known, *That nothing with Relation to them might intervene, to ſtop the Security that the Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion, might have by that new Act*; in which he was ſeconded by moſt of his Party. Their Behaviour in theſe matters, it ſeems, wrought ſo much upon the Houſe, that had been ſo zealous againſt them, that they order'd a Bill to be brought in *For the Eaſe of his Majeſty's Subjects, Diſſenters in Matters of Religion from the Church of* England, which was firſt read on the 27th of *February*, and not long after compleated in the Houſe of Commons. It did not get through the Houſe of Lords, but was not ſtop'd there, as is generally repreſented, but only accidentally protracted upon the Account of ſome Amendments, till the King caus'd the Parliament to break up before the Amendments cou'd be agreed to by the Commons, as appears by the Journals. However the Subſtance of the Bill is proper to be remember'd, eſpecially ſince we do not find it in Print.

An Act deſign'd for the Eaſe of them.

'1. That Eaſe ſhall be given to his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, Diſ-'ſenters in matters of Religion, who ſhall ſubſcribe the Articles of the 'Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and ſhall take the Oaths of *Alle-'giance* and *Supremacy*. 2. That the ſaid Proteſtant Subjects be eas'd 'from all Pains and Penalties for not coming to Church. 3. That the 'Clauſe in the late *Act of Uniformity* for Declaring the *Aſſent* and *Con-'ſent*, be taken away by this Bill. 4. That the ſaid Proteſtant Subjects 'be eas'd from all Pains and Penalties for Meeting together for Perfor-'mance of any Religious Exerciſe. 5. That every Teacher ſhall firſt give 'Notice of the Place where he intends ſuch his Meeting, to the reſpective 'Quarter Seſſions; where in open Court he ſhall firſt make ſuch Sub-'ſcription, and take ſuch Oaths as aforeſaid, and receive from thence a 'Certificate thereof, where all ſuch Proceedings ſhall remain upon Re-'cord. 6. That any ſuch Teacher may exerciſe as aforeſaid until the next 'reſpective Quarter Seſſions, and no longer, in Caſe he ſhall not firſt take 'the Oaths, and make ſuch Subſcription before two of the neighbouring 'Juſtices of the Peace; and ſhall firſt give them notice of the Place of his 'intended Meeting, and take Certificate thereof under the ſaid Juſtices 'Hand; a Duplicate whereof they are to return into the next Quarter 'Seſſions.

'Seſſions. 7. That the Doors and Paſſages of all Houſes and Places 'where the ſaid Diſſenters do meet, ſhall be always open and free, during 'the Time of ſuch Exerciſe. 8. That if any Diſſenter refuſe to take 'Church-Wardens Oaths, that then he ſhall find them another fit Perſon, 'who is no Diſſenter, to execute that Office, and ſhall pay him for his 'Pains.' At the ſame Time that they were deſigning Eaſe for the Diſſenters, they were conſidering the Duties of the Church, and fell into a Debate touching the moſt uſeful, and too much neglected Duty of Educating and Inſtructing the Youth of the Kingdom in the Catechiſm enjoyn'd by the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; whereupon it was Order'd, 'That a Bill be prepared and brought in to enjoyn all Perſons that 'are in Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, to Catechiſe and Inſtruct the Youth 'within their ſeveral Pariſhes and Places of Incumbency, every *Sunday* 'in the Afternoon, in the Church Catechiſm, and to explain the ſame; 'and to expound thereupon to the Congregation.' This Bill was order'd to be brought in by the Attorney General, but Want of Time render'd it abortive, as well as other Matters.

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Another for Catechiſing of Youth.

Shortly after the Bill was brought in for the Eaſe of Proteſtant Diſſenters, both Houſes being apprehenſive of the late Incouragement of Popiſh Perſons and Principles, unanimouſly joyn'd in the following remarkable Addreſs to his Majeſty; 'We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal 'Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this pre-'ſent Parliament aſſembled, being very ſenſible of the great Dangers and 'Miſchiefs that may ariſe within this your Majeſty's Realm, by the En-'creaſe of Popiſh Recuſants amongſt us; and conſidering the great Re-'ſort of Prieſts and Jeſuits in this Kingdom, who daily endeavour to ſe-'duce your Majeſty's good Subjects from their Religion and Allegiance, 'and how much your Loyal Subjects are diſheartned to ſee ſuch Popiſh 'Recuſants admitted into Employments of great *Truſt* and *Profit*, and 'eſpecially into *Military Commands* over the Forces now in your Maje-'ſty's Service; and having a tender Regard to the Preſervation of your 'Majeſty's Perſon, and the Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdom, in 'all Humility deſire, 1. That your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to iſſue out 'your Royal Proclamation to command all Prieſts and Jeſuits (other than 'ſuch, as not being natural born Subjects, are oblig'd to attend upon 'your Royal Conſort the Queen) to depart within thirty Days out of this 'your Majeſty's Kingdom: And that if any Prieſt or Jeſuit ſhall happen 'to be taken in *England*, after the Expiration of the ſaid Time, that the 'Laws be put in Execution againſt them; and that your Majeſty wou'd 'pleaſe in the ſaid Proclamation to command all Judges, and other Offi-'cers, to put the ſaid Laws in Execution. 2. That your Majeſty wou'd 'likewiſe be pleas'd, That the Lord Chancellor of *England* ſhall, on or 'before the 25th of *March* inſtant, iſſue out Commiſſions of *Dedimus 'Poteſtatem* to the Judge Advocate and Commiſſaries of the Muſters, 'and ſuch other Perſons as he ſhall think fit, to tender the Oaths of *Al-'legiance* and *Supremacy* to all Officers and Soldiers, now in your Maje-'ſty's Service and Pay; and that ſuch as refuſe the ſaid Oaths may imme-'diately be disbanded, and not allow'd to continue in any Pay or Penſi-'on; and that the Chancellor ſhall require due Returns to be made 'thereof, within ſome convenient Time after iſſuing out of the ſaid Com-'miſſions. 3. That the Commiſſaries of the Muſters be commanded and 'enjoyn'd by your Majeſty's Warrant, upon the Penalty of loſing their 'Places, not to permit any Officer to be muſter'd in the Service and Pay 'of his Majeſty, until he hath taken the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supre-'macy*, and receiv'd the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to 'the Uſage of the Church of *England*; and that every Soldier ſhall take

An Addreſs of both Houſes againſt Papiſts and Jeſuits.

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'the ſaid Oaths before his firſt Muſter, and receive the Sacrament in like 'manner before his ſecond Muſter. And this we preſent in all Dutiful-'neſs to your Majeſty's Princely Wiſdom and Conſideration, *as the beſt* '*Means for Satisfying and Compoſing the Minds of your Loyal Subjects*; 'humbly deſiring your Majeſty graciouſly to accept of this our Petition, 'as proceeding from Hearts and Affections entirely devoted to your Ma-'jeſty's Service, and to give it your Royal Approbation.

Upon this Addreſs his Majeſty ſoon after iſſu'd out his Proclamation againſt the Papiſts; which was the Seventh of that kind which he had put forth, at the joynt Petition of both Houſes of Parliament. It began as the reſt uſually did, *viz.* 'Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Tempo-'ral, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, have by their 'humble Petition repreſented to his Majeſty, their Fears and Apprehen-'ſions of the Growth and Increaſe of the Popiſh Religion, *&c.* His Ma-'jeſty had ſeriouſly conſider'd of the ſaid Petition, and with much Con-'tentment and Satisfaction did accept and approve of the great Care of 'the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſem-'bled, for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in this King-'dom; to which his Majeſty declares, as he hath always adhered againſt 'all Temptations whatſoever, ſo he will ſtill employ his utmoſt Care and 'Zeal in the Maintenance and Defence of it. And therefore ſtrictly 'charges and commands all Jeſuits and *Romiſh* Prieſts to depart the King-'dom, and the Laws to be put in due Execution againſt all *Popiſh* Re-'cuſants, or juſtly ſuſpected to be ſo, *&c.*' This did not give full Con-tent and Satisfaction, becauſe it did not extend to all the Particulars of the Parliament's Petition, as to the Removal of Papiſts that were in Offi-ces and Places of Truſt; therefore a new Act and other Meaſures were ſet on foot to obtain that End. And indeed the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd reſolute, that they wou'd not finiſh the Money-Bill till they had ſecured that and ſome other Matters, eſpecially the King's Revocation or Diſowning his Declaration for Indulgence.

The King's Proclamation thereupon.

The King under Difficulties.

4. In the mean Time the King was under greater Difficulties, and never ſo perplex'd ſince his Reſtoration. His greateſt Concern was about Liberty of Conſcience; and he had declar'd in his Speech *That he wou'd ſtick to his Declaration*; ſo that both Honour and Inclination prompted him not to give it up, but he really wanted Money. What further trou-bled him was, That his Friends and all the Court were divided; ſome adviſing him to yield to the preſſing Neceſſity of getting a Supply, and to uſe ſome Complaiſance with thoſe that cou'd give it him; and others diſſuading him from yielding up a Point ſo neceſſary for raiſing his Au-thority to ſuch a Degree as wou'd enable him to act as a King. Among the firſt were, not only the Duke of *Ormond*, and ſeveral other Prote-ſtants, zealous for their Religion, but even the Earl of *Arlington*, a Man timerous, and naturally yielding, who thought the ſafeſt Method was for a while to give way to the Heat of the Commons, in order to bring them more ſecurely back to their Obedience, when the *Dutch* were ſubdued. The Duke of *York* and the reſt of the *Cabal* were of another Opinion, not only, as Father *Orleans* ſays, with Reſpect to the Catholick Religion conſider'd in it ſelf, and with Regard to the Monarchy; but becauſe they thought it of Conſequence that the King ſhou'd be ſteady in his Reſoluti-ons, againſt the Attempts of an Aſſembly that was too apt to oppoſe them. They inſiſted and alledg'd, 'how the Parliament in 1641 had dealt with 'the late King, as ſoon as he condeſcended to their firſt Propoſals; and 'ſaid, they ſaw no leſs Cauſe to fear in the preſent Circumſtances; for 'no ſooner wou'd the King recall his *Declaration*, but they wou'd ſet up

'ſome

'ſome other Demands, which wou'd never end, till they were carry'd 'ſo high, that the King being unable to grant them without undoing him-'ſelf, Things wou'd be left in the ſame Condition they were in that Year, 'and after a thouſand prejudicial Condeſcenſions, he wou'd be at laſt 'compell'd to break with his Parliament, and all the Fruit he ſhou'd 'reap from his Complyance, wou'd be the making that Aſſembly the 'bolder in contradicting of him.' They further added, ſays the ſame Author, 'That his holding his Reſolution a few Days, wou'd bring the 'Parliament to Reaſon, his Majeſty having a Party among them that be-'gan to make the Leaders waver; and that there were Forces ſufficient 'on foot to ſupport the one Side, and intimidate the other;' and *Shaftſbury* himſelf undertook to anſwer for the Succeſs. Theſe Reaſons ſtrenuouſly urg'd on both Sides, held the King in Suſpence. It has been believ'd that the Ladies ingag'd in this Affair, and prevail'd with his Majeſty to follow their Advice who were for recalling the *Declaration*; however it was effected, he did recall it, and with his own Hands broke the Great Seal annex'd to it. 1672. Car. 25 Reſ. 13

He revokes his Declaration of Indulgence.

Having proceeded thus far, on the 8th Day of *March*, his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, he made this following Speech to both Houſes. '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, 'Yeſterday you preſented me with an Addreſs, *as the beſt Means for 'the Satisfying and Compoſing the Minds of my Subjects*; to which I 'freely and readily agree, and ſhall take Care to ſee it perform'd accor-'dingly. I hope on the other Side, *you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Com-'mons*, will do your Part; for I muſt put you in Mind, it is near five 'Weeks ſince I demanded a Supply, and what you voted unanimouſly 'upon it, did both give Life to my Affairs at home, and diſheartned my 'Enemies abroad: But the ſeeming Delay it hath met with ſince, hath 'made them take new Courage, and they are now preparing for this 'next Summer a greater Fleet, as they ſay, than ever they had yet; ſo 'that if the Supply be not ſpeedily diſpatcht, it will be altogether ineff-'fectual, and the Safety, Honour and Intereſt of *England* muſt of neceſ-'ſity be expos'd. Pray lay this to heart, and let not the Fears and Jea-'louſies of ſome draw inevitable Ruin upon us all. *My Lords and Gen-'tlemen*, If there be any Scruple yet remaining with you concerning '*Suſpenſion of Penal Laws*, I here faithfully promiſe you, that what 'hath been done in that Particular *ſhall not for the future be drawn into 'Example and Conſequence*. And as I daily expect from you a Bill for 'my Supply, ſo I aſſure you, I ſhall as willingly receive and paſs any o-'ther you ſhall offer me, *that may tend to the giving you Satisfaction in all 'your juſt Grievances*.' This Speech was ſo pleaſing and obliging to the Parliament in general, that both Houſes join'd in the following Vote, '*Reſolved nemine contradicente*, That the humble and hearty Thanks 'of theſe Houſes be return'd to his Majeſty, for his *Gracious*, *Full* and '*Satisfactory* Anſwer this Day given to their humble Petitions and Ad-'dreſſes.' This was declar'd to the King in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, by the Mouth of the Lord Chancellor, at the Head of both Houſes; to which his Majeſty made this Anſwer, *My Lords and Gentlemen, I hope there never will be any Difference amongſt us; I aſſure you there ſhall never be any Occaſion on my Part.*

His Speech to both Houſes.

Their Thanks for it.

Immediately upon this there appear'd a ſudden and ſurprizing Change in the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury*, who had been the Soul of the *Cabal*, and the Maſter Builder in making his Majeſty a great King. Father *Orleans*, who had good Information of this Affair, has given us a particular Account of the Defection of this great Miniſter, from whom we ſhall borrow the two following Paragraphs. He ſays, few Men had done the King

The unexpected Defection of Chancellor Shaftsbury.

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King more conſiderable Service than he, and none had been ſo zealous for reſtoring the Monarch and Monarchy to their juſt Rights, which the Troubles of the laſt Reign had incourag'd the Parliament to invade. The Project of *Liberty of Conſcience* is a Teſtimony of that Miniſter's Zeal for his Maſter; but meer Spight to ſee it diſappointed by that which he accounted Weakneſs in the King, caus'd him to change Sides at once, and from a devoted Subject, to become an open Male-Content, and at laſt a Chief of the Conſpirators. Two things concurr'd to throw him into theſe Extreams: The one was, his deſpairing of being able to do any Thing effectual for a Prince he thought had not Reſolution enough to carry on a great Undertaking. He already complain'd *that the King had forſaken him in an Affair wherein he had promis'd to ſtand by him*, and in which the Intereſt of the Crown was as much concern'd as this now mention'd. The Election of Members to fill up the Vacancies in the Houſe of Commons had been ſo order'd for a long Time, that the ſeditious Party generally prevail'd; becauſe that Houſe had aſſum'd the Authority of iſſuing the Writs. This was an Abuſe introduc'd during the Troubles of the laſt Reign, and ſuffer'd to continue after the Reſtoration, through the Weakneſs or Ignorance of thoſe who had been Chancellors before *Shaftsbury*. He ſays, the ancient Cuſtom was, that when any Member dy'd, the Chancellor iſſu'd a Writ under the Great Seal for electing another; by which Means, tho' the Writ contain'd nothing to obſtruct the Freedom of the Election, yet the King by this cou'd at leaſt uſe Means for diverting the Choice from falling upon Perſons that were againſt him. *Shaftsbury* had attempted to retrieve that Right, and brought it into Uſe during the laſt Interval of Parliament; having firſt obtain'd the King's Promiſe to ſtand firm by him, in Oppoſition to all the Complaints he foreſaw the Commons wou'd make on that Account; but they preſs'd ſo hard, that the King comply'd with them. Thus, contrary to his Maſter's Promiſe, the Chancellor had the Mortification of ſeeing his Elections made void, and the old Abuſe reſtored. From that Time he foretold, That the *Liberty of Conſtience* wou'd ſink, and freely declar'd, *That in Caſe it did, he wou'd go over to the Parliament Party, and have no Regard for the Court*; in which he was as good as his Word.

The Cauſes of it.

The ſame Author goes on, and tells us, His Maſter's giving up the Elections lay at his Heart, when the Recalling of *Liberty of Conſcience* put him quite out of Patience, and made him openly ſay, *that that Man who forſook himſelf, deſerv'd to be forſaken*; a falſe Maxim, when the Sovereign is concern'd, or that Party that cannot lawfully be forſaken. As turbulent a Man as *Shaftsbury* was, he perhaps had not carry'd his Reſentment ſo far, had there been no other Motive but the King's Intereſt. He that commits an Error to his own Diſadvantage, is rather to be pitied than hated; but the King's yielding the Point of *Liberty of Conſcience*, concern'd his Miniſters perſonally, becauſe his Majeſty by that Means diſclaiming their Advice given him, left them expos'd to the Rage of the Parliament; and the Earl, appearing to have had the greateſt Share in all the Court Projects, had Cauſe to fear that the Commons wou'd mark him out for an Example to others. This was the ſecond Motive that carry'd this Man to ſuch Extreams. It may be ſaid, he reſolv'd his preſent Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion and for the *Parliament*, ſhou'd expiate for that other he had expreſs'd for the *Catholick* Religion and *Monarchy*. After he had taken theſe Reſolutions, the Author ſays, the Attack was ſudden and unexpected: Never was any great Change ſo quick as that of this Miniſter. No ſooner did the King begin to incline to the recalling his *Declaration of Indulgence*, but he perceiv'd it,

it. He loſt no Time; the Reſolution was not taken till eleven at Night, and the next Morning he appear'd in the Houſe of Lords, at the Head of the moſt zealous Peers againſt the Catholick Religion, the Wars with *Holland*, and the Alliance with *France*. This firſt Sally ſurpriz'd the Parliament, as well as the Court, and rais'd an extraordinary Commotion in both; which Diſorder was much heightned, when the Earl diſcover'd the private Motions that had induc'd the King to grant *Liberty of Conſcience*, to join with *France*, and to declare War againſt *Holland*. It is a Crime in an *Engliſh* King to think of breaking Parliamentary Chains, and of confining that Aſſembly within the Bounds preſcrib'd by the Laws; to which it draws back the Soveraign, if he happens to make never ſo little Excurſion. His Majeſty's Deſign was before ſuſpected; but no Queſtion was made of it after *Shaftsbury* had ſpoke; ſo that they were upon their Guard againſt all future Projects of that Nature. 167⅔. Car. 25 Reſ. 13

Thus far the ſubtle Jeſuit, who had particular Informations: And this Matter is farther open'd in a forementiond Manuſcript left by Sir *Joſeph Tyley*, a Perſon moſt oppoſite to this Author, who ſays, that the Lord *Clifford*, that Day, had undertook to open the Debates of the Lords Houſe, for eſtabliſhing a perpetual Fund, in order to advance the Prerogative, and render Parliaments inconſiderable. He prepared a ſet Speech to that Purpoſe, which he read to the Lord Chancellor, who deſired to hear it again; and upon the ſecond Reading he charg'd his Memory with the Subſtance of it, promiſing he wou'd likewiſe come roundly into the Debate. This gave him an Opportunity he wiſh'd for to be reveng'd of the Courtiers, and the Lord *Clifford*, who purſuant to the Determination of the *Cabal*, began the Debate with the very Speech he had ſhew'd the Lord Chancellor; while his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs were then in the Houſe to countenance the Deſign. The Country Lords, and thoſe who were not in the Secret, ſtar'd at one another; the whole Houſe, at the End of the Speech, meditating the Fate of *England*, remain'd in an awful Silence, when Chancellor *Shaftsbury* ſtood up, and anſwer'd his Speech from the Beginning to the End, ſhewing, 'That his Propoſitions were extravagant: That what he 'aim'd at wou'd end in Confuſion, and the Ruin of the Government: 'That it might perhaps ſend the Royal Family abroad again, to ſpend 'their Lives in Exile, without Hopes of a Return.' All which he ſpoke with ſo much Spirit and Sharpneſs, that he confounded the Court Counſels. While he was ſpeaking, the Duke of *York*, inrag'd at him, whiſper'd the King, *What a Rogue have you of a Lord Chancellor?* The King briskly reply'd, *God's fiſh! What a Fool you have of a Lord Treaſurer?* The Debate ended in a Ruffle, and the Lord *Clifford* narrowly eſcap'd being ſent to the *Tower*; and finding himſelf thus given up by the King, like his new Opponent, he declar'd, *He wou'd ſerve no Prince in the World, who had not Courage to avow his Principles, and ſupport his Miniſters in the Execution of his Demands.*

He defeats Clifford *in the Houſe of Peers.*

5. And now the Popiſh Party began to meet with a Retribution of their Counſels and Proceedings. They had render'd themſelves formidable by their obtaining many Places of Honour, Profit and Truſt; but now a Bill was depending that wou'd certainly throw them out of all, and ſecure all Places to thoſe of the Church of *England* alone. This was call'd the *Teſt Act*, which was particularly promoted, if not invented by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who reſolv'd to ſtrike directly at the Duke of *York* and his Friends, tho' the Act reach'd all Sorts of Diſſenters. This Bill gave a great Alarm to many Perſons, who us'd all Means to oppoſe it; but it ſoon paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, whoſe

The Teſt Act *paſſes the Commons.*

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Apprehenſions of Popery daily increas'd. When it came to be debated in the Houſe of Peers, in the Preſence of the King himſelf, *March* 15, the famous Earl of *Briſtol*, tho' a profeſs'd *Roman Catholick*, unexpectedly ſtood up for the Bill in general, and ſpoke remarkably upon it; of which ſome Account ſhall be given to ſhew the Temper of the Times, as well as the Ingenuity of the Speaker.

The Earl of Briſtol's *Speech for it.*

Towards the Beginning of his Speech he declar'd himſelf 'A Catholick of the Church of *Rome*, not a Catholick of the Court of *Rome*; a 'Diſtinction he thought worthy of Memory and Reflection, whenever any ſevere Proceedings againſt thoſe they call'd *Papiſts* ſhou'd 'come in Queſtion, ſince thoſe of the Court of *Rome* did only deſerve 'that Name.' Therefore he inſiſted, 'That they ſhou'd not ſpeak 'here as *Roman* Catholicks, but as faithful Members of a *Proteſtant* Parliament.' Coming to the Bill it ſelf, he proceeded thus: 'In the firſt 'Place, *my Lords*, I beſeech you to conſider, That this Bill for ſecuring 'of general Fears, is brought up to you from the Houſe of Commons, 'the great Repreſentative of the People, and conſequently the beſt 'Judges of the true Temper of the Nation: A Houſe of Commons ſurpaſſing all that ever have been, in the illuſtrious Marks of their Duty, 'Loyalty and Affection to their Sovereign, both in his Perſon and Government: Such a Houſe of Commons as his Majeſty ought to conſider, and cheriſh always, with ſuch a kind of Love as is due to a Wife, 'never to be parted with unkindly, and not as a Miſtreſs, to be turn'd 'off when our Turn is ſerv'd by her. *My Lords*, this caſual mention of 'a Wife, ſuggeſts to my Thoughts a Purſuance of the Compariſon. I 'have obſerv'd in the Courſe of my Life, that Men who have Wives 'ſomewhat Coquets, that is a little ſubject to Gallantries, live eaſier 'Lives with them, and freer from troubleſome Contentions, than thoſe 'who have Wives of exact rigid Virtue; and the Reaſon is clear: For 'the more gameſome Ladies being conſcious of their Failings in that 'eſſential Part, are careful to diſguiſe, and repair them by kind and tender Compliances with their Husband's Humour in all other Things; 'whereas Wives ſeverely punctual and exact in the chief Matrimonial 'Duty, expect, and even exact far greater Compliances from their Huſbands, and think themſelves as it were priviledg'd by the Rigidneſs of 'their Virtue to be ſometimes troubleſome in Domeſtick Affairs; eſpecially if there be any Jealouſy in the Caſe. In like Manner, *my Lords*, 'it is not to be much wonder'd at, if this incomparable Houſe of Commons, tranſcending all that ever were in the grand Eſſentials of Duty, Loyalty, and Affection to their King, ſhou'd at ſometimes be a little troubleſome to him in leſſer Occurrences; eſpecially when once Fears and 'Jealouſies are on Wing. *My Lords*, I ſhall not pretend to determine 'whether there have been any juſt Grounds given by any violent Men, 'or by the unſeaſonable Ambition of any *Roman* Catholicks for ſuch 'Fears and Jealouſies; it ſuffices to exact the Neceſſity of a timely Remedy, ſince they have indeed moſt violently ſeiz'd, and diſtemper'd 'the Minds of the Major Part of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects, which 'certainly no Man converſant in the World can deny. Now, *my Lords*, 'in Popular Fears and Apprehenſions, thoſe uſually prove moſt dangerous that are rais'd upon Grounds not well underſtood, and may rightly be reſembled to the fatal Effects of Panick Fears in Armies, where 'I have ſeldom ſeen great Diſorder ariſe from Intelligences brought in 'by Parties and Scouts, or by Advertiſements to Generals; but from 'Allarms upon groundleſs and capricious Fears of Danger, taken up we 'know not either how, or why: This no Man of moderate Experience 'in military Affairs but hath found the dangerous Effects of one Time or other;

'other; in giving a Stop to which Miſchiefs, the Skill of great Com- 1673.
'manders is beſt ſeen. In like Manner, *my Lords*, this great and judici- Car. 2
'ous Aſſembly of the Houſe of Commons, rightly ſenſible of the dan- Ref. 13
'gerous Effects which ſo general a Diſturbance of Mens Minds in the
'Concernments of Religion (how groundleſs ſoever) might produce,
'have apply'd their Care to obviate them by this Bill: *A Bill*, in my
'Opinion, *as full of Moderation towards Catholicks, as of Prudence,*
'and Security towards the Religion of the State. In this Bill, *my Lords*,
'notwithſtanding all the Allarms of the *Encreaſe of Popery*, and *Deſigns*
'of Papiſts, here is no Mention of barring them from private, and mo-
'deſt Exerciſe of their Religion; no baniſhing them to ſuch a Diſtance
'from Court, no putting in Execution of Penal Laws in force againſt
'them; all their Precautions are reduc'd to this one Intent, natural to
'all Societies of Men, of Hindering a leſſer Oppoſite Party from grow-
'ing too ſtrong for the greater and more conſiderable One: And in this
'juſt Way of Prevention, is not the Moderation of the Houſe of Com-
'mons to be admired, That they have reſtrain'd it to this ſole Point, *of*
'debarring their Adverſaries from Offices, and Places, and from Ac-
'ceſſions of Wealth by Favour of the Sovereign? — And after all, *my*
'Lords, how few do theſe ſharp Tryals, and Teſts of this Act regard?
'only a few ſuch *Roman* Catholicks as wou'd fain hold Offices, and Pla-
'ces at the Price of Hypocriſy, and Diſſimulation of their true Senti-
'ments in Religion. *My Lords*, I am none of Thoſe, none of thoſe
'Wherry-Men in Religion, who look one Way, and row another. —
'Upon the whole Matter, *my Lords*, however the Sentiments of a *Ca-*
'tholick of the Church of *Rome* (I ſtill ſay, not of the *Court* of *Rome*)
'may oblige me, upon Scruple of Conſcience, in ſome Particulars of this
'Bill to give my Negative to it, when it comes to paſſing; yet as a
'Member of a *Proteſtant Parliament* my Advice prudentially cannot
'but go along with the main Scope of it; the preſent Circumſtances of
'Time, and Affairs conſider'd, and the Neceſſity of compoſing the di-
'ſturbed Minds of the People.

All theſe Proceedings made the King very uneaſy, eſpecially ſince the Mony Bill went on but ſlowly: and beſides this *Teſt Act*, there were other Bills on foot, which made the *Roman* Catholicks almoſt deſperate, and particularly one *To prevent Intermarriages between Proteſtants and Papiſts*, which, if paſs'd, muſt, as it was thought, have put a Stop to two ſeveral intended Marriages of the Duke of *York*, of which one took place. The Complaints and Demands of the Parliament ſeem'd to increaſe; therefore to allay the preſent Temper, the King not only yielded to the *Teſt-Act*, but likewiſe granted an Act *for his moſt gracious, general and free Pardon*, which prov'd very popular and acceptable. The Commons went on with more Alacrity, and the King by two ſeveral Meſſages urg'd them to a Concluſion; yet before they wou'd finiſh all, they drew up two Addreſſes of Grievances to his Majeſty, one concerning *England*, and the other *Ireland*, both fit to be remember'd, and the rather becauſe they are not taken notice of by the common Writers. The Firſt is, *The Commons Addreſs concerning Grievances in* England.

'*Moſt gracious Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, the Com-
'mons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, conceiving our ſelves bound
'in neceſſary Duty to your Majeſty, and in Diſcharge of the Truſt re-
'poſ'd in us, truely to inform your Majeſty of the Eſtate of this your
'Kingdom. And tho' we are abundantly ſatisfy'd, that it hath been al-
'ways your Royal Will and Pleaſure, *That your Subjects ſhou'd be go-*
'vern'd according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of theſe Realms; yet finding,
'that contrary to your Majeſty's gracious Intentions, ſome Abuſes and
'Grievances are crept in, We crave leave humbly to repreſent them to

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'your Majesty's Knowledge, and to Desire, 1. That the Imposition of 'Twelve Pence *per* Chaldron upon Coals, for providing of Convoys, by 'Vertue of an Order of Council, dated the 15th of *May* 1672, may be 'recall'd, and all Bonds, taken by Vertue thereof, cancell'd. 2. That 'your Majesty's Proclamation of the 4th of *December* 1672, *for preventing Disorders which may be committed by Soldiers*, and whereby the Soldiers now in your Majesty's Service are in a Manner exempted from 'the ordinary Course of Justice, may likewise be recall'd. 3. And whereas great Complaints have been made out of several Parts of this Kingdom *of divers Abuses committed in Quartering of Soldiers*, That 'your Majesty wou'd be pleas'd to give Order to redress those Abuses; 'and in particular, That no Soldiers be hereafter Quarter'd in any private Houses; and that due Satisfaction may be given to the Inn-Keepers 'and Victuallers where they lye, before they remove. 4. And since the 'Continuance of Soldiers in this Realm will necessarily produce many 'Inconveniencies to your Majesty's Subjects, We do humbly present it 'as our Petition and Advice, That when the present War is ended, all 'the Soldiers that have been rais'd since the last Session of Parliament, 'may be disbanded. 5. That your Majesty wou'd likewise be pleas'd 'to consider of the Irregularities and Abuses in Pressing Soldiers, and give 'Order for the Prevention thereof for the future. 6. And altho' it hath 'been the Course of former Parliaments to desire Redress in their Grievances, before they proceeded to give a Supply; yet we have so full 'Assurance of your Majesty's Tenderness and Compassion towards your 'People, that we humbly prostrate our Selves at your Majesty's Feet 'with these our Petitions, desiring your Majesty to take them into your 'Princely Consideration, and to give such Orders for the Relief of 'your Subjects, and the Removing these Pressures, as shall seem best to 'your Royal Wisdom.

Another concerning Grievances in Ireland.

The Second concerning *Ireland* was as follows: '*Most gracious Sovereign*, We your Majesty's most loyal Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, taking into Consideration the great Calamities which have formerly befallen your Majesty's Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ireland* from the *Popish* Recusants there, who for the most Part 'are profess'd Enemies to the *Protestant* Religion, and the *English* 'Interest, and how they making ill use of your Majesty's gracious Disposition and Clemency, are at this Time grown more insolent and presumptuous than formerly, to the apparent Danger of that Kingdom, and 'your Majesty's *Protestant* Subjects there, the Consequence whereof may 'likewise prove very fatal to this your Majesty's Kingdom of *England*, 'if not timely prevented. And having seriously weigh'd what Remedies 'may be most properly apply'd to these growing Distempers, do in all 'Humility present your Majesty with these our Petitions. 1. That for 'the Establishing and Quieting the Possessions of your Majesty's Subjects 'in that Kingdom, your Majesty wou'd be pleas'd to maintain the *Act of Settlement*, and *Explanatory Act* thereupon, and to recall the *Commission of Enquiry into* Irish *Affairs* bearing date the 17th of *January* last, 'as containing many new and extraordinary Powers, not only to the 'Prejudice of particular Persons, whose Estates and Titles are thereby 'made liable to be question'd; but in a Manner to the Overthrow of the '*Acts of Settlement*; and if pursu'd, may be the Occasion of great 'Charge and Attendance to many of your Subjects in *Ireland*, and shake 'the Peace and Security of the whole. 2. That your Majesty wou'd 'give order, That no *Papist* be either continu'd, or hereafter admitted 'to be Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners or Mayors, Sovereign or Portrieves in that Kingdom. 3. That the Titular *Popish* Archbishops,

'bishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, Abbots, and all other Exercising 1673.
'Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by the *Pope*'s Authority, and in particular, Car. 25
'*Peter Talbot*, pretended Archbishop of *Dublin*, for his notorious Dis- Ref 14
'loyalty to your Majesty, and Disobedience and Contempt of your Laws,
'may be commanded by Proclamation forthwith to depart out of *Ireland*,
'and all other your Majesty's Dominions, or otherwise to be prosecuted
'according to Law. And that all Convents, Seminaries, and publick
'Popish Schools may be dissolv'd and suppress'd, and the Regular Priests
'commanded to depart under the like Penalties. 4. That no *Irish Pa-*
'*pist* be admitted to inhabit in any Corporation in that Kingdom, unless
'duly licens'd according to the foresaid *Acts of Settlement*; and that
'your Majesty wou'd be pleas'd to recall your Letters of the 26th of *Fe-*
'*bruary* 1671, and your Proclamation thereupon, whereby *general Li-*
'*cence* is given such *Papists* as inhabit in Corporations there. 5. That
'your Majesty's Letters of the 28th of *September* 1672, and the Order
'of Council thereupon, whereby your Subjects are required *not to pro-*
'*secute any Actions against the* Irish *for any Wrongs or Injuries commit-*
'*ted during the late Rebellion*, may likewise be recall'd. 6. That Co-
'lonel *Richard Talbot*, who hath notoriously assum'd to himself the Title
'of *Agent for the Roman Catholicks in* Ireland, be immediately dis-
'miss'd out of all Command, either Civil or Military, and forbid any
'Access to your Majesty's Court. 7. That your Majesty wou'd be
'pleas'd, from Time to Time, out of your Princely Wisdom, to give
'such further Orders and Directions to the Lord Lieutenant, as may best
'conduce to the Encouragement of the *English* Planters, and *Protestant*
'Interest there, and the Suppression of the Insolencies and Disor-
'ders of the *Irish* Papists there. These our humble Desires we pre-
'sent to your Majesty, as the best Means to preserve the Peace and Safe-
'ty of that your Kingdom, which hath been so much of late in Danger
'from the Practices of the said *Irish Papists*, and particularly of the
'said *Richard* and *Peter Talbot*. And we do not doubt but your Ma-
'jesty will find the happy Effects thereof, to the great Satisfaction and
'Security of your Government and Person, which of all Earthly Things
'is most dear to us your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects.

These two Addresses being presented to the King, his Majesty immediately return'd this following obliging Answer, by way of Message, *That he observ'd the Addresses consisted of many different Parts, therefore it cou'd not be expected there shou'd be a Present Answer: But for the several particular Things contain'd in them, he wou'd, before the next Meeting, take such effectual Care, that no Man shou'd have Reason to complain.* With which the House thought Themselves and the Nation so well secured, that they presently Voted 'That the humble Thanks of 'the House be presented to his Majesty, for the often Accesses they have 'been admitted to his Majesty's Person; and for his most gracious An-'swers to the several Addresses of this House; and particularly for the 'last gracious Message, and for the Care he hath declared, *He will take* '*of the Protestant Religion.* The Mony-Bill immediately pass'd, but under the Title of a *Supply of his Majesty's Extraordinary Occasions*; and with a particular Proviso tack'd to it, *That no Papist shou'd be capable of holding any Publick Employment.* On the 29th of *March*, before the Bill in Favour of Protestant Dissenters, and some others cou'd be finish'd, the King came to the House of Peers, and, besides the Mony-Bill, pass'd nine publick Acts, *viz.* 1. An Act *for the King's Majesty's most gracious, general, and free Pardon*, but with many Exceptions. 2. An Act *continuing a former Act concerning Coynage.* 3. An Act *for enabling his Majesty to make Leases of his Lands belonging to the Dutchy of* Cornwall.

The King's Answer.

Thanks voted.

Acts pass'd.

4. An

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4. An Act *for Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants.* 5. An Act *for Reviving the Judicature for the Determination of Differences touching Houſes burnt down by the late Fire,* &c. 6. An Act *for taking off Aliens Duties upon Commodities of the Growth and Manufactures of this Nation.* 7. An Act *for Encouraging the* Greenland *Trades, and for the better ſecuring the Plantation Trades.* 8. An Act *for Repeal of a Clauſe in a former Act to prohibit Sales-men from ſelling fat Cattle.* 9. An Act *to enable the County Palatine of* Durham *to ſend Knights and Burgeſſes to ſerve in Parliament.* Upon paſſing theſe Bills, the King adjourn'd the Parliament to the 20th of *October*, and ſo put an End to the Eleventh Meeting of the Second and Long Parliament, after a ſhort but ſharp Seſſion of ſeven Weeks and four Days.

The End of the Eleventh Meeting of the Second Parliament.

Of all theſe Acts none did then, or ſince, make ſo great a Noiſe as *That for Preventing Dangers which happen from Popiſh Recuſants*, moſt commonly call'd *The Teſt Act*; which required, 'That all Perſons bearing any 'Office or Place of Truſt or Profit, ſhou'd take the Oaths of *Supremacy* 'and *Allegiance* in publick and open Court, and ſhou'd alſo receive the 'Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Uſage of the Church 'of *England*, in ſome Pariſh Church, on ſome Lord's-Day, immediately 'after Divine Service and Sermon, and deliver a *Certificate* of having ſo 'receiv'd the Sacrament, under the Hands of the reſpective Miniſter and 'Church-Wardens, prov'd by two credible Witneſſes upon Oath, and 'put upon Record in Court: And that all Perſons taking the ſaid Oaths 'of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, ſhou'd likewiſe make and ſubſcribe this 'following Declaration; *I* A. B. *do declare, that I do believe there is 'not any Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at, 'or after the Conſecration thereof, by any Perſon whatſoever.*' This Act, and Teſt therein preſcrib'd, has been generally accounted a great Bulwark to the eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*. It was principally, if not ſolely levell'd at the *Roman* Catholicks, in order to preclude them from all Places of Note and Truſt, yet it did as effectually reach all ſtrict Diſſenters from the ſaid Church. However the former ſooneſt felt the Effects of it; and not only many *Popiſh* Officers quitted their Truſts, but the Duke of *York* Himſelf, who was High-Admiral of *England*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Clifford*, both laid down their Places. The Latter is ſaid to have been ſo much diſguſted at the King's paſſing this Bill, and ſome other Condeſcenſions, that he retired, and dy'd in Privacy and Diſcontent in his own Country of *Devonſhire*.

The Subſtance of the Teſt Act.

The Continuation of the WAR.

III. 1. All this while great Preparations were making both by the King of *England* and the *States* of *Holland*, for the Summer's Expedition by Sea. The Latter had acquired new Strength and Vigour, ſince their Revolution by the Death of the *De Wits*, and the brave Prince of *Orange* was made their chief Commander. That Prince us'd all poſſible Diligence, both by Land and Sea, to reſtore and ſecure his Country againſt the two formidable Powers of *France* and *England*. At Sea, their Fleets were in much greater Forwardneſs than the *Engliſh*; and to make the Naval Forces more effectual, his Highneſs took care to reconcile thoſe two glorious Commanders *de Ruyter* and *van Tromp*, ſo that for the future there was a perfect Underſtanding between them. Being got to Sea, he wrote to them, and the other Officers, to encourage them, and particularly told them, 'That the Eyes and Hearts of all the Subjects of the 'United Provinces, nay, and of all *Chriſtendom* were now turn'd to the 'Fleet, and were attentively obſerving what Motions, and what Attempts it wou'd make under the Valour and Conduct of thoſe who go-'vern'd it.' He further wrote thus, 'We ſhall take care to recompence 'the

Tromp's Life. Anonymous. *Philips. Temple.* Gazettes, &c.

The P. of Orange's Care.

'the Merit and Bravery of thoſe that ſhall give any ſignal Proofs of it, 'and ſhall provide, that great and glorious Actions ſhall not be repaid 'with Ingratitude, but with a proportionable Reward. I pray you aſſure 'all under your Flag, from the Greateſt to the Leaſt, of this Reſoluti- 'on; and at the ſame Time, let every one of them know, *That no Par- 'don is to be expected by them who ſhall not do their Duty, and ſhall be 'guilty of Cowardice.*' They were out at Sea before the Beginning of *May*, and had projected an Attempt of very great Importance, which was to dam up the Mouth of the *Thames*, by ſinking in it a great many Ships extraordinarily loaden, and ſo to render it impaſſable: And if that Project had ſucceeded, *England* wou'd a long Time have felt its Effects by the Interruption of Commerce, which wou'd thereby have been vaſtly endamag'd, without any Battel or Bloodſhed. 1673. Car. 25 Reſ. 14

The Forwardneſs of the Dutch.

On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* carry'd on their Preparations with conſiderable Diligence, but with ſeveral Impediments, and leſs Expedition, partly occaſion'd by ſome Diviſions, or perhaps Miſunderſtandings between the Duke of *York*, who had laid down, and Prince *Rupert*, who had taken up his high Office. The Prince's Friends complain that he was too much limited in his Commiſſion, that he was not befriended in the Choice of his Officers, nor never ſufficiently ſupported during the whole Expedition; ſo that they ſay, never Admiral went out to Sea with greater Diſcouragements: And if he had not us'd more than ordinary Vigour and Activity, he cou'd not have prevented the *Dutch* Deſign of damming up the Mouth of the *Thames*, nor have got ſafely paſt them, in order to joyn with the *French* then coming from *Breſt*, both which he effected with great Conduct, and difficult Management. On the 16th of *May*, he joyn'd the *French* Squadron off of the Coaſt of *Rye*; at which Place the King and the Duke went down to ſee the Fleet, and on the 19th left them ready to Sail with the firſt fair Wind: But before his coming away, his Majeſty made the Duke of *Ormond*'s Son, the Earl of *Oſſory*, Rear Admiral of the *Blue* Squadron, under the famous Sir *Edward Spragge*. The *Red* Squadron, which was the Principal, was commanded by Prince *Rupert*, and the *White* by Count *d'Eſtree*, the *French* Admiral; the whole Fleet conſiſting of about a Hundred and forty Sail, of which ninety were capital Men of War. The *Dutch* Fleet was likewiſe divided into three Squadrons, the Firſt commanded by *de Ruyter*, the Second by *Bankert*, and the Third by *van Tromp*; conſiſting of fifty five Capital Men of War, fourteen Frigates, twenty five Fire-Ships, fourteen Advice-Yatches, and ſeven Galliots, in all an Hundred and fifteen Sail.

The Engliſh *Preparations.*

On the 28th of *May*, the firſt Battel this Year, but the ſecond in this War, began near the Sands of *Schonevelt* upon the Borders of *Zealand*; and this was the ſame Day on which the laſt Battel was fought in *Sould-Bay*. Here the *Dutch* Fleet lay in Safety; but when *De Ruyter* ſaw the Confederates appear, he weigh'd Anchor to meet them, and found them rang'd in the Form of a Creſcent. The *Engliſh* being ill ſatisfy'd with the Conduct of the *French* in the laſt Battle, and fearing their Deſertion, thought fit to place ſeveral of them under their own Squadrons; and particularly Monſieur *d'Aſſedan*, the *French* Rear Admiral, was put under Prince *Rupert*'s Squadron, and the Marquiſs *de Grancy* under that of Admiral *Spragge*. About Twelve at Noon, *Trompe* and Sir *Edward Spragge* began the Fight, which on every Side was continu'd with vaſt Noiſe and Fury, till the Darkneſs of the Night parted them. The Fire-Ships of both Fleets were able to do but little Execution, and yet a great many of them were either burnt or ſunk. The *Dutch* loſt Vice-Admiral *Schram*, and Rear-Admiral *Vlugh*; and Captain *Legg* took one *Dutch* Man of War,

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War, but Captain *Backer* who loſt it, bravely retook it, but with the Loſs of his Life. The *Deventer*, another *Dutch* Ship of Sixty Guns, was diſabled; and ſtriking on the Sand in her return home, all the Men were drown'd, except Thirty. The *Dutch* affirm they loſt only this Ship, whereas they ſay the Confederates loſt ſeveral, either ſunk or burnt, moſt of them *French* and Fire-Ships, which they knew not how to uſe. It is certain that both Sides were well beaten, and ſeverely ſhatter'd, and therefore both Sides claim'd the Victory. *De Ruyter*, in his Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, ſays, *We juſtly judge, that thus far the Victory, God be prais'd, is on the ſide of the States and your Highneſs.* And Prince *Rupert* in his Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, writes thus, *I thought it beſt for us to ceaſe the Purſuit, and drop Anchor where I now am.* On the *Engliſh* ſide were kill'd Captain *Fowls*, Captain *Werden*, and Captain *Finch*; and Colonel *Hamilton* had his Leg ſhot off: The Captains *Legg*, *Holmes*, *Wetwang* and *Story*, ſignaliz'd themſelves in this Battel; which Battel drove back the *Engliſh* to their Coaſts, and the *Dutch* to *Schonevelt*.

The Third BATTEL.

2. The *Dutch* having the Opportunity, by lying ſo near their own Coaſts, to refit and refurniſh themſelves, and well knowing as the Wind ſtood, the *Engliſh* cou'd not do the like, on the 4th Day of *June* came out upon the *Engliſh* Fleet, towards the Coaſts of *Suffolk*; which brought on a ſecond Battel within ſeven Days after the Former. About four in the Afternoon, the Fight again began by thoſe two valiant Commanders *Tromp* and *Spragge*, who with great Thunderings bravely engag'd each other. Soon after *De Ruyter* with his Squadron engag'd Prince *Rupert*, and *Bankert* fell in with *D'Eſtree* and the *White* Squadron. At *de Ruyter*'s firſt approach, he made a ſhew of attacking the Prince, but before he was within Muſquet Shot, he ſprung his Looſ, and went off of a ſudden; which made the Prince think, he had ſome extraordinary Damage in his Ship, or that he was hurt. In no long Time the whole *Dutch* Fleet began to ſtand off, but continu'd Canonading the *Engliſh*, but at a great Diſtance, till dark Night, while the *Engliſh* continu'd their Station. About Mid-Night part of the *Dutch* Fleet tack'd, ſtanding to the Eaſt Southerly: At Two in the Morning the *Engliſh* tack'd alſo, and ſtood after them, but cou'd not come up before they were got again within their Sands; ſo that the Prince tack'd and ſtood to the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and all that cou'd be ſaid, was, that the *Dutch* went off in great Diſorder, but their Loſs cou'd not be known. Yet *de Ruyter*, in his Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, ſays, *The next Day we ſaw the Enemies were gone, and doubt not but they made to the* Thames; *we ſatisfy'd our ſelves with purſuing them half Way, and then return'd to our former Station.* However, the *Engliſh* loſt not a Ship, and but few Men; and of Captains, only *White*, Commander of the *Warſpight*, and *Sadlington*, Commander of the *Crown*, were kill'd.

The Deficiencies in the Engliſh *Fleet.*

The next Day after the Battel, Prince *Rupert* had leaſure to conſider the ill Condition of the whole Fleet, when from all Parts of it came miſerable Complaints to his Highneſs of Want of Sea Men, and all manner of Neceſſaries in every Ship, tho' all Things had been written for, and frequently promis'd that they ſhou'd be ſent. The Commanders exclaim'd that they ſhou'd be thus expos'd, ſo as not to have convenient Supplies, but to be in Want of Powder, Shot, Water, Beer, Fiſh, ſmall Stores, and what not; whereupon it being impoſſible to avoid returning home, therefore to refit and revictual themſelves as ſoon as might be, the whole Fleet ſet ſail to the *Buoy of the Nore*, where on the 8th of *June* they rod at Anchor. And on the 14th his Highneſs the Prince return'd to

London

London to give his Majeſty an Account of the Condition of his Navy, and to preſs for a ſpeedy Supply of all Neceſſaries for the Refitting of the Fleet out to Sea again. About ſeven Days after he return'd again to the Fleet, where with indefatigable Induſtry, he ſet all Things in forwardneſs, and made ſo quick a Diſpatch, that had not a Delay interven'd, of ſending Soldiers to be landed by them in *Holland*, they had been much ſooner out at Sea: But by the 16th of *July* his Highneſs weigh'd Anchor, and his Majeſty alſo in his Yatch, having a ſtrong Gale at *South-Weſt*, and came to the *Middle-Ground*; where humbly taking his leave of his Majeſty, he quickly got the whole Fleet through the *Narrow*, and on the 19th of *July* ſtood with an eaſy Sail for the Coaſts of *Zealand* and *Holland*; in all which he ſhew'd both his Skill and Labour, and prov'd himſelf an excellent Manager as to both. 1673. Car. 25 Reſ. 14

Recover'd by Prince Rupert.

3. After a Variety of Motions, the two contending Fleets met on *Monday* the 11th of *Auguſt*, near the Mouth of the *Texel*, upon the Coaſts of *Holland*, and brought on a Third Battel this Year, which was the Fourth and Laſt of this War. The ſeveral Squadrons were under the ſame Command as before; but now the *French* led the Van, Prince *Rupert* was in the Middle, and Sir *Edward Spragge* in the Rear. The *Dutch* having the Advantage of the Weather-Gage, came boldly on; *Bankert* attack'd the *French* under *D'Eſtree*, *de Ruyter* the Prince, and *Trompe* a third Time engag'd *Spragge*. About eight in the Morning, the Battel began with as much Noiſe and threatning Deſolation as had ever been known upon the Ocean; and it is incredible to imagine with what dreadful Rage and Thunder they equally and furiouſly batter'd each other, while Confuſion and Deſtruction appear'd in every Part of the greateſt Naval Powers in the Univerſe. But within two or three Hours Time there happen'd a conſiderable Alteration; for the *French*, excepting Rear-Admiral *Martel*, who fought with all imaginable Bravery, ſhew'd by their Conduct that their Deſign was, to husband and ſpare their Forces; and according to the Opinion of the moſt knowing Men, it was believ'd, that the Count *D'Eſtree*, tho' he made a ſhew of fighting bravely for a Time, had ſecret Orders from his Maſter to act in that Manner: So that about eleven a Clock they very fairly made a Tack about to the Eaſtward, under the Pretence of getting the Weather-Gage, where they in effect remain'd malicious Spectators of the reſt of the Battel. Whereupon Admiral *Bankert*, ſeeing the *French* were gone off, thought it not fit to purſue them any longer, for fear of being drawn away too far from the Main of the *Dutch* Fleet, but veer'd back towards the main Battel, and went to the Aſſiſtance of *de Ruyter*; ſo that Prince *Rupert*, under this unequal Conteſt, was put to great Difficulties; notwithſtanding he bravely bore up and charg'd through the Enemy ſeveral Times. Still *Trompe* furiouſly engag'd *Spragge*, and *Trompe*'s Second, the Earl of *Oſſory*, who anſwer'd them with equal Bravery. In the Afternoon *Spragge*'s Ship being diſabled, he haſtned aboard the St. *George*, where he put up his Flagg; which when the Earl of *Oſſory* ſaw, he ſent Sir *John Narborough* to tell him, *That if he pleas'd, he wou'd ſet upon* Trompe *and directly board him, if he had his Aſſiſtance: Spragge* commended his Heroick Reſolution, and encourag'd him to go on, and he wou'd be with him immediately; but his ſudden Death was the Loſs of a noble Deſign: For he had not been long on board the St. *George*, but by the Loſs of her main Maſt he was forc'd to leave her alſo; and as he was going on board the *Royal Charles*, the Boat was unhappily ſhatter'd to Pieces by an accidental Shot, whereby he was drown'd in the Ocean, over which he had ſo often triumph'd by his repeated Victories. *Trompe* being ſeverely gaul'd by the Earl of

The Fourth and laſt BATTEL.

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Ossory, began to give way; but seeing *de Ruyter* coming towards him, he stay'd; and being both joyn'd, they fell furiously upon the *Blue* Squadron, vainly endeavouring to separate them from Prince *Rupert*, who coming in with all imaginable Speed, and others seasonably joyning with him, the Dispute was bloody and terrible on both Sides; And the Prince sending two Fire-ships, guarded by Captain *Legg*, amongst the Enemies Fleet, put them into such Confusion, that if the wary *French*, who were then Masters of the Wind, had come in, the Dispute of the *Dutch* concerning the Dominion of the Seas had been at an end. The brave *Martel*, the *French* Commander, in his Narrative owns, 'That if the Count 'd'*Estrees* wou'd have fallen in with the fair Wind upon *de Ruyter* and '*Bankert*, when they first engag'd with Prince *Rupert*, they must needs 'have been enclos'd between his Highness and the Count, and so there 'wou'd have been an entire Defeat of the Enemy.

The Failure of the French.

In this Battel the *Dutch* lost two Flag-Officers, *de Liefde* and *Sweers*, several Captains, and about a Thousand common Sea-Men. Among the *English*, were slain Captain *le Neve*, and Captain *Merryweather*, both Foot Officers, and Mr. *May* a Voluntier; of the Sea-Commanders Sir *William Reeves*, and Captain *Heywood*, both gallant Soldiers. But the Person most lamented was Sir *Edward Spragge*, who is said by a *Dutch* Writer, to have been one of the most valiant Admirals *England* ever had; and of whom it was reported, that when he took leave of the King his Master, he declar'd *He wou'd bring Admiral* Trompe *alive or dead, or else lose his own Life in the Attempt*, which last accordingly came to pass. The *English* had ship'd six thousand Men, commanded by the Mareschal *de Schomberg*, for a Descent upon the Coasts of *Holland*; but their not being able to attempt any thing by Land, was an Argument that they were not superior at Sea. And here it may be observ'd that when ever the *English* engag'd the *Dutch* without any Foreign Assistance, they generally came off with Honour and Renown; but when they were supported, or rather joyn'd by the Power of *France*, they never cou'd make the like Impression. And here ended the Summer's Expedition, and in effect the whole War; only we are to take notice, that the Island *Tobago*, in the *West-Indies*, was this Year taken from the *Dutch* by the *English* Commander Sir *Tobias Bridges*, with a Booty of four Hundred Prisoners, and as many Negroes. The *Dutch* in Reprizal, had seiz'd upon the *English* Isle of St. *Helens*, which wou'd have been a great Obstruction to their *East-India* Trade; had it not been soon after regain'd by Captain *Mundy*, with a more fatal Loss to the *Dutch* of three rich *East-India* Ships: For which acceptable Service the Captain, on his Return, was Knighted by his Majesty.

The End of the Summer's Expedition.

These three Battles fought at Sea, though none of them were Victories, prov'd very advantagious to the *Dutch*, by keeping up the Hearts and Spirits of the People at Land, who began not only to breath after their dreadful Losses from the *French*, but to recover their former Strength and Vigour. All which was principally owing to the Vigilance and Activity of the Prince of *Orange*, who having taken his Measures with the Emperor, *Spain* and *Brandenburg*, undertook the Siege of *Naerden* with full Success. After the Reduction of that Place, which happen'd in the Sight of the *French* Army, the Prince, like another young *Scipio*, resolv'd to save his Country by abandoning it; and accordingly he contented himself to leave the chief Post guarded with a Part of the Army, and with the rest march'd into *Germany*, joyn'd Part of the Imperialists, and besieg'd *Bonne*, which had been put into the Hands of *France* in the Beginning of the War. The Boldness of this Attempt amaz'd all Men, but the Success display'd the Prudence, as well as the Bravery of it; for the

The Prince of Orange *recovers his Country.*

Prince

Prince took *Bonne*, and by that Means open'd a Paſſage for the *German* Forces over the *Rhine*, and ſo into *Flanders*, and gave ſuch a Diverſion and Damp to the Deſigns and Enterprize of the *French*, that they immediately abandon'd all their Conqueſts upon *Holland* with greater Celerity than they made them, retaining only *Maeſtricht* and the *Grave*, of all they had poſſeſs'd belonging to the *States*: All which happen'd before the Concluſion of this Year. The *Dutch* were tranſported at this great and unexpected Turn of Affairs, and juſtly imputed it chiefly to the Wiſdom and Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*; and therefore a greater Honour was done to him than to any of his illuſtrious Anceſtors: For now the *States-General* not only confirm'd the Office of Stadt-Holder in the Perſon of his Highneſs during Life, but ſettled it likewiſe upon his Heirs Male born in Wedlock, by a ſolemn Decree made in the latter End of the Year. And on the ſame Day the States of *Zealand*, to ſhew their Gratitude, made him chief Hereditary Nobleman of that Province.

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His Honours.

Philips. Arlington. Rot. Parl. MSS. Wood. &c.

IV. 1. During the Heat and Vigour of this Summer's War, a Treaty of Peace was not forgotten, which was firſt agreed, by the Mediation of the King of *Sweden*, to be held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; but ſoon after, by the King of *England*'s Conſent, at the City of *Cologn*; to which Place by the middle of *June*, and ſome before, repaired all the Plenipotentiaries of the ſeveral Confederates. For his *Britannick* Majeſty, there appear'd Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*; for the King of *Spain*, Count *Areſchot*, and *Don Emanuel de Lyra*; for the Emperor, Count *Conningſech*, and the Baron *D' Iſola*; Count *Tott*, for the Crown of *Sweden*; *Van Beverning*, *Van Haren*, and *Odyke*, for the *States* of *Holland*; and the Duke *de Chauſnes*, for his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty of *France*. But the *Dutch*, depending upon their Succeſſes, and having other Deſigns than were carrying on in that Place, wou'd yield to no conſiderable Point: Nor were their Plenipotentiaries ſo fully inſtructed, but that upon the Propoſitions deliver'd by the *Engliſh*, they pleaded they cou'd give no poſitive Anſwer, without conſulting their Maſters. So carrying things with a high Hand, they return'd to *Holland*, while the *States* had Leiſure to form an Anſwer; which when they had deliver'd at *Cologn*, was look'd upon as little more than a Contrivance to protract Time: By which means *Cologn* became a Place of great Concourſe, but of little Buſineſs.

A Treaty ſet on Foot at Cologn.

All which Time the King and the Court were preparing for the next Meeting of Parliament, which, by Adjournment only, was to be on the 20th Day of *October*: Before which Day ſeveral Alterations were made as to Places and Preferments. Beſides the Reſignation of the Duke of *York*, which ſeem'd to have been done not without Reſentment, the Lord *Clifford*, being a profeſs'd *Roman* Catholick, finding himſelf diſabled by the new *Teſt Act*, as was before hinted, reſign'd into his Majeſty's Hands his Staff, as Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, on the 19th of *June*; which, by the Recommendation of the favourite Duke of *Buckingham*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to deliver the ſame Day to the celebrated Sir *Thomas Osborne*, Knight and Baronet, and lately created Lord Viſcount *Dunblain* in *Scotland*. Soon after, on the Death of Sir *Robert Long*, Auditor of his Majeſty's Exchequer, that profitable Place was given to the witty Sir *Robert Howard*, who left his Office of Secretary to the Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, to *Charles Bertie* Eſquire, Brother to the Earl of *Lindſey*. As to the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury*, tho' his Reign appear'd to be ſhort-liv'd, he was reſerv'd for the Management of the approaching Seſſion of Parliament, upon the Succeſs of which his Fate ſeem'd much to depend. He had lately put himſelf at the Head of the

Promotions in England.

Sir Thomas Osborne *Lord Treaſurer.*

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Complaining Party, appear'd more reſerv'd as to the Court Intereſt, and ſaid ſeveral Things in publick Speeches which reſembled more the Patriot, than the Courtier, for which he met with a proportionable Degree of Applauſe and Diſcommendation. When Serjeant *Thurland* took his Oath before him as one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in his Speech he gave him this free Advice. 'In the firſt Place you are to maintain 'the King's *Prerogative*; and let not the King's *Prerogative* and the '*Law*, be two things with you: For the King's *Prerogative* is '*Law*, and the Principal Part of the *Law*; and therefore in main-'taining That, you maintain the *Law*.' But after this he further ſaid to him, 'Let me recommend to you, ſo to manage the King's *Juſtice* and 'the *Revenues*, as the King may have moſt *Profit*, and the Subject leaſt '*Vexation*. Raking for old Debts, the Number of Informations, Pro-'jects upon Concealments, I cou'd not find, in the eleven Years Expe-'rience I have had in this Court, ever to advantage the Crown: But 'ſuch Proceedings have, for the moſt Part, deliver'd up the King's good 'Subjects into the Hands of the *Worſt of Men*.' Afterwards, when the new Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Thomas Osborne* was ſworn, he in his Speech from the Bench, among other Things, ſaid, '*Kings* are as *Gods*, and be-'ſtow Honour, Riches and Power where they pleaſe; but in this they '*are as Men*, that they can only *chuſe*, not *make* a Perſon Adequate to 'their Imployment: For if their Choice be merely *Favour*, not *Fitneſs*, 'their *Omnipotency* is quickly ſeen through.— There is no more to be 'ask'd of you in this Condition, but that you *know your own Intereſt*, 'and that will ſecure you to the *King*'s and the *Nation*'s. I repeat them 'thus together, becauſe none but *Mountebanks* in State Matters can 'think of them aſunder. And let me ſay to your Lordſhip, that how-'ever happy you have been in arriving to this high Station, yet *Parta 'tueri non minor eſt Virtus*. Many great Men have prov'd unfortunate, 'in not obſerving that the *Addreſs* and *Means* to attain great Things, 'are oftentimes very different from thoſe that are neceſſary to maintain 'and eſtabliſh a ſure and long Poſſeſſion of them.' The new Treaſurer thank'd the Chancellor in publick; but the next Day, when he had conſider'd the Terms in the Speech, it is ſaid he ſent to revoke his former Thanks.

The Chancellor's Speech to him.

A ſecond Marriage deſign'd for the Duke of York.

In the mean Time the *Cliffordian* or Popiſh Party had taken great Pains to bring about the ſecond Marriage of the Duke of *York*, as the ſureſt Method to ſtrengthen their Intereſt. Several Propoſals had been made to his Royal Highneſs, all of his own Religion, and particularly a long Negotiation for a Match between him and the Arch-Dutcheſs of *Inſpruck*, a great Fortune in *Germany*; but the Emperor happening to become a Widower before it cou'd be compleated, he marry'd her himſelf. Upon which the Duke, being oblig'd to caſt his Eye another Way, at laſt fix'd upon *Mary D'Eſte*, Siſter to *Francis* then Duke of *Modena* in *Italy*, and Daughter to *Alphonſo D'Eſte*, the third of that Name, by *Laura Maneſſi*. The better to advance this unequal Match, and make it appear more conſiderable, the *French* King declared her an adopted Daughter of *France*, and promis'd her a ſuitable Portion. The Match was concluded without any great Difficulty, by the Earl of *Peterborough*, and afterwards conſummated by the ſame Perſon, according to the Form us'd among Princes. This Marriage was contrary to the Bent of the *Engliſh* Nation, who began to have many Jealouſies about it; and it was ſoon known that the approaching Parliament wou'd complain of it; eſpecially ſince it was now unqueſtionable that his Royal Highneſs was a profeſs'd *Roman* Catholick. His Friends therefore made what Proviſions they cou'd againſt the meeting of the Parliament, which being only by Adjournment, they found ſeveral things ready to be finiſh'd, which were contrary to their Advantage; particularly the *Bill for Eaſe of Proteſtant Diſſen-*

Diſſenters, which wanted very little of paſſing the Houſe of Lords, and if compleated, might have prov'd a new Bulwark againſt Popery. Therefore to prevent this, and ſome other Matters, a Prorogation was thought convenient and neceſſary in this Juncture of Affairs. 1673. Car. 25 Reſ. 14

TWELFTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

2. On the 20th Day of *October*, the Parliament met according to their Adjournment, and ſo made a Continuation of the Eleventh Seſſion of this Long Parliament: But they had no ſooner met, but the Houſe of Commons ſhew'd their Diſguſt againſt ſeveral Proceedings of late, and preſently voted 'That an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to acquaint 'his Majeſty, that it is the humble Deſire of this Houſe, that the intend-'ed Marriage of his Royal Highneſs with the Dutcheſs of *Modena*, be 'not conſummated; *and that he may not be marry'd to any Perſon but of* '*the Proteſtant Religion.* Upon which the King immediately prorogu'd the Parliament to the 27th of the ſame Month; ſo that on that Day began the twelfth Seſſion of the Second Parliament, which prov'd the ſhorteſt and the ſharpeſt of any that preceded it. His Majeſty, without ſhewing any particular Diſpleaſure, from the Throne made this following Speech: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I thought this Day to *The King's Speech to both Houſes.*
'have welcomed you with an honourable Peace: My Preparations for 'the War, and Condeſcenſions at the Treaty, gave me great Reaſon to 'believe ſo; but the *Dutch* have diſappointed me in that Expectation, 'and have treated my Ambaſſadors at *Coloign* with the Contempt of 'Conquerors, and not as might be expected from Men in their Conditi-'on. They have other Thoughts than Peace. This obligeth me to move 'you again for a Supply; the Safety and Honour of the Nation neceſſa-'rily requiring it. It muſt be one *proportionable* to the Occaſion; and 'I muſt tell you beſides, that if I have it not *ſpeedily*, the Miſchief will 'be irreparable in my Preparations for the next Spring. The great Ex-'perience I have had of you, *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, will 'not ſuffer me to believe, that the Artifices of our Enemies can poſſi-'bly divert you from *giving* me this Supply, or that you can fail of ad-'juſting the *Proportion* of it. I hope I need not uſe many Words to 'perſwade you, that I am ſteady in maintaining all the Profeſſions and 'Promiſes I have made you concerning *Religion* and *Property*: And I 'ſhall be very ready to give you freſh Inſtances of my Zeal, for preſer-'ving the Eſtabliſh'd Religion and Laws, as often as any Occaſion ſhall 'require. In the laſt Place I am highly concern'd to commend to your 'Conſideration and Care the Debt I owe the *Gold-Smiths*, in which 'very many other of my good Subjects are involv'd: I heartily recom-'mend their Condition to you, and deſire your Aſſiſtance for their Re-'lief. There is more that I wou'd have you inform'd of, which I leave 'to the Chancellor.

Accordingly the Chancellor made the following Speech, which, upon the Account of the Speaker, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, is here verbally inſerted: '*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the* *The Lord Chancellor* Shaftsbury's *Speech.*
'*Houſe of Commons*, His Majeſty had Reaſon to expect that he ſhou'd 'have met you with the Olive Branch of *Peace*: His *Naval Preparati-'ons*, greater than in any former Years, together with his *Land Forces* 'he had ready for any Occaſion, gave him Aſſurance to obtain it be-'fore this Time: And the rather becauſe his Aims were not *Conqueſt*, 'unleſs by Obſtinacy inforc'd; but his *Condeſcenſions* at the Treaty have 'been ſo great, That the very Mediators have declared they were not 'reaſonably to be refus'd. He cou'd not be King of *Great Britain* with-'out Securing the *Dominion* and *Property* of his own Seas; the Firſt by 'an Article clear, and not eluſory of the FLAGG; the Other, by an Arti-

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'cle that preſerv'd the *Right* of the *Fiſhing*, but gave the *Dutch* Permiſſion, 'as Tenants, under a ſmall Rent, to enjoy, and continue that Gainful 'Trade upon the Coaſts. The King was oblig'd, for the Security of a 'laſting Peace, as alſo by the Laws of *Gratitude* and *Relation*, to ſee the 'Houſe of *Orange* ſetled, and the LOVESTEIN, that CARTHA-'GINIAN PARTY, brought down. Neither in this did the King 'inſiſt beyond what was moderate, and agreeable to their Government, 'and what the Prince's Anceſtors enjoy'd amongſt them. Beſides theſe, 'they were neceſſary to the Trade of *England*, that there ſhou'd be a 'fair Adjuſtment of Commerce in the *Eaſt-Indies*; where the King's 'Demands were reaſonable, and according to the *Law of Nations*; 'and their Practice of late Years hath been Exorbitant and Oppreſſive, 'ſuitable only to their Power and Intereſt, and Deſtructive, if continu'd, 'to our *Eaſt-India* Company. Theſe were all, of any Moment, the 'King inſiſted on; as judging right, That that Peace that was Reaſona-'ble, Juſt and Fair to both Parties, wou'd be Sacred and Durable. And 'that by this Means, He ſhou'd depreſs the Intereſt and Reputation of 'that LOVESTEIN PARTY amongſt them, who ſuck'd in with 'their Milk an *Inveterate Hatred* to *England*, and tranſmit it to their 'Poſterity, as a *Diſtinguiſhing Character* wherein they place their Loy-'alty to their Country.

'In return to this candid, and fair Proceeding on the King's Part, his 'Majeſty aſſures you, he hath receiv'd nothing but the moſt ſcornful and 'contemptuous Treatment imaginable; Papers deliver'd in to the Me-'diators, own'd by them to be ſtuff'd with ſo unhandſom Language, that 'they were aſham'd, and refus'd to ſhew them; never agreeing to any 'Article about the *Flagg*, that was clear or plain; refuſing any Article of 'the *Fiſhing*, but ſuch a one, as might ſell them the Right of Inheritance, 'for an inconſiderable Sum of Mony, tho' it be a *Royalty* ſo *Inherent to 'the Crown of* England, that I may ſay (with his Majeſty's Pardon for 'the Expreſſion) He cannot ſell it. The Article of the Prince of *Orange*, 'and the Adjuſtment of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, had neither of them any 'better Succeſs: And to make all of a Piece, they have this laſt Week 'ſent a Trumpeter with an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty, being a *Deduction of 'their ſeveral Offers of Peace*, as they call them, *and their Deſires for 'it now*; but it is both in the Penning and the Timeing of it, plainly an '*Appeal* to his Majeſty's People againſt Himſelf: And the King hath com-'manded me to tell you, He is reſolved to joyn Iſſue with them, and 'print both their *Addreſs*, and his *Anſwer*, that his People and the 'World may ſee how notorious Falſhoods and Slights they endeavour to 'put upon Him. In a Word, in *England*, and all other Places, and to 'all other Perſons in the World, they declare *They offer all Things to ob-'tain a Peace from the King of* England; but to Himſelf, his Miniſters, 'the Mediators, or his Plenipotentiaries, it may with Confidence and 'Truth be affirm'd, that to this Day, nay even in this laſt Addreſs, *they 'have offer'd Nothing*. They deſire the King's Subjects wou'd believe '*They beg for Peace*, while their true Requeſt is, only *to be permitted to 'be Maſters of the Seas*; which they hope, if they can ſubſiſt at Land, 'Length of Time may give them; and if once got, is never to be loſt; 'nor can it be bought by any State or Empire *at too great a Rate*. And 'what Security their Agreement with us in Religion will afford, when 'they ſhall have the Power, former Inſtances may give Demonſtration of. '*Joint Intereſts* have often ſecured the Peace of *differing Religions*, but '*agreeing Profeſſions* have hardly an Example of preſerving the Peace of '*different Intereſts*.

'This

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'This being the true and natural State of Things, his Majeſty doth with 'great Aſſurance throw himſelf into the Arms of you his Parliament, for 'a Supply ſuitable to this great Affair he is engag'd in. When you con- 'ſider we are an Iſland, 'tis not *Riches* nor *Greatneſs* we contend for; 'yet thoſe muſt attend the Succeſs; but it is our very *Beings* are in Queſti- 'on: We fight *pro Aris & Focis* in this War. We are no longer *Free- 'Men*, being Iſlanders, and *Neighbours*, if they Maſter us at Sea. There 'is not ſo lawful or commendable Jealouſy in the World, as an *Engliſh* 'Man's, of the growing Greatneſs of any Prince or State at Sea. If 'you permit the Sea, our *Britiſh* Wife, to be raviſh'd, an eternal Mark 'of Infamy will ſtick upon us: Therefore I am commanded earneſtly to 'recommend to you, not only the *Proportion*, but the *Time* of the Sup- 'ply. For unleſs you think of it early, it will not be ſerviceable to the 'chief End of ſetting out a Fleet betimes the next Spring. As for the 'next Part of the King's Speech, I can add nothing to what his Majeſty 'hath ſaid. For as to *Religion* and *Property*, his Heart is with your 'Heart, perfectly with your Heart. He hath not yet learned to deny 'you any Thing; and he believes your Wiſdom and Moderation is ſuch, 'he never ſhall. He asks of you *to be at Peace in Him, as he is in 'You*, and he ſhall never deceive you.

'There is one Word more, I am commanded to ſay concerning the 'Debt owing to the *Gold-Smiths*: The King holds himſelf in Honour 'and Conſcience oblig'd to ſee them ſatisfy'd. Beſides, you all know 'how many Widows, Orphans and particular Perſons, this Publick Ca- 'lamity hath overtaken; and how hard it is, That ſo diſproportionable 'a Burthen ſhou'd fall upon them, even to their utter Ruin. The whole 'Caſe is ſo well and generally known, that I need ſay no more. Your 'Great Wiſdom hath not done it at the firſt, peradventure that the 'Trade of the Bankers might be ſuppreſſed; which End is now attain'd: 'So that now your *Great Goodneſs* may reſtore to thoſe poor People, 'and the many innocent Ones that are concern'd with them, ſome Life 'and Aſſurance of Payment in a competent Time. *My Lords and Gen- 'tlemen*, I have no more in Command, and therefore I ſhall conclude 'with my own hearty Prayers, That this Seſſion may equal, nay exceed 'the Honour of the laſt; That it may perfect what the laſt begun for 'the Safety of this King and Kingdom; That it may be for ever famous 'for having Eſtabliſh'd, upon a durable Foundation, our *Religion, Laws* 'and *Properties*; That we may not be toſs'd with boiſterous Winds, 'nor overtaken by a ſudden dead Calm: But that a gentle fair Gale may 'carry you in a ſteady, even, and reſolv'd Way into the Ports of *Wiſ- 'dom* and *Security*.

The Speech ended, and the Commons return'd to their Houſe, they were ſo affected with the Thoughts of *Popery*, that the firſt Thing they reſolv'd was a more than ordinary Solemnization of the Fifth of *Novem- ber*, and that Dr. *Stilling fleet* be the Preacher. Then appointing a Grand Committee for Religion, Grievances, Trade and Courts of Juſtice, they adjourn'd themſelves till the 30th Inſtant. On which Day Mr. Secretary *Coventry* brought from his Majeſty the following Anſwer to their Addreſs concerning the Duke of *York*, and his intended Marriage: 'C. R. His 'Majeſty having receiv'd an Addreſs from the Houſe of Commons, pre- 'ſenting their humble Deſire That the intended Marriage betwixt his 'Royal Highneſs and the Princeſs of *Modena* may not be conſummated, 'commanded this Anſwer to be return'd, *That he perceiv'd the Houſe of 'Commons have wanted a full Information of this Matter, the Marriage 'not being barely Intended, but Compleated according to the Forms us'd 'amongſt Princes, and by his Royal Conſent and Authority: Nor cou'd he*

A Meſſage of the King to the Commons.

'*in*

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'*in the leaſt ſuppoſe it diſagreeable to his Houſe of Commons, his Royal* '*Highneſs having been in the View of the World for ſeveral Months* '*engag'd in a Treaty of Marriage with another Catholick Princeſs, and* '*yet a Parliament held during the Time, and not the leaſt Exception taken* '*at it.*' They were no way ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, but look'd upon this *French* Match in effect of far greater Danger, than the propos'd Marriage with the Arch-Dutcheſs of *Inſpruck*, hinted in the Anſwer, was at the Time of the Treaty thereof; for then the Duke's Religion was not certainly known to the Nation; and beſides, the Family of the Arch-Dutcheſs, the Houſe of *Auſtria*, did not appear to be in an equal Capacity to aſſiſt in the Propagation of that Religion, as the *French* at this Time did. And therefore the Houſe immediately Voted to draw up another Addreſs, with particular Reaſons againſt the Marriage; and the ſame Day voted, 'That a Bill ſhou'd be prepared for a *General Teſt* betwixt '*Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, and thoſe that refus'd to take it, ſhou'd be in-'capable of bearing any Office Military or Civil, or to ſit in Parliament, 'or to come within five Miles of the Court.' They likewiſe went on with a Bill *for Repair of Churches*, and *for the better Recovery of ſmall Tythes*.

Their grand Reſolve.

3. It was upon *Friday* the 31ſt of *October* that the Houſe of Commons firſt took into their Conſideration his Majeſty's Speech, and after a long and ſerious Debate in a grand Committee, they finally Reſolv'd, 'That the Houſe, conſidering the preſent Condition of the Nation, will 'not take into any further Debate the Conſideration of any *Aid* or *Sup-*'*ply*, or *Charge* upon the Subject, before the Time of Payment of the 'Eighteen Months Aſſeſsment, granted by a late Act of Parliament, In-'tituled, *An Act for Raiſing the Sum of Twelve Hundred thirty eight* '*Thouſand ſeven Hundred and fifty Pounds*, be expired; Except it ſhall 'appear that the *Obſtinacy* of the *Dutch* ſhall render it Neceſſary; Nor 'before this Kingdom be effectually ſecured from *Popery* and *Popiſh* Coun-'ſellors, and the other preſent *Grievances* be redreſs'd.' At the ſame Time they order'd an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty for a general Faſt to be obſerved throughout the Nation. Which Proceedings prov'd very uneaſy and ſhocking to the King and the Court, who therefore reſolv'd to give them one Remove more: But that it might not ſeem altogether upon the Account of denying Mony, they allow'd the Parliament to proceed; who on the *Monday* following attended his Majeſty with their ſecond Addreſs, with Reaſons againſt the Marriage; being then aſſured that it was not ſo far concluded, but that for Reaſon of State it might have been rejected, as it has been practis'd in ſeveral Nations, and even by the *French* themſelves in ſeveral Examples.

Their particular Addreſs againſt the Duke's Marriage.

The Addreſs is too remarkable to be omitted, and is inſerted as follows: 'We your Majeſty's moſt humble and loyal Subjects, the Commons in 'this preſent Parliament aſſembled, being full of Aſſurance of your Ma-'jeſty's gracious Intentions to provide for the Eſtabliſhment of Religion, 'and the Preſervation of your People in Peace and Security; and fore-'ſeeing the dangerous Conſequences which may follow the Marriage of 'his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* with the Princeſs of *Modena*, or 'any other of the *Popiſh* Religion; do hold our ſelves bound in Conſci-'ence and Duty to repreſent the ſame to your Sacred Majeſty, not doubt-'ing but thoſe conſtant Teſtimonies which we have given your Majeſty 'of our True and Loyal Affections to your ſacred Perſon, will eaſily 'gain a Belief that theſe our humble Deſires proceed from Hearts ſtill 'full of the ſame Affections towards your Sacred Majeſty, and with In-'tentions to eſtabliſh your Royal Government upon thoſe true Supports

'of

'of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Hearts of your People, with all 1673.
'Humility deſiring your Majeſty to take the ſame into your Princely
'Conſideration, and to relieve your Subjects from thoſe Fears and Ap- Cat. 25
'prehenſions which at preſent they lye under, from the Progreſs that Ref. 14
'hath been made in that Treaty. We do therefore humbly beſeech your
'Majeſty to conſider, 1. That if this Match do proceed, it will be a
'Means to diſquiet the Minds of your *Proteſtant* Subjects at home, and
'to fill them with endleſs Jealouſies and Diſcontents; and will bring your
'Majeſty into ſuch Alliances abroad, as will prove highly prejudicial, if not
'deſtructive, to the Intereſt of the very *Proteſtant* Religion it ſelf. 2. We
'find by ſad Experience, that ſuch Marriages have increas'd and encou-
'rag'd *Popery* in this Kingdom, and given Opportunity to Prieſts and
'Jeſuits to propagate their Opinions, and ſeduce great Numbers of your
'Majeſty's Subjects. 3. We do already obſerve how much the Party is
'animated with the Hopes of this Match, which were lately diſcourag'd
'by your Gracious Conceſſions in the laſt Meeting of this Parliament.
'4. We greatly fear this may be an Occaſion to leſſen the Affections of
'the People to his Royal Highneſs, who is ſo nearly related to the Crown,
'and whoſe Honour and Eſteem we deſire may always be entirely pre-
'ſerv'd. 5. That for another Age more at leaſt, this Kingdom will be
'under the continual Apprehenſions of the *Growth of Popery*, and the
'*Danger of the Proteſtant Religion.* Laſtly, We conſider that this Prin-
'ceſs having ſo near a Relation and Kindred to many eminent Per-
'ſons of the Court of *Rome*, may give them great Opportunities to pro-
'mote their Deſigns, and carry on their Practices amongſt us, and by
'the ſame Means penetrate into your Majeſty's moſt ſecret Counſels, and
'more eaſily diſcover the State of the whole Kingdom. And finding by
'the Opinions of very Learned Men, it is generally admitted, *That ſuch*
'*Treaties and Contracts by Proxy are Diſſolvable*, of which there are
'ſeveral Inſtances to be produc'd; We do in all Humility beſeech your
'Majeſty to put a ſtop to the Conſummation of this intended Marriage.
'And this we do the more importunately deſire, becauſe we have not
'as yet the Happineſs to ſee any Iſſue of your Majeſty that may ſucceed
'in the Government of theſe Kingdoms; which Bleſſing we moſt hearti-
'ly pray Almighty God in his due Time to beſtow upon your Majeſty
'and theſe Kingdoms, to the unſpeakable Joy and Comfort of all your
'Majeſty's Loyal Subjects, who deſire nothing more than to continue
'under the Reigns of your Majeſty, and your Royal Poſterity for
'ever.

To which Addreſs his Majeſty return'd this Anſwer, *That it was a Matter he wou'd take into his preſent Conſideration, and wou'd ſpeedily return an Anſwer.* After which the Commons proceeded further, and Voted the ſtanding Army a Grievance; and accordingly they prepar'd an Addreſs to be made to his Majeſty, ſhewing *That the Standing Army was a Grievance, and a Burthen to the Nation.* Having prepared this on the 4th of *November*, and deſigning that Day to wait upon his Majeſty with it, the King unexpectedly, and of a ſudden appear'd at the Houſe of Peers with his Robes and Crown. The Lords made all haſte to attend him, while the Uſher of the Black-Rod was ſent to the Commons, to command the Speaker and that Houſe immediately to come up to his Majeſty. But it happen'd that the Speaker and the Uſher met both at the Door of the Houſe of Commons; but the Speaker being within the Houſe, ſome of the Members ſuddenly ſhut the Door, and cry'd out *To the Chair, to the Chair!* while others cry'd *The Black-Rod is at the Door!* The Speaker was immediately hurry'd to the Chair, and then it was mov'd, 1. *That our Alliance with* France *was a Grievance.* 2. *That*

Their warm Proceedings.

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the Evil Counſellors about the King were a Grievance; and, 3. *That the Duke of* Lauderdale *was a Grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employ'd in any Office or Place of Truſt.* Upon which there was a general Cry, *To the Queſtion, to the Queſtion!* but the Black-Rod knocking earneſtly at the Door, the Speaker leapt out of the Chair, and the Houſe roſe in a great Confuſion.

The King Prorogues the Parliament with a Speech.

Being come into the Houſe of Peers, the King from the Throne made this following Speech to both Houſes: 'My *Lords and Gentlemen*, I need 'not tell you how unwillingly I call you hither at this Time, being enough 'ſenſible what Advantages my Enemies both abroad and at home will reap 'by the leaſt Appearance of a Difference betwixt Me and my Parliament; 'nay, being aſſured they expect more Succeſs from ſuch a Breach (cou'd 'they procure it) than from their Arms. This, I ſay, ſhall, while I live, be 'my chief Endeavour to prevent; and for that Reaſon I think it neceſ-'ſary to make a ſhort Receſs, that all good Men may recollect themſelves 'againſt the next Meeting, and conſider, *Whether the preſent Poſture of 'Affairs will not rather require their Applications to Matters of Reli-'gion, and Support againſt our only Competitors at Sea, than to Things of 'leſs Importance:* And in the mean Time, I will not be wanting to let 'all my Subjects ſee, *That no Care can be greater than my own, in the 'effectual Suppreſſing of Popery:* And it ſhall be your Faults, if in your 'ſeveral Countries the Laws be not effectually executed againſt the Growth 'of it. I will not be idle neither in ſome Things which may add to your 'Satisfaction; *and then I ſhall expect a ſuitable Return from you.*' Having ſpoke thus, he Prorogu'd the Parliament to the 7th Day of *January* following. And thus ended the Twelfth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd no longer than nine Days; in which Time we do not find that the Lords tranſacted any Thing very Material, but ſeem'd rather to attend the Motions of the Houſe of Commons.

The End of the Twelfth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

4. Now it was, that the King began more ſenſibly to find the Loſs of his old Counſellor, the Earl of *Clarendon*, and to feel the Difficulties brought upon him by his Favourites of the *Cabal.* He was now labouring and toiling, as it befell him in the greateſt Part of his Reign, to get a little Eaſe and Relief from Buſineſs, which probably he might have attain'd with no great Trouble, had he been leſs given to try Experiments. However, he reſolv'd to get free from the Perſon who had ſo great a Share in involving him of late, the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury*, whoſe Actions had render'd him very obnoxious to the Court Party, eſpecially the Duke of *York.* Accordingly, ſoon after the Breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl was ſent for on a *Sunday* Morning to Court, as was alſo Sir *Heneage Finch*, Attorney-General, to whom the Seals were promis'd. As ſoon as the Earl came, he retired with the King into the Cloſet, while the prevailing Party waited in Triumph to ſee him return without the Purſe. His Lordſhip being alone with the King, ſaid, *Sir, I know you intend to give the Seals to the Attorney-General; but I am ſure your Majeſty never deſign'd to diſmiſs me with Contempt.* The King, who cou'd not do an ill-natur'd Thing, reply'd, *Godsfiſh, my Lord, I will not do it with any Circumſtance as may look like an Affront. Then, Sir,* ſaid the Earl, *I deſire your Majeſty will permit me to carry the Seals before you to Chappel, and ſend for them afterwards from my own Houſe*; to which his Majeſty readily comply'd; and the Earl entertain'd the King with News, and other diverting Stories, till the very Minute he was to go to Chappel, purpoſely to amuſe the Courtiers and his Succeſſor, who he believ'd was upon the Rack for fear he ſhou'd prevail upon the King to

The Earl of Shaftsbury *turn'd out.*

to change his Mind. The King and the ſtill Chancellor came out of the Cloſet talking together and ſmiling, and went together to Chappel, which extreamly ſurpriz'd them all, who cou'd have no Opportunity to inform themſelves what was to be expected; and ſome ran immediately to tell the Duke of *York* all their Meaſures were broken, and the Attorney-General was ſaid to be inconſoleable. After Sermon the Earl went home with the Seals, and that Evening the King gave them to the Attorney-General, a Man of great Parts and Abilities, with the Title of Lord-Keeper. And thus ended the Reign of the great Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Prevalency of which had continu'd above three Years, but the Grandeur of it, in which he had no Equal, laſted a few Days leſs than one Year. 1673. Car. 25 Ref. 14

And the Seals given to Sir Heneage Finch.

Immediately after, to oblige the Parliament and Nation as much as poſſible, on the 14th of *November*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſummon in Council the two Lords Chief-Juſtices, and the Lord Chief-Baron, and to command them to conſider of the moſt effectual Means of putting the Laws in Execution for preventing the *Growth of Popery*, and ſpeedily to report the ſame to his Majeſty: And at the ſame Time he was particularly pleas'd to order, 'That no Perſon who is a *Roman* Catholick, or 'is reputed to be of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, do preſume after the '18th of this Inſtant *November*, to come into his Majeſty's Royal Pre'ſence, or to his Palace, or to the Place where his Court ſhall be: And 'accordingly the Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's 'Houſhold, were order'd to cauſe his Majeſty's Pleaſure to be effectually 'put in Execution.' In purſuance of which, the King iſſu'd out a new Proclamation againſt the *Papiſts*, which was the Eighth of that Kind, and began with the uſual Intimation, *that it was according to the Deſire of his two Houſes of Parliament*. And not long after, on the 10th of *December*, his Majeſty was pleas'd farther to declare in Council, 'That no *Popiſh* Re'cuſant, or reputed to be ſo, ſhou'd preſume to come into St. *James*'s 'Houſe, or into the Park adjoyning. So that he ſeem'd to have taken all reaſonable Care to put an End to the Fears and Apprehenſions of the Growth of Popery. And to ſatisfie his People with relation to the preſent *Dutch* War, he publiſh'd the Letter mention'd in the Chancellor's laſt Speech to him from the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, who began to aſſume a higher Stile upon their late Succeſſes, and their new Alliances with the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. With which he publiſh'd his own Anſwer, which concluded in theſe Words, 'If you have a 'Deſire to promote the Peace in good Earneſt, ſend Powers without 'further Delay to your Deputies at *Cologn*, to draw up juſt and equal 'Articles with Ours; and the World ſhall ſee how ready We ſhall be to 'comply with them, and to reſume thoſe Sentiments of Friendſhip 'and Eſteem which the Kings our Predeceſſors have always had for 'your State; and to manifeſt to you That We are truly *Your good* '*Friend*, C. R.

The King's Care to hinder Popery, &c.

But whatever was done to ſuppreſs the Fears of Popery, the formidable Contract of Marriage between the Royal Brother the Duke, and the Princeſs of *Modena*, took Place. And that Lady, having reſided a while at the Court of *France*, arriv'd at *Dover* on the 21ſt of *November*, accompany'd with her Mother the Dutcheſs of *Modena*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, who were nobly receiv'd by his Royal Highneſs, who on the ſame Day was by the Biſhop of *Oxford* marry'd to the ſaid Princeſs *Mary D'Eſte*, then in the Bloom of her Beauty, and very little above fifteen Years of Age. A few Days after, his Majeſty himſelf, attended by the principal of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, went in his Barges down the River, to meet both their Royal Highneſſes, who

The Duke of York's *Marriage Conſummated.*

1673. on the 26th of *November* arriv'd at *Whitehall*, where they were honourably receiv'd, and gloriously entertain'd by the King and Court.

Car. 25 Ref. 14 For a Concluſion of this Year, as in others, we ſhall take notice of the Deaths of ſeveral Perſons of Note and Eminency, and firſt of two Reverend Divines, but of different Parties and Perſuaſions, Dr. *Thomas Browne*, and Dr. *Thomas Horton*. The Former, Dr. *Browne*, was educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, became Domeſtick Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Laud*, and ſo Rector of *Aldermary* in *London*, and Canon of *Windſor*. But loſing all for his Loyalty in the troubleſome Times, he travelled, and for a while was made Chaplain to the famous Princeſs of *Orange*, and got a particular Acquaintance of the moſt learned Men in *Holland*. At the King's Return he was reſtored to what he loſt, without any further Preferment in the Church, and dy'd with the Reputation of an acute Critick, an eloquent Orator, a nice Caſuiſt, and a learned Divine. The Other, Dr. *Horton*, was an eminent Man of the Presbyterian Stamp, who had his Education in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was ſometime Maſter of *Queen*'s College, and a celebrated Preacher. Removing to *London*, he became Preacher to the Society of *Grey's-Inn*, Reader of Divinity in *Greſham* College, and Miniſter of great St. *Helens* in the City. He was a noted Man in the Time of the late Troubles, and was eſteem'd a ſound and ſolid Divine, a good Textuary, and well skill'd in Original Languages. The next Perſon to be mention'd is Sir *Robert Murrey*, a Gentleman born and educated in *Scotland*, and afterwards in Foreign Countries, who became one of the firſt Contrivers and Inſtituters of the famous *Royal Society*, of which he was made the firſt Preſident. This Perſon, tho' Presbyterianly educated and affected, had the particular Favour of the King's Ear, and was indefatigable in his Undertakings, a moſt renowned Chymiſt, a great Patron of the *Roſie-Crucians*, and an excellent Mathematician, and no leſs vers'd in Experimental Philoſophy. He dy'd ſuddenly in his Pavilion in the Garden at *White-Hall*, and was, at the King's own Charge, bury'd in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. And becauſe the Memory of Men excelling in any Profeſſion ought to be preſerv'd, we ſhall particularly mention Dr. *John Wilſon*, the moſt noted Muſician in *England*, Muſick Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and Servant in Ordinary, and Favourite to both the late and preſent King, who were often charm'd with his Compoſitions, and his practical Performances, eſpecially upon the Lute, of which he was the moſt famous Maſter of the Age.

The Deaths of Dr. Browne,

Dr. Horton,

Sir Robert Murrey,

Dr. Wilſon,

After all theſe, we ſhall mention two remarkable Men, of different Principles and Practices, *Oliver St. John* Eſquire, and the Lord *Clifford*. The Former, whoſe Character has been given in the other Volume, had one of the deepeſt and moſt dreadful Hands in the late Miſeries in the Kingdom, and obtain'd the Name of *Oliver Cromwell's Dark Lanthorn*, for which he was excluded the Benefit of the *Act of Indemnity*, if he ever offer'd to accept or execute any Office, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military; and conſidering the infernal and implacable Spirit with which he had acted ſo many Years, it was admired that he eſcap'd with Life. After this he liv'd retiredly, and dy'd obſcurely at his own Eſtate at *Long-Thorp* in *Northamptonſhire*, in the 75th Year of his Age; and what the laſt and dying Sentiments were of ſo great a Man, and ſo vaſt an Inſtrument, wou'd be well worth the Knowledge of the World. Sufficient has been ſaid as to the warm Character, and violent Temper of the laſt Perſon to be mention'd, the Lord *Clifford*, who went off the Stage in Diſcontent. We ſhall therefore only add a ſhort Story of him out of a Manuſcript formerly mention'd, which may not be improper to the preſent Year: While he had the *Staff*, it happen'd that the King, the Duke of *York*, and Himſelf,

OliverSt.John,

And the Lord Clifford.

Himſelf, were ſhut up in a Room in Conſultation, when Sir *William Bucknal*, a Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, came to ſpeak with the King, to whom he had free Acceſs, as frequently accommodating his Majeſty with Money. In Preſumption of his uſual Liberty, he went directly to the Room where he underſtood the King was, and hearing Diſcourſe, had the Curioſity to liſten cloſe at the Door, to which he was excited by the King's ſpeaking with ſome Earneſtneſs; but he cou'd only hear broken and imperfect Expreſſions. The Duke ſpoke ſo low he cou'd not underſtand what he ſaid, but *Clifford* ſpoke loud, as in Publick, and very audibly anſwer'd the King in theſe Words, *Sir, if you are driven off upon Fears, you will never be ſafe; the Work will do, if you declare your ſelf with Reſolution; there are enough to ſtand by you.* The King reply'd, *This Name of* Popery *will never be ſwallow'd by the People*; and upon ſaying this, he ſtarted from his Seat, crying, *Some Body is at the Door!* Upon which *Clifford* ran haſtily to it, and without ſpeaking a Word, fell furiouſly upon Sir *William Bucknal*, dragging him to a Pair of Stairs, from whence he kick'd him down; and ſoon after Sir *William* met with his Death, which was not improbably thought to have proceeded from that Misfortune. 1673. Car. 26 Ref. 14

Rot. Parl. Collections. *Temple. Philips. &c.*

V. 1. The King having ſmooth'd the Way by ſeveral popular Acts, on the 7th Day of *January* both Houſes of Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, according to the Prorogation, after a Receſs of two Months and three Days; and this made the Thirteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament. The Actions of the laſt Seſſion very much rais'd the Expectations of the People as to the Meeting of This; and the more becauſe, during the Interval, the *States-General* had made new Overtures of Peace, which was a Thing very deſirable to all the Nation. Therefore all Perſons were eager to know what the King wou'd now ſay to his Parliament, which was as followeth. *The THIRTEENTH SESSION of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, When I parted with 'you laſt, it was but for a little Time, and with a Reſolution of Meeting 'ſuddenly again. That alone was enough to ſatisfy my Friends that they 'need not fear, and my Enemies that they cou'd not hope for a Breach 'between us. I then told you, *That the Time of this ſhort Receſs ſhou'd 'be employ'd in doing ſuch Things as might add to your Satisfaction:* I 'hope I have done my Part towards it; and if there be any Thing elſe 'you think wanting to ſecure *Religion* or *Property*, there is nothing 'which you ſhall reaſonably propoſe, but I ſhall be ready to receive it. 'I do now expect you ſhou'd do your Parts too, for our Enemies make 'vigorous Preparations for War, and yet their chief Hopes are to diſu-'nite us at home; 'tis their common Diſcourſe, and they reckon upon it 'as their beſt Relief.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, It is not poſſible for me to doubt your 'Affections at any Time, much leſs at ſuch a Time as this, when the 'Evidences of your Affections are become ſo neceſſary to us all. I de-'ſire you to conſider, that as the War cannot be made without a Supply, 'ſo neither can a good Peace be had without being in a Poſture of War. 'I am very far from being in love with War, for War's ſake; but if I 'ſaw any likelyhood of Peace without Diſhonour to my Self, and Da-'mage to You, I wou'd ſoon embrace it. But no Propoſals of Peace 'have yet been offer'd with Intent to *Conclude*, but only to *Amuſe*. 'Therefore the Way to a good Peace is to ſet out a good Fleet, which 'we have Time enough to do very effectually, if the Supply be not de-'lay'd. If after this a Peace ſhou'd follow, yet the Supply wou'd be ve-'ry well given; for whatever remains of it, I am willing ſhou'd be ap-'propriated for Building more Ships. To conclude, a *ſpeedy*, a *pro-*

'*portionable*,

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'*portionable*, and above all a *chearful* Aid, is now more neceſſary than 'ever, and I rely upon you for it. I lately put you in mind of my Debt 'to the *Goldſmiths*, I hope a fit Time will come to take that into Con- 'ſideration. I cannot conclude without ſhewing the entire Confidence 'I have in you. I know you have heard much of my Alliance with '*France*, and I believe it hath been very ſtrangely miſrepreſented to you, 'as if there were certain ſecret Articles of dangerous Conſequence; but 'I make no Difficulty of letting the Treaties, and all the Articles of them, 'without any the leaſt Reſerve, be ſeen by a ſmall Committee of both 'Houſes, who may report to You the true Scope of them: And I aſſure 'you there is no other Treaty with *France*, either before or ſince, not 'already printed, which ſhall not be made known. And having thus free- 'ly truſted you, I do not doubt but you will have a Care of my Ho- 'nour, and the Good of the Kingdom. The reſt I refer to my Lord 'Keeper.

Accordingly the new Lord Keeper *Finch* made a long and eloquent Speech, of which a great Part ought not to be omitted, beginning Thus:

The Lord Keeper Finche's *Speech.*

'*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe* '*of Commons*, The King hath already in part, told you, *What* he hath 'done for you ſince the laſt Receſs, *What* he is ſtill ready to do, and '*What* it is he doth now expect from you: And this in Terms ſo full 'and obliging, ſo generous and ſo ſatisfactory, That He whoſe Affecti- 'ons are not rais'd by that Diſcourſe, He who cannot acquieſce in the 'Fulneſs of this Aſſurance, He whoſe Heart is not eſtabliſh'd by it in 'ſuch a Belief as may entirely diſpoſe him to the Service of the Crown, 'will hardly be recover'd to a better Diſpoſition by any other Expedi- 'ent. For indeed what better Way can be found to undeceive thoſe 'who have been abus'd? The King refers you to the Time paſt, not to 'his *Promiſes*, but to his *Performances*; gives Men leave to judge by 'what they *See*, of what they *Hear*; by what hath been done ſince the 'Laſt Seſſion, of what is offer'd you Now, and what is likely to be done 'for the Time to come. And doth not every Man ſee that the King 'hath given new Life and Motion to ſuch Laws as were long dead, or 'faſt aſleep? That he hath once more repaired the Hedge about our 'Vine-yard, and made it a Fence againſt all thoſe who are Enemies to 'the Planting it, who wou'd be glad to ſee it trodden down, or rooted 'up, and ſtudy how to ſap and undermine our very Foundations? Do 'we not ſee that the King hath made it his Care and Buſineſs to do all 'that is poſſible to preſerve our Civil Rights too, That he makes the 'Laws of his Kingdom the Meaſures not only of his *Power* but his *Pru-* '*dence*, That he ſuffers no Man to be wiſer than the Laws, That he 'thinks he cannot judge of the Health or Sickneſs of his State by any 'better Indication than the Current of his Laws, and ſuffers nothing to 'remain that may in the leaſt hinder Juſtice from flowing in its due and 'proper Channel? To name a few Inſtances: If the Conviction of all '*Recuſants*, and bringing them under the Penal Laws, can ſuppreſs *Po-* '*pery*; If without ſtaying for Forms of Law in Points of Conviction, the 'preſent forbidding of *Papiſts*, or reputed *Papiſts* to come to Court, 'and the Extending this Prohibition to his Royal Palace at St. *James*'s, 'be enough to diſcountenance them; If the not extending his *Preroga-* '*tive* beyond its due Limits, can ſecure your *Liberties*; If his leſſening 'and reducing all his Land Forces, and maintaining ſo few Extraordina- 'ry, as will ſcarce be enough to mann his Fleet this Summer, can extin- 'guiſh the Fears of a *Standing Army*; If a rigorous and ſevere Proſecu- 'tion of all the Officers and Soldiers in his Majeſty's Guards, when they 'misbehave themſelves towards the meaneſt Subject, can ſecure your '*Proporties*;

'*Properties*; If the Abrogation of all the Privileges from Arreſts, claim'd by his Majeſty's Servants Extraordinary, who are very numerous, can prevent the Delays and Obſtructions of Juſtice: Then ſurely his Majeſty hath Reaſon to believe, that nothing is wanting which can lawfully be Done, or modeſtly be Wiſh'd, either for your Satisfaction, or your Security. Theſe are not ſingle and tranſient *Acts*, but ſuch as flow from *Habits*; Theſe are not *Leaves* and *Bloſſoms*, but true, ſolid and laſting *Fruits:* Long, long! may that *Royal Tree* live and flouriſh, upon which theſe *Fruits* do grow. And yet his Majeſty's Indulgence to you reſts not here; He gives you leave to ſtudy and contrive your own Aſſurance; and if you think you want any further Security, if any Thing have eſcap'd his Majeſty's Care, who meditates nothing more than your Preſervation, you ſee you have free leave to make any *Reaſonable Propoſition*, and his gracious Promiſe that he will receive it. This is a Satisfaction equal to all your Wiſhes. Now if ever your Joys are full, there wants no more to the Improvement of this Happineſs, but the Wiſdom of the Parliament to uſe theſe Advantages with due Moderation. If therefore upon Enquiry you ſhall think it needful to apply any other Remedies, it is extremely to be wiſh'd that thoſe Remedies may be few, and withal, that they be gentle and eaſy too. For the Sick periſh as often by too many Remedies, as by none at all; but none fall ſo fatally and ſo finally as they who, being enter'd into ſome Degrees of Convaleſcence, reſolve to recover it in an Inſtant, and had rather make ſome great Effort, or try ſome *Bold Experiment* upon themſelves, than obſerve the *Methods*, or attend thoſe *Gradual Progreſſions* which are neceſſary to perfect that Health, and compleat that Recovery. 1673. Car. 26 Reſ. 14

'I muſt not omit one Inſtance more of his Majeſty's Care for you, and that is the great Induſtry and Application of Mind which his Majeſty hath us'd all along, in hopes to have obtain'd by this Time, if it had been poſſible, an *honourable and juſt Peace.*' Then he made a large Deduction of the *Dutch* Averſeneſs to Peace, their uncivil Demeanour to the King's Plenipotentiaries at *Cologn*, and how indirectly they dealt with his Majeſty in all the Overtures of Peace, by appealing to his own People, *&c.* After which he proceeded in theſe Words: 'I have done with theſe few Inſtances of his Majeſty's Care, thoſe of his *Kindneſs* are infinite; That which you heard this Morning is of a tranſcendent, and indeed a very ſurprizing Nature; 'Tis an Act of ſo entire a *Confidence* on his Majeſty's Part, that it can never be repaid by any other Tribute on your Part, but that of a true and humble *Affiance* in Him. I muſt now proceed to put you in mind, That there are ſome other Things which his Majeſty with great Juſtice, and great Aſſurance, doth expect from you again. The firſt is a *ſpeedy* and *proportionable Supply*; and this is of abſolute Neceſſity both for War and Peace. His Majeſty is well aſſured his Fleet is in ſuch a Forwardneſs, that if the Supply come in any reaſonable Time, you will find no Time hath been loſt in the Preparation; and it was no ſmall Matter to bring it to that paſs, that we may be as forward as our Enemies, if we pleaſe, or very near it. If the Supply be at all delay'd, it will have almoſt as ill Effect as if it were deny'd; for we may chance to be found like *Archimedes*, drawing Lines in the Duſt while the Enemy is entering into our Ports. And if the further Progreſs of this Fleet be ſtopp'd for want of your Concurrence, make account all Hopes of Peace are ſtopp'd too; for tho' the Fruit of War be Peace, yet it is ſuch a Fruit as we muſt not hope to gather without our Arms in our Hands. It is not the Way to have a brave Peace, to ſhew our Selves weary of the War: Who ever truſted in the Good Nature of their Enemies? It is a vigorous Aſſiſtance of the Crown that

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'must make not only our *Arms* conſiderable, but our *Treaties* too. On 'the other Side, if the putting of our ſelves into a good Poſture of War 'ſhou'd produce a Peace, as poſſibly it may do; yet you will have the 'beſt Account of your Supply your Hearts can wiſh, for his Majeſty is 'content it be appropriated to the Building of more Ships: Therefore 'if the Diſcourſe upon this Subject be a little more preſſing than ordi-'nary, you may be ſure the Occaſion is ſo too. There cannot be a high-'er Gratification of your Enemies, than to be backward in this Point; 'the very Opinion they have that you wou'd be ſo, hath already done us 'ſo much Harm, that perhaps it is one great Cauſe of the Continuance 'of the War. Had the Enemy deſpair'd of any Diviſion here, 'tis like-'ly his Proceedings had been more Sincere, and our Peace had not been 'ſo far off as now it ſeems to be. There is one Thing more the King 'hath mention'd to you, that is the Conſideration of the *Gold-Smiths*, 'which involves ſo many Perſons and Families, that the Concern is little 'leſs than *National*: It is an Affair the King lays very much to Heart, and 'hopes a *Proper Time* will come when a favourable Regard may be had 'to it.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The King doth not only aſſure himſelf of 'your Affections at this Time, but from ſuch Affections ſo known and 'ſo try'd as yours, he doth yet Expect far greater Things than theſe. He 'doth Expect that you ſhou'd do your Endeavours to reſtore and improve 'the *Mutual Confidence* between him and his People, and that you ſhou'd 'do it in ſuch a *Degree* that it may recover its full Strength, and quite 'extinguiſh all their *Fears* and *Jealouſies*. For the King takes Notice, 'that the Malice of his Enemies hath been very active in ſowing ſo ma-'ny Tares, as are almoſt enough to ſpoil that Harveſt of Love and Duty 'which his Majeſty may juſtly expect to reap from the good Seed which 'he himſelf had ſown. Among the venemous Inſinuations which have 'been us'd, the Fears and Jealouſies of *Religion* and *Liberty* are of the 'worſt Sort, and the moſt dangerous Impreſſions. Certainly Malice was 'never more buſie than it hath been in theſe Reports, and it hath been 'aſſiſted by a great deal of Invention; but it is hop'd that no Man's Judg-'ment or Affections will be either miſ-led or diſturb'd by ſuch Reports. 'For Calumnies and Slanders of this Nature are like Meteors in the Air; 'they may ſeem perhaps, eſpecially to the Fearful, to be ill Prognoſticks, 'and the direct Fore-runners of Miſchief; but in themſelves they are 'vain Apparitions, and have no kind of Solidity, no Permanence or Du-'ration at all. For after a little while the Vapour ſpends it ſelf, and then 'the baſe Exhalation quickly falls back into that Earth from whence it 'came. *Religion* and *Liberty* ſtand ſecured by the moſt ſacred Ties 'that are; nay the King hath a greater Intereſt in the Preſervation of 'both, than you your ſelves: For as *Religion*, the *Proteſtant Religion*, 'commands your indiſpenſable Obedience, ſo it is a juſt and lawful *Li-'berty* which ſweetens that Command, and endears it to you. Let other 'Princes therefore glory in the moſt reſign'd Obedience of their Vaſſals, 'his Majeſty values himſelf upon the Hearts and Affections of his People, 'and thinks his Throne, when ſeated there, better eſtabliſh'd than the 'moſt exalted Sovereignty of thoſe who tread upon the Necks of them 'that riſe up againſt them. Since the World ſtood, never had any King 'ſo great a Cauſe to reſt upon this Security. They were your Hearts 'that mourn'd for the Abſence of the King: They were your Hearts 'and Affections which tyr'd out all the late Uſurpations, by your invin-'cible Patience and Fortitude: It was you that taught our *Engliſh* World 'to ſee and know, *That no Government cou'd be ſettled here, but upon the*

'*the true Foundations of Honour and Allegiance.* This, this alone made Way for all the happy Changes which have follow'd. And yet Poſterity will have cauſe to doubt, which was the greater Felicity of the two, That Providence which reſtored the Crown, or That which ſent us ſuch a Parliament to preſerve it when it was reſtored. What may not the King now hope from You? What may not you aſſure your ſelves from Him! Can any Thing be difficult to Hearts ſo united, to Intereſts ſo twiſted and interwoven together, as the King's and Yours are? Doubtleſs the King will *ſurpaſs* himſelf at this Time in endeavouring to procure the Good of the Kingdom; do but you *excel* your ſelves in the continual Evidences of your Affections, and then the Glory of *Reviving this State* will be entirely due to this Seſſion. Then they who wait for the Languiſhing and Declenſion of the preſent Government, will be amaz'd to ſee ſo happy a *Criſis*, ſo bleſt a *Revolution*: And Ages to come will find Cauſe to celebrate your Memories, as the trueſt *Phyſicians*, the wiſeſt *Counſellors*, the nobleſt *Patriots*, and the *beſt Seſſion* of the *beſt Parliament* that ever King or Kingdom met with.' 1673. Car. 26 Reſ. 14

Notwithſtanding theſe affecting Speeches, both Houſes ſoon manifeſted their Diſcontent at the Continuance of the War with *Holland*, at the exorbitant Power of *France*, and the Prevalence of *Popiſh* Counſels, beſides other inferior Matters. As to the Growth of *Popery*, the Houſe of Lords in this Seſſion led the Way, and preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, humbly beſeeching him, 'That he wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd to iſſue out his Royal Proclamation, requiring all *Papiſts* and *reputed Papiſts*, within five Miles of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, or *Southwark*, not being Houſholders, nor attending Peers of this Realm as menial Servants, to repair to their reſpective Dwellings, or to depart Ten Miles from the Cities and Borough aforeſaid, and not to return during this Seſſion of Parliament: And likewiſe that his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to give Order to the Quarter-Seſſions, that they give in a faithful Account of what Houſholders are within the Cities or Borough aforeſaid, and five Miles thereof, who are of that Profeſſion; and that the Quarter-Seſſions do adjourn themſelves from Time to Time for that Purpoſe.' According to which Addreſs, his Majeſty without Delay, iſſu'd out his Proclamation, dated *January* 14th, declaring, 'That he had ſeriouſly conſider'd the Addreſs of his moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and did accept it with much Contentment and Satisfaction: And as he had always manifeſted his Zeal for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, and to hinder the Growth and Increaſe of the *Popiſh* Religion; ſo he was now ready, upon this Occaſion, to prevent all Fears and Dangers that might ariſe by the Concourſe of Perſons of that Profeſſion, in or near his Cities of *London*, or *Weſtminſter*, &c.

The Lords Addreſs againſt Popery.

The King's Proclamation upon it.

In purſuance of the ſame End both Lords and Commons immediately after joyn'd in an Addreſs to his Majeſty for a General Faſt, uſing theſe very Words, 'We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Obedient Subjects, *&c.* being paſſionately ſenſible of the Calamitous Condition of this Kingdom, not only by reaſon of the War wherein it is at preſent involv'd, but many other inteſtine Differences and Diviſions amongſt Us, which are *chiefly occaſion'd* by the undermining Contrivances of *Popiſh* Recuſants, whoſe *Numbers* and *Inſolencies* are greatly of late increaſed, and whoſe *reſtleſs Practices* threaten a Subverſion both of Church and State; all which our Sins have juſtly deſerv'd, *&c.*' To which the

Both Houſes for a Faſt.

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King readily comply'd, and the 4th of *February* was appointed for the Day of Humiliation.

The Commons Proceedings againſt Popery,

2. The Houſe of Commons, in their Way, proceeded with great Warmth and Vigour; and firſt agreed 'That the humble and hearty 'Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty for thoſe Acts which 'he had done ſince the laſt Prorogation, towards the Suppreſſing and 'Diſcountenancing of *Popery*, and for his gracious Promiſes and Aſſur-'ances in his laſt Speech.' But when they proceeded to the Conſideration of the Speech it ſelf, which they did upon the ſame Day, they ſoon came to this grand Reſolve, 'That the Houſe will in the firſt Place pro-'ceed to have their *Grievances* Effectually redreſs'd, the *Proteſtant* Re-'ligion, their *Liberties* and *Properties* effectually ſecured, and to ſup-'preſs *Popery*, and remove all Perſons and Counſellors popiſhly affected, 'or otherways obnoxious, or dangerous to the Government.' Which being done, to ſhew their further Deteſtation of Popery, they immediately order'd an Addreſs to his Majeſty, 'That the Militia of the City of '*London*, and County of *Middleſex*, may be in readineſs at an Hour's 'Warning, and the Militia of all other Counties of *England*, at a Day's 'Warning, for Suppreſſing of all tumultuous Inſurrections, which may 'be occaſion'd by *Papiſts*, or any other malecontented Perſons.' To which Addreſs his Majeſty made this gracious Anſwer, *That he wou'd take a ſpecial Care, as well for the Preſervation of their Perſons, as of their Liberties and Properties.*

And the late Cabal.

The Commons in the next Place reſolv'd to ſtrike at three Members of the famous *Cabal*, which were *Buckingham*, *Arlington* and *Lauderdale*: As to *Shaftsbury*, whoſe Contrivances had been deepeſt amongſt them, he, by his late Activity againſt Popery and former Counſels, had made his Peace with the Country Party, of whom he was making himſelf the Head. *Buckingham* was now beginning to tread the ſame Steps, but at preſent that was unknown to the Commons, who reſolved to attack him ſpeedily; but firſt they began with the *Scotch* Miniſter of State, and Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, 'That an Addreſs be preſented to 'his Majeſty to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from all his Imploy-'ments, and from his Preſence and Counſels for ever, *being a Perſon obnoxi-'ous and dangerous to the Government.*' Soon after they debated upon ſome Heads of Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*; and while the Debate continu'd, a Letter was ſent from the Duke to the Speaker, requeſting to be heard before that honourable Houſe, which was granted, and he was admitted with great Ceremony on the 13th Day of *January*. His Deſign was not only to acquit and ingratiate himſelf, but likewiſe to ſcreen the Reputation of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and throw what Odium he cou'd upon the Earl of *Arlington*. But his Diſcourſe, which conſiſted of a peculiar Sort of Wit and Eloquence, ſeem'd ſo looſe and uncertain, that they reſolv'd the next Day to tye him down to ſome certain Queries, drawn up in Writing, to which he was to give diſtinct Anſwers. Accordingly the next Day he appear'd in great Splendor, and with a particular Addreſs made this following Speech:

The Duke of Buckingham's *Speech to them.*

'*Mr. Speaker*, I give the Houſe my humble Thanks for the Honour 'you have twice done me, eſpecially Expreſſing my ſelf ſo ill Yeſterday. 'I hope you will conſider the Condition I am in, in danger of paſſing in 'the Cenſure of the World for a vicious Perſon, and a Betrayer of my 'Country; I have ever had the Misfortune to bear the blame of other 'Men's Faults. I know the revealing the King's Counſels, and corre-'ſponding with the King's Enemies, which are laid againſt me; but I 'hope for your Pardon if I ſpeak Truth for my Self. I told you Yeſter-

'day,

'day, if the *Triple League* had any Advantage in it (I ſpeak it without 1673.
'Vanity) I had as great a Hand in it as any Man. Then upon the In- Car. 26
'ſtance of the *French* Ambaſſador, I was ſent into *France* upon the ſad Reſ. 14
'Subject of Condoling the Death of *Madam*, where I urg'd for the Ser-
'vice of the King, *that the* French *ought not to endeavour to make Them-*
'*ſelves Conſiderable at Sea*, of whom we had Reaſon to be more jealous than
'of the *Dutch*, becauſe the *French* then wou'd have Power to conquer
'us. When I return'd, I found all Demonſtrations that the *French* had
'no ſuch Thoughts, but that the King of *England* ſhou'd be Maſter at
'Sea. I do not pretend to judge whether I or other Men were in the
'Right, I leave the Judgment of that to this honourable Houſe. At
'this Time my Lord *Shaftsbury* and my Self advis'd not to begin a War
'without the Advice of the Parliament, and the Affections of the Peo-
'ple; this was my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Opinion and Mine, but not my
'Lord *Arlington*'s. My next Advice was not to make uſe of *French*
'Ships, half their Value in Mony wou'd have been more ſerviceable. I
'alledg'd *they wou'd be of no Uſe to us, by reaſon of their Want of Ex-*
'*perience in our Seas, and there wou'd be great Danger in their learning*
'*the Uſe of them*; which Advice my Lord *Arlington* oppos'd: notwith-
'ſtanding the King was ſo deſirous of avoiding a Breach with *France*, that
'he ſent me to *Dunkirk*, and my Lord *Arlington* to *Utrecht*, where I
'ſtill endeavour'd to get Mony inſtead of Ships. At my firſt Audience,
'the King of *France* was willing to comply, but after ſome Returns and
'Letters from hence, he was alter'd; but I make no Reflections upon
'Perſons, but barely State Matters of Fact. Then it was my Lord
'*Shaftsbury*'s Advice and Mine *ſo to order the War, as that the* French
'*ſhou'd deliver us ſome Towns of their Conqueſts into our Hands*; an
'uſeful Precaution in former Times. My Lord *Arlington* wou'd have
'no Towns at all for one Year; and here is the Cauſe of the Condition
'of our Affairs. We ſet out a Fleet with Intention to land Men in or-
'der to the taking of Towns: the *French* Army go on Conquering and
'get All, and we get Nothing, nor agree for any. Pray conſider who it
'was that was ſo often lockt up with the *French* Ambaſſador: My Spi-
'rit moves me to tell you, That when we were to conſider what to do,
'we were to adviſe with the *French* Ambaſſador. I will not trouble you
'with Reports, but pray look not upon me as a Peer, but an Honeſt
'*Engliſh* Gentleman, who has ſuffer'd much for my Love to my Coun-
'try. I had a Regiment given me, which was Sir *Edward Scott*'s; I
'gave him ſixteen Hundred Pound for it: There is no *Papiſt* Officer in
'it, nor *Iriſh* Man. I ſhall ſay nothing of my Extraordinary Gains, I
'am ſure I have loſt as much Eſtate as ſome Men have gotten, and that
'is a big Word! I am honeſt, and when I appear otherwiſe, I deſire to
'dye. I am not the Man that has gotten by all this; yet after all this I
'am a *Grievance:* I am the *cheapeſt Grievance* this Houſe ever had; and
'ſo I humbly ask the Pardon of the Houſe for the Trouble I have
'given.

The Speaker then proceeded to ask the Duke the following Queſtions by Order of the Houſe, to each of which his Grace gave an Anſwer.

1. *Whether any Perſons declared to your Grace any ill Advices or Purpoſes againſt the Liberties and Privileges of this Houſe, or to alter the Government; Who they were, and What they advis'd?* A. 'There is an old Proverb, Mr. *Speaker*, *Over Shoes over Boots*. This reflects upon one that is now living, and ſo I deſire Pardon for ſaying any Thing farther, fearing it may be thought a malicious Invention of mine, the Perſon being dead. I have ſaid nothing yet but what I can juſtify, but this I cannot.' *His Anſwers to their Queries.*

2. *Some Words fell from your Grace Yeſterday, wherein you*

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were pleas'd to ſay you had gotten nothing, but others had gotten three, four or five Hundred Thouſand Pounds: Who were they that had gotten it, and by what Means? A. 'I am not well acquainted by what *Means* 'they got ſo much, being not at all acquainted with the *Ways* of getting 'Money. What the Duke of *Ormond* has got is upon Record, being 'about five hundred Thouſand Pounds; my Lord *Arlington* has not 'got ſo much, but he has got a *Great Deal.*' 3. *By whoſe Advice was the Army rais'd, and Monſieur* Schomberg *made General?* A. 'I cannot 'ſay by whoſe Advice, but, upon my Honour, not by mine. I was told 'by a Man that's dead, that my Lord *Arlington* ſent for him, and it will 'be eaſily prov'd.' 4. *By whoſe Advice was this Army brought up to awe the Debates and Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons?* A. 'I muſt 'make to this the ſame Anſwer as I did before; it was a Diſcourſe from 'a Man dead to one now living. If I had deſerv'd the Honour, I think 'I might have had the Command of that Army before Him; but *Schom-* 'berg was told my Lord *Arlington* wou'd have the Government by an 'Army.' 5. *Who made the Triple Alliance?* A. 'My Lord *Arling-* 'ton and my ſelf were only employ'd to treat; and finding the Danger 'we were in of being Cheated, we preſs'd the Ambaſſadors to ſign before 'they had Power; and tho' 'twas an odd Requeſt, yet they did ſign.' 6. *Who made the firſt Treaty with* France, *by which the Triple Alliance was broken?* A. 'I made that Treaty.' 7. *By whoſe Advice was the Exchequer ſhut up, and the Order of Payment there broken?* A. 'I was 'not the Adviſer; I am ſure I loſt three Thouſand Pound by it.' 8. *Who advis'd the Declaration in Matters of Religion?* A. 'I do not diſown 'that I advis'd it; being always of Opinion that ſomething was to be 'done in that Nature in Matters of Conſcience, but no further than 'the King might do by Law. 9. *Who advis'd the Attacking the* Smyrna 'Fleet *before the War was proclaim'd?* A. 'It was my Lord *Arling-* 'ton's Advice; I was utterly againſt it, as careful of the Honour of the 'Nation, and incurr'd ſome Anger by it. My Lord *Arlington* princi- 'pally mov'd it, and I might ſay more.' 10. *By whoſe Advice was the ſe-* *cond Treaty at* Utrecht? A. 'My Lord *Arlington* and I were ſent over, 'and I found in *Holland* the greateſt Conſternation imaginable, like the 'Burning of the *Rump* in *England*, the People crying, *God bleſs the* 'King *of* England! and *Curſing the States*; and had we then landed, 'we might have conquer'd the Country. The Prince of *Orange* wou'd 'have had the ſame Share in the Peace with *France* that we had, but 'tho' the King's Nephew, I thought he muſt be kind to his own Coun- 'try: If we had made Peace then, we had been in a worſe Condition 'than before; and laſtly the Prince of *Orange* hop'd for a good Peace 'with us upon that Treaty; but I never cou'd conſent that *France* muſt 'have All and we Nothing. The Conſequence wou'd be that *Holland* 'muſt intirely depend upon *France*; and I think it a wiſe Article, That 'the *French* were not to make Peace without us.' 11. *By what Coun-* *ſel was the War begun without the Parliament, and thereupon the Par-* *liament Prorogu'd?* A. 'My Lord *Shaftsbury* and I were for adviſing 'with the Parliament, and averſe to the Prorogation. I can ſay nothing, 'but I believe the Parliament will never be againſt a War for the Good 'of *England.*' 12. *By whoſe Advice was the Parliament Prorogu'd the* 4*th of* November *laſt?* A.——.

The Houſe was ſo little ſatisfy'd with the Duke's Speech, and his ſeveral Anſwers, that upon a further Debate they came to this Reſolution,

Their Vote againſt him.

'That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to remove the ſaid Duke 'of *Buckingham* from all his Imployments that are held during his Maje- 'ſty's Pleaſure, and from his Preſence and Counſels for ever' The next Day

Day they enter'd upon a Debate about the Earl of *Arlington*, who at his own Requeſt, was likewiſe admitted to be heard in the Houſe. In making of his Defence, he anſwer'd ſome Parts of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Speeches, and fairly gave the Honour of the *Triple Alliance* to Sir *William Temple*. But he was ſo far from giving Satisfaction to the Houſe as to his own Conduct, that they preſently drew up Articles of Impeachment againſt him, under this Title; *Articles of treaſonable and other Crimes of high Miſdemeanor againſt the Earl of* Arlington, *Principal Secretary of State*, viz. 'I. The ſaid Earl hath been a conſtant and vehe- 'ment Promoter of *Popery*, and *Popiſh* Counſels. 1. By procuring Com- 'miſſions for all the *Papiſts* lately in Command, who made their Appli- 'cation to him only, as a known Favourer of that Faction; there be- 'ing not one Commiſſion ſign'd by the other Secretary, many of which 'Commiſſions were procured and ſign'd by him ſince the ſeveral Ad- 'dreſſes of the two Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty, and the Paſſing 'the late Act againſt *Popery*. 2. By procuring his Majeſty's Letter, 'Commanding *Iriſh* Papiſts and Rebels to be let into Corporations, and 'admitted into the Commiſſions of the Peace, and other Offices of Truſt, 'Military and Civil, contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Laws and Conſtitutions 'of that Realm, to the great Terror of the King's *Proteſtant* Subjects 'there. 3. By not only ſetting up and ſupporting the aforeſaid Papiſts 'there, but bringing the moſt violent and fierceſt of them to command 'Companies and Regiments of the King's *Engliſh* Subjects there, to the 'great Diſhonour and Danger of this Kingdom. 4. By openly and avow- 'edly Entertaining and Lodging in his Family a *Popiſh* Prieſt, contrary 'to the known Laws of the Land; which ſaid Prieſt was a noted Soli- 'citor and Promoter of the *Popiſh* Faction, and hath ſince fled out of 'this Kingdom. 5. By procuring Penſions in other Mens Names for *Po- 'piſh* Officers, contrary to, and in Illuſion of the late Act of Parliament. '6. By obtaining Grants of conſiderable Sums of Money to be charg'd 'upon the Revenue of *Ireland*, for the moſt violent and pernicious *Pa- 'piſts* there; particularly two Thouſand Pounds for one Colonel *Fitz- 'Patrick*, a notorious *Iriſh* Rebel, whoſe Mother was hang'd in the late 'Wars for Murthering ſeveral *Engliſh*, and making Candles of their Fat; 'this Grant being procured for the ſaid *Fitz-Patrick* at a Time when 'he was accus'd to the ſaid Lord *Arlington* of high Crimes by the now 'Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. 7. By procuring his Majeſty to releaſe to 'ſeveral *Iriſh Papiſts*, ſome whereof were deeply engag'd in the horrid 'Rebellion of that Kingdom, the Chieferys, or Head-Rents reſerv'd to 'the Crown, out of the forfeited Eſtates of *Papiſts* there, being a prin- 'cipal Part of his Majeſty's Revenue in that Kingdom.

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Their Articles of Impeachment againſt the E. of Arlington.

'II. That the ſaid Earl hath been guilty of many undue Practices to 'promote his own Greatneſs, and hath imbezzelled and waſted the Trea- 'ſure of this Nation. 1. By procuring vaſt and exorbitant Grants for 'Himſelf, both in *England* and *Ireland*, breaking into the Settlement of 'that Kingdom, and diſpoſſeſſing ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Adventurers and 'Soldiers of the Proprieties and Free-Holds, in which they were duly 'and legally ſtated, without any Colour of Reaſon, or Suggeſtion of 'Right. 2. By charging exceſſive, and almoſt incredible Sums for falſe 'and deceitful Intelligence. 3. By procuring his Majeſty's Hand for the 'giving away, from his firſt entrance into his Office, the Value of three 'Millions of Sterling Money at the leaſt; the ſeveral Grants whereof are 'extant, counterſign'd by him, and by him only. 4. That the ſaid 'Earl, preſuming to trample upon all Eſtates and Degrees of the Sub- 'jects of this Realm, the better to ſubdue them to his Will and Plea- 'ſure, hath cauſeleſly and illegally impriſon'd many of his Majeſty's 'Subjects.

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'Subjects. 5. That he did procure a Principal Peer of the Realm to 'be unjuſtly impriſon'd, and to be proclaim'd Traytor, without any 'Legal Proceeding or Tryal, and did maliciouſly ſuborn falſe Wit-'neſſes with Money to take away his Life, upon Pretence of Treaſona-'ble Words.

'III. That the ſaid Earl hath falſely and trayterouſly betray'd the great 'Truſt repos'd in him by his Majeſty, as Counſellor and Principal Secre-'tary of State. 1. By entertaining a more than uſual Intimacy with the '*French* Ambaſſador, not only lodging him in his Houſe, but letting him 'into the King's moſt ſecret Counſels. 2. By altering in private, and 'ſingly by Himſelf, ſeveral ſolemn Determinations of his Majeſty's Coun-'cil. 3. By procuring a Stranger to have the chief Command of the late 'rais'd Army, for the Invaſion of *Holland*, to the great Diſhonour and 'Diſcouragement of all the Legal Nobility and Gentry of this Nation. '4. By adviſing his Majeſty to admit of a Squadron of *French* Ships to 'be join'd with our *Engliſh* Fleet (the ſad Conſequence whereof we have 'ſince felt) notwithſtanding the King of *France* had agreed to ſend a Sup-'ply of Men, in order to have the Fleet wholly *Engliſh*. 5. Whereas 'the King was advis'd by ſeveral of the Counſellors to preſs the *French* 'King to deſiſt from making any farther Progreſs in the Conqueſt of the 'Inland Towns of *Holland*, whereof *England* was to have no Benefit, and 'to turn his Army upon thoſe Maritime Towns that were by the Trea-'ty to be ours, his Lordſhip gave the King Counſel to deſiſt; where-'by that Part of our Expectation was wholly fruſtrated. 6. Whereas 'the King was advis'd by ſeveral of his Council not to enter into this 'War, till his Majeſty was out of Debt, and had advis'd with his Par-'liament, his Lordſhip was of Opinion to the contrary, and gave his 'Advice accordingly. 7. When the *French* Ships were diſpers'd after 'the late Fight at Sea, and had loſt all their Anchors and Cables by rea-'ſon of the foul Weather that then enſu'd, he perſuaded his Majeſty to 'ſend them eighty Cables and Anchors, although it was then objected, 'and he knew it to be true, That his Majeſty had not at that Time 'any more in his Stores to ſupply his own Ships in caſe of the like 'Neceſſity. 8. He hath trayterouſly correſponded with the King's Ene-'mies beyond the Seas, and contrary to the Truſt repos'd in him, hath 'given Intelligence to them.

Not ſatisfy'd with what they had done againſt the Earl of *Arlington*, whom they look'd upon as a notorious *Romaniſt*, the Commons proceed-ed to prepare a ſevere Bill *For a General Teſt, to diſtinguiſh between* Proteſtants *and* Papiſts, *and to prevent the Danger and further Growth of* Popery, *and for a more eaſie and ſpeedy Conviction of* Popiſh *Recuſants*; *and Thoſe that ſhall refuſe to take it, be made incapable to enjoy any Office, Military or Civil, to ſit in either Houſe of Parliament, or to come within five Miles of the Court.* Tho' there wanted Time to bring the Bill into a Law, yet the *Teſt* it ſelf is not to be forgotten, which was in theſe Words: 'I *A. B.* do ſolemnly, from my Heart, and in the 'Preſence of Almighty God, profeſs, teſtifie and declare, That I do 'not believe in my Conſcience That the Church of *Rome* is the only '*Catholick* and *Univerſal Church* of *Chriſt*, out of which there is no 'Salvation; Or that the *Pope* hath any Juriſdiction or Supremacy over 'the *Catholick Church* in General, or over my ſelf in Particular, or 'that it belongs to the ſaid Church of *Rome* alone to judge of the 'true *Senſe* and *Interpretation* of the Holy Scriptures; Or that in the 'Holy Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, there is made a perfect change of 'the whole Subſtance of the Bread into *Chriſt*'s Body, or of the whole 'Subſtance of the Wine into *Chriſt*'s Blood, which Change the ſaid

A New Teſt againſt Popery.

'Church

'Church of *Rome* calleth *Tranſubſtantiation*; Or that the Virgin *Mary*, 'or any other Saint, ought to be worſhipped, or pray'd unto: And all 'theſe aforeſaid *Doctrines* and *Poſitions*, I do Renounce and Diſ- 'claim, as Falſe and Erroneous, and contrary to God's Word, and the 'Chriſtian Religion. 1673. Car. 26 Reſ. 14

A Peace in Forwardneſs.

3. All theſe Proceedings prov'd very uneaſy to thoſe of the Court, who daily became more ſenſible that nothing cou'd be effected without a ſudden Peace with *Holland*. The Negotiation that had been ſet on foot for a General Peace at *Cologn*, was juſt then a breaking by the exorbitant Demands of the *French* and their Allies; ſo that the *States-General*, finding there was no Reliance to be made on ſuch a Peace, ſtruck in with the general Inclination of the Parliament and People of *England*, and us'd all Methods to make a ſeparate Peace with that Kingdom. In order to which they made uſe of the *Spaniards*, who by Vertue of their Alliance with the *Dutch* had lately declared War againſt *France*; and for that purpoſe ſent full Powers to their Ambaſſador, the Marqueſs *de Freſno*, to treat on that Subject at *London*; who manag'd it ſo well, and ſo ſeaſonably, that his *Britannick* Majeſty was induc'd to deſert the *French*, and once more to make the *United Provinces* his Friends and Allies. And therefore on the 24th Day of *January*, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he made this ſignificant Speech; '*My* '*Lords and Gentlemen*, At the Beginning of this Seſſion I told you, 'as I thought I had Reaſon to do, *That the* States-General *had not* 'yet made me any Propoſals which cou'd be imagin'd with Intent to 'Conclude, but only to Amuſe. To avoid this Imputation, they have 'now ſent me a Letter by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, offering me ſome 'Terms of Peace, upon Conditions Formally drawn up, and in a 'more decent Stile than before. It is upon This, that I deſire your 'ſpeedy Advice: For if you ſhall find the Terms ſuch as may be em- 'braced, your Advice will have great Weight with Me; and if you 'find them defective, I hope you will give me your Advice and Aſ- 'ſurance how to get better Terms. Upon the whole Matter I doubt 'not but you will take care of my Honour, and the Honour and Safe- 'ty of the Nation, which are now ſo deeply concern'd.

The King's Speech upon it.

With this Speech, the King deliver'd to the two Houſes Copies of the Memorial from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, together with Propoſals from the *Dutch* in Order to a Treaty. The Ambaſſador's Memorial, after a large diſplaying of the Dangers from the boundleſs Attempts and Ambition of *France*, concludes in theſe Words: 'And I cannot but promiſe 'my ſelf from Conſiderations of this Importance, a ſpeedy, favourable, 'and benign Anſwer to return to the Queen my Miſtreſs, whereby to 'bind up in a cloſer Tye of Friendſhip the Thoughts, and Inclinations 'of the Subjects of both Crowns: For ſhou'd a contrary Anſwer be gi- 'ven to the Adjuſtment that is propos'd on ſuch reaſonable Terms, *Spain* 'muſt be oblig'd to take other Meaſures for its Security; it being incom- 'patible that a ſincere Friendſhip, or a Peace can ſubſiſt between the 'two Crowns, if your Majeſty will perſevere in the Engagements of this 'War.' Upon Reading of this, and the *Dutch* Propoſals in the Houſe of Commons, they voted their humble and hearty Thanks to be return'd to his Majeſty for his moſt gracious Speech: and immediately after they Reſolv'd, 'That upon Conſideration had upon his Majeſty's ſaid gracious 'Speech, and the Propoſals of the *States General* of the *United Provin-* '*ces*, this Houſe is of Opinion That his Majeſty be humbly advis'd to pro-

Thanks.

'ceed

1673. Car. 26 Ref. 14 *Answer.*

'ceed in a Treaty with the *States-General*, in Order to a ſpeedy Peace.' The Lords alſo joyning in the ſame Reſolution of Advice, it was ſolemnly preſented to his Majeſty, who return'd this direct Anſwer, *My Lords and Gentlemen, I cannot better thank you for your Advice than by following it; which I ſhall endeavour, and doubt not of your Aſſiſtance to enable me to perform it.*

The Houſe of Commons, tho' they were well pleas'd with the Proſpect of a Peace, proceeded in their uſual Way, and on the 7th of *February* went into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to take into their Conſideration the Grievances of the Nation, in which they particularly Reſolv'd, 'That the Continuace of any Standing Forces in this Nation, other than 'the Militia, is a great Grievance and Vexation to the People; and it is 'the humble Petition and Addreſs of this Houſe to his Majeſty, That 'he will immediately cauſe to be disbanded that Part of them that were 'rais'd ſince the 1ſt Day of *January*, 1663.' This Matter gradually led them into an uncommon Debate concerning the King's Guards, which had been eſtabliſh'd ſoon after the Reſtoration; and theſe following Reaſons were given in *For Disbanding the Horſe and Foot-Guards, commonly call'd the King's Life-Guard.* 1. 'That according to the Laws of the Land, 'the King hath no Guards but thoſe call'd *Gentlemen Penſioners*, and *Yeomen of the Guard.* 2. That ever ſince this Parliament, although there 'have been ſo many Seſſions, they never ſettled the *Life-Guard* by Act 'of Parliament; nay, they have been ſo far from it, that whenſoever 'they have been ſo much as mention'd in the Houſe of Commons, they 'wou'd never in the leaſt take any favourable Notice of them, always 'looking upon them as a Number of Men unlawfully aſſembled, and in 'no reſpect fit to be the leaſt countenanc'd by the Parliament of *England.* '3. That they are of vaſt Charge to the King and Kingdom. 4. That 'they are altogether uſeleſs to this Kingdom, as doth plainly appear by 'his Majeſty's moſt happy and peaceable Reign ſince his bleſſed Reſtoration; there being ſo much real and mutual Love, Confidence and Truſt 'between his Majeſty and his good People, which is daily manifeſted by 'his Majeſty's frequent truſting and expoſing his Sacred Perſon to his 'People without a Guard. 5. That Guards, or Standing Armies, are 'only in uſe where Princes govern more by Fear, than by Love, as in '*France*, where the Government is Arbitrary. 6. That this *Life-Guard* 'is a Standing Army in diſguiſe, and that as long as they continue, the 'Roots of a Standing Army will remain amongſt us; and therefore it is 'impoſſible effectually to deliver this Nation from a Standing Army, till 'theſe Guards are pull'd up by the Roots. 7. That the *Life-Guard* is a 'Place of Refuge and Retreat for *Papiſts* and Men Popiſhly affected, 'and a School and Nurſery for Men of debauched and arbitrary Princi'ples, and Favourers of the *French* Government, as it did too plainly ap'pear in the Caſe of Sir *John Coventry.* 8. That if the *Life-Guard* 'were disbanded, the King wou'd thereby ſave ſome Hundred Thou'ſands of Pounds *per annum*; which wou'd in a few Years enable him to 'pay all his Debts, without burthening his good People with any further 'Taxes to that End.

The Commons Reaſons againſt the King's Guards.

Theſe Proceedings were very diſtaſteful, if not mortifying to the Court Party; yet ſtill the King ſeem'd reſolv'd not to ſhew any outward Marks of Diſobligation, but proceeded with all Vigour in finiſhing the Peace with *Holland*, which was brought to ſo ſpeedy an Iſſue, that on the 11th Day of *February*, he came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons he made this Speech to both Houſes; '*My Lords and* '*Gentlemen*, In purſuance of your Advice, I have made a ſpeedy, 'an

The King's Speech about Peace.

'an honourable, and I hope a laſting Peace with the *Dutch*. As to 1673.
'your Addreſs for the Disbanding of the Forces, I have, ſince the
'Peace made with the *Dutch*, given Orders for Disbanding them; Car. 26
'nay, I have order'd to disband more than you deſired. As for Reſ. 14
'your Addreſs about the *Iriſh* Regiments, I have order'd to ſend
'them back into *Ireland*. But I muſt needs acquaint you, That there
'is a great Want of Capital Ships, and I wou'd be glad to be equal in
'Number with my Neighbours, and I hope I ſhall have your Aſſiſt-
'ance upon ſo good an Occaſion, to preſerve the Honour and Safe-
'ty of this Nation.' This Speech ſo affected the Houſe of Commons, that they immediately Reſolv'd, 'That the humble and hearty Thanks
'of their Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty for his making a ſpeedy Peace,
'and for his gracious Anſwers to the Addreſſes of their Houſe concern-
'ing the Standing Forces.

The Commons proceed ſtill againſt Grievances.

But ſtill the Commons, inſtead of granting Mony, proceeded to the further Conſideration of the Grievances of the Nation, and particularly Voted 'That a Committee be appointed to inſpect the Laws
'lately made in *Scotland*, whereby an Army is authoriz'd to march
'into *England*, or *Ireland*; and peruſe ſuch other Laws as do tend
'to the Breach of the Union of the two Nations.' They likewiſe in a grand Committee, ſhortly after took into their Conſideration the State and Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Reſolv'd, 'That a Com-
'mittee be appointed to inſpect the State and Condition of that King-
'dom; and more eſpecially to conſider of the State of Religion; and
'the Militia, and the Forces of that Kingdom, and examine the Matters
'of Fact relating thereunto.' About the ſame Time, when they were upon the Topick of Grievances, they appointed another Committee 'To
'inſpect the Laws, and to conſider how the King may commit any Sub-
'ject by his immediate Warrant, as the Law now ſtands, and to report
'their Opinions: And further, they were order'd to conſider how the
'Law now ſtands touching the Committing of Perſons by the Coun-
'cil-Table, and to report the ſame.' Upon which Occaſion, they brought in a particular Bill concerning *Writs of Habeas Corpus*, a Bill much for the Liberty of the Subject, which was read three Times, and paſs'd the Houſe of Commons. They likewiſe order'd a Bill to be brought in, For a *Teſt to be taken by the Members of both Houſes*. And thus for above twelve Days, they went on without Intermiſſion, or Interruption.

The King had now great Occaſion to exerciſe his Talent of Diſſimulation, which of late ſeem'd to have been improv'd, and become more habitual. He found it beſt to ſtifle his Reſentments, and, ſince there was very little Proſpect of Money, to part as ſpeedily and amicably as he cou'd. Therefore taking the happy Opportunity of compleating the Peace, he reſolv'd to put an End to the Seſſion, and on the 24th Day of *February*, he came to the Houſe of Peers, where ſending for the Commons, he made this following Speech to both Houſes; '*My Lords and*
'*Gentlemen*, When I was here laſt, I told you the Peace was Sign'd; I
'am now come to tell you it is Ratify'd; and I hope it will prove a hap-
'py and laſting Peace to both Nations. This, and the Spring coming on
'ſo faſt, it will be convenient for You to be in your Countries, both for
'your own Buſineſs and mine. And I therefore think fit to make a Re-
'ceſs at this Time, the Winter being more convenient for Buſineſs. In
'the mean Time I will do my Endeavour to ſatisfie the World of my
'Stedfaſtneſs for the Securing the *Proteſtant* Religion, as it is now eſta-
'bliſh'd, and your *Properties*; and I deſire that you in your ſeveral Coun-

The King's Speech at the Prorogation.

1673/4. Car. 26 Ref. 14

The End of the Thirteenth Session of the Second Parliament.

'ties will endeavour to satisfie the People therewith. I have no more to 'say at this Time, but that I have commanded my Lord Keeper to pro-'rogue the Parliament to the Tenth of *November* next.' And accordingly the Lord Keeper prorogu'd both Houses to that Time, and so put an End to the Thirteenth Session of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had sat six Weeks and three Days, without having granted or voted any Money, or having one single Act pass'd. The Prorogation was for a little above nine Months, but they did not really meet till almost fourteen Months, and in a much hotter Season of the Year.

The Peace proclaim'd.

4. Within four Days after the Parliament broke up, *February* 28, the Peace was solemnly publish'd and proclaim'd, by the Heralds, and other Officers, after the usual Form, in the several Parts of *London* and *Westminster*; which was receiv'd in all Places with a general Satisfaction, express'd by the loud Acclamations of the People, and all the outward Marks of Joy and Transport. The Treaty it self was founded on that of *Breda* in the Year 1667, and the Marine Treaty made at the *Hague* in 1668, and consisted of five distinct Articles, of which here follows the Substance:

The Articles of it.

'I. It is agreed, That the Ships and Vessels belonging to the *United* '*Provinces*, as well Men of War and Ships of Defence, as others, whe-'ther single or in Fleets, which shall happen to meet the King of *Great* '*Britain*'s Men of War in the *British* Seas, whether they also be single 'or in Fleets, provided they carry the King's *Flagg*, shall strike their 'Flagg, and lower their Topsail: And the said *States* of the *United* '*Provinces* shall order all their Commanders at Sea fully and *bona fide* 'to comply with this Article. II. It is agreed to make certain convenient 'Laws concerning Trade and Commerce of both Parties in the *Indies*, 'and other Places out of *Europe*, to an exact and reciprocal Rule; and 'limit the same within certain unalterable Laws. And because it ap-'pears too difficult to be immediately perfected, both Parties consent 'it shall be deferr'd; and Commissioners be nominated within three 'Months after the Conclusion of the Peace, who shall meet at *London*, 'and conclude the Matter in the most amicable Way. III. Whereas the '*English* complain of being detain'd in *Surinam* contrary to Articles, it 'is agreed, That the *States-General* shall *bona fide* take care that the 'said Articles shall be executed; and that the Space of three Months shall 'be allow'd to the *English* Inhabitants for the selling their Estates, who 'shall be transported at a moderate Rate, and be permitted to carry away 'their Slaves with them. IV. It is agreed, That if either Party shall, 'during this War, have possess'd themselves of any Countries, Islands, 'Towns, Forts, Colonies, or other Places belonging to the other Party, 'all and every of the same, without any Distinction of Place or Time, 'shall be immediately and *bona fide* restored in the same Condition they 'shall happen to be in, when Notice shall come of the Conclusion of the 'Peace in those Places. V. To put an End to all Occasions and Causes 'of new Questions, Pretensions and Actions, of what sort soever they be, 'or by what Name or Pretext soever claim'd, it is agreed, that the said '*States-General* shall pay to the King of *Great Britain* the Sum of eight 'hundred Thousand Patacoons; which Sum the said *States-General* shall 'pay at certain Days, as followeth; *viz.* a Fourth Part thereof as soon 'as the Ratifications shall be exhibited, and the Rest the Three ensuing 'Years by Equal Portions.

The End of the Second DUTCH WAR.

And thus ended the Second *Dutch* War that happen'd since the Restoration, which lasted from the publick Proclamation of the War, to the Proclaiming

claiming the Peace, juſt two Years, wanting two Weeks, and four Days, which was above five Months ſhorter than the laſt. And here it is obſervable, that in the laſt War, when the *Engliſh* contended with all the Power of *Holland* and *France*, they had greater Succeſs in their Battels, than now when they had joyn'd with the Power of *France* againſt *Holland* alone: So Inſignificant, as well as Unfortunate was his *Britannick* Majeſty's Alliance with ſuch an inſinuating and uncertain Monarch as the *French* King. 167¾. Car. 26 Reſ. 14

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE History of England.

BOOK II.

Conſiſting of the Remainder of the Reign of King Charles *the Second: From the End of the Second* Dutch *War, to the Day of his Death.*

Containing the Space of 11 *Years, wanting* 3 *Weeks.*

CHAP. I.

The Mediatorſhip of England: *From the Concluſion of the Second* Dutch *War, to the End of that between* France *and* Holland; *which brought on a General Peace in* Europe.

Containing the Space of about four Years, and ſix Months.

1674. Car. 26 Reſ. 15

I. 1. THE remaining Part of the Reign, tho' free from all actual Wars and Foreign Invaſions, was ſtill the moſt buſie Part; and was moſtly taken up with Inteſtine Diſputes, and Domeſtick Diſturbances, both in the Houſes of Parliament, and throughout the whole Country, which ſometimes produc'd very ungrateful and tragical Effects. Tho' the publick Affairs were chequer'd with a ſtrange Mixture of Felicity and Calamity, or rather Pleaſure and Vexation, yet Eaſe and Luxury ſtill encreas'd, and, as well as Faction and Diſcord, ſtrove mightily to be predominant in the Nation. The King and the Court ſeem'd reſolv'd that the Former ſhou'd have the Aſcendent; and his Majeſty himſelf took more Pains to enjoy a quiet and undiſturb'd Life, than ſome have done to ruin the Peace of whole Kingdoms; which made him too liable to be led by ſuch as pretended to the peculiar Art of Relieving. As a great Man obſerves, from his own natural Diſpoſition, he deſired nothing but to be eaſie himſelf, and that every Body elſe ſhou'd be ſo; and wou'd have been glad to ſee the leaſt of his Subjects pleas'd, and to refuſe no Man what he ask'd. But this Softneſs of Temper made him apt to fall into the Perſuaſions of whoever had his Kindneſs and Confidence for the Time, how different ſoever from the Opinions he was of before; and he was very eaſie to change Hands when

Temple. Bulſtrode. Mountagu. Leeds. Coleman. Philips. Gazettes. Wood. &c.

A Second Character of the King.

when thoſe he employ'd had engag'd him in any Difficulties; ſo as nothing look'd ſteddy in the Conduct of his Affairs, nor appear'd to aim at any certain End. Yet ſure no Prince had more Qualities to make him lov'd, with a great many to make him eſteem'd, and all without a Grain of Pride or Vanity in his whole Conſtitution; nor cou'd he ſuffer Flattery in any Kind, growing uneaſy upon the firſt Approaches of it, and diverting it to ſome other Subject. Where he was pleas'd to be familiar, he ſhew'd great Quickneſs of Conception, Pleaſantneſs of Wit, with Variety of Knowledge, and more Obſervation and truer Judgment of Men than cou'd be imagin'd from ſo careleſs and eaſie a Manner as was natural to him in all he ſaid or did. But having abandon'd himſelf to Pleaſures, this Humour made him loſe many great Opportunities of Glory to himſelf, and Greatneſs to his Crown, which the Conjunctures of his Reign had forc'd him to reflect upon; and made way for the aſpiring Deſigns of a Neighbour Prince, which wou'd not have appear'd, or cou'd not have ſucceeded in the World, without the Application and Arts employ'd to manage this eaſy and inglorious Temper that became ſo viſible to the World. 1674. Car. 26 Ref. 15

The King offers his Mediation towards a general Peace.

As ſoon as the Peace was concluded with *Holland*, the King's firſt Care was to ſoften the Stroke as much as he cou'd towards *France*; which was done or attempted, by repreſenting the Neceſſities of it, which needed no Diſſimulation, and likewiſe to offer his Mediation between the ſtill contending Parties, in Order to bring about a general Peace, which wou'd conduce both to his Honour and his Quiet. He was very deſirous to make *France* ſome Amends for Abandoning their Intereſt, and making a ſeparate Treaty: Yet the *Spaniſh* Miniſters at *Bruſſels*, as we learn from Sir *Richard Bulſtrode*, were at this Time of Opinion, That his Majeſty had made this Peace with the full Conſent of the *French* King, which wou'd in the end prove more to that Monarch's Advantage than their Conjunction; and that it was a great Miſtake in thoſe who thought this Peace was made by Conſtraint of the Parliament, which he had rather made by his own Election. Their Reaſons were, 'That his *Britannick* 'Majeſty finding ſo ſtrong an Union againſt *France*, that it was like to be 'a general War in theſe Parts of *Europe*, and that there was no diſin-'tereſs'd Prince ſufficiently puiſſant to become Mediator; the King 'therefore by quitting of *France*, and declaring a Neutrality, was the on-'ly Prince in *Europe* able to balance, and conſequently to be a Mediator; 'which was at this Time propoſing: And that if the *French* King cou'd 'but maintain the War this Summer, his Majeſty of *England* wou'd get 'ſo great Advantages by carrying away all the Trade, and wou'd be ſo 'enrich'd by that and the Retrenchment of his Army, that he wou'd the 'next Year be able, without the Aſſiſtance of Parliament, to carry on a 'War againſt thoſe that ſhou'd refuſe a reaſonable Peace.' Whatever their Conceptions were, the King's Endeavours were for a general Treaty, and ſuch as might reſtore the Peace, and ſettle the Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*. The only Difficulties that appear'd in this great Affair, were what the Confederates were like to make in accepting the King's Mediation, whoſe late Engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that Side. And the Houſe of *Auſtria* now finding that Crown abandon'd by *England*, had too greedily ſwallow'd the Hopes of being fully reveng'd, to deſire any ſudden Treaty till their expected Succeſſes in the War might reduce *France* to the Terms of the *Pyrenean* Treaty.

The French King accepts of it.

To make way for this extraordinary Work, the *French* King in a ſhort Time thought fit to accept and approve of the King of *England*'s Offer of Mediation; that of *Sweden* being ended by the *Cologn* Aſſembly's breaking up in Expoſtulations and Quarrels upon the Emperor's ſeizing the Perſon of Prince *William* of *Furſtenburgh*, a Subject of the Empire, but an Inſtrument

1674. Car. 26 Ref. 15

Inſtrument of *France*, as his Brother the Biſhop of *Strasburgh* had been in all the late Invaſions of that Crown upon their Neighbours. In this difficult Affair, ſince the Declenſion and Diſſolution of the *Cabal*, none was thought ſo proper to effect it as Sir *William Temple*, who had gain'd ſo much Credit with *Spain* as well as *Holland*, from the Negotiations he had formerly run through at the *Hague*, *Bruſſels*, and *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by which the remaining Parts of *Flanders* had been ſav'd out of the Hands of *France* in the Year 1668. But having often reflected upon the unhappy Iſſue of his laſt Negotiations from the fatal Turn of Counſels in the *Engliſh* Court, and from the counter Deſigns of the *Cabal*, he reſolv'd, before he went on his Embaſſy, to know the Ground on which he ſtood; and in order to that, to ſound the King's true Sentiments and Diſpoſitions, as to the Meaſures he had now taken, or rather renew'd, and truſt no more to his Miniſters, who had ſo much deceiv'd either Him or Themſelves.

To effect this he had a long Audience with the King in his Cloſet, where he took Occaſion to reflect upon the late Counſels and Miniſtry of the *Cabal*, 'how ill his Majeſty had been adviſ'd to break Meaſures and 'Treaties ſo ſolemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been ſerv'd, and 'how ill ſucceeded by the violent Humour of the Nation's breaking out 'againſt ſuch Proceedings, and by the Jealouſies they had rais'd againſt 'the Crown.' The King ſaid, *'Twas true, he had ſucceeded ill; but if he had been well ſerv'd, he might have made a good Buſineſs enough of it*; and ſo proceeded in a good meaſure to juſtifie what was paſt. Sir *William* was ſorry to find ſuch a Preſage of what might happen again from the like Thought; and therefore he freely went to the Bottom of the Matter, and made a juſt Detection of all *French* Counſels and Meaſures. He ſhew'd 'how difficult, if not impoſſible, it was in *England* to ſet up the 'ſame Religion or Government that was in *France*; That the univerſal 'Bent of the Nation was againſt Both; That many who were, perhaps, 'indifferent enough in the Matter of Religion, conſider'd it cou'd not 'be chang'd here but by Force of an Army; and that the ſame Force 'which made the King Maſter of their Religion, made him Maſter of 'their Liberties and Fortunes. That in *France* there was none to be 'conſider'd but the Nobles and the Clergy; That if a King cou'd en-'gage them in his Deſigns, he had no more to do; for the Peaſants 'having no Land, were as inſignificant in the Government, as the 'Women and Children are here. That on the contrary, the great 'Bulk of Land in *England* lies in the Hands of the Yeomanry or lower 'Gentry; and their Hearts are high by Eaſe and Plenty, as thoſe 'of the *French* Peaſantry are diſpirited by Labour and Want. That 'the Kings of *France* are very great in Poſſeſſions of Land, and in De-'pendances by ſuch vaſt Numbers of Offices both Military and Civil, as 'well as Eccleſiaſtical; whereas thoſe of *England* having few Offices to 'beſtow, having parted with their Lands, their *Court of Wards* and *Knights 'Services*, have no Means to raiſe or keep Armies on foot, but by Sup-'plies from their Parliaments, nor Revenues to maintain any Foreign 'War by other Ways. That if he had an Army on foot, yet if com-'poſ'd of *Engliſh*, they would never ſerve Ends that the People hated 'and fear'd. That the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* were not the Hun-'dredth Part of the Nation, and in *Scotland* not the two Hundredth; 'and it ſeem'd againſt all common Senſe, to think by one Part to govern 'Ninety Nine that were of contrary Minds and Humours. That for 'Foreign Troops, if they were few, they wou'd ſignify nothing but to 'raiſe Hatred and Diſcontent; and how to raiſe, to bring over at once, 'and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine. That the Force 'which ſeem'd neceſſary to ſubdue the Liberties and Spirits of this Na-'tion,

Sir William Temple's *private Diſcourſe with the King.*

'tion, cou'd not be leſs than an Army of threeſcore Thouſand Men, ſince 'the *Romans* were forc'd to keep twelve Legions to that purpoſe, the '*Norman* to inſtitute ſixty two Thouſand Knights Fees, and *Crom-* '*well* left an Army of near eighty Thouſand Men.' After this Sir *William* took occaſion to mention Monſieur *Gourville*, whom he knew the King eſteem'd the ſoundeſt Head of any *French* Man he had ſeen; and ſaid, 'That he never knew but one Foreigner that underſtood *England* 'well, and that was Him; who when he was at *Bruſſels* the firſt *Dutch* 'War, and heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he ſaid, *The King* '*had nothing to do but to make the Peace:* Adding, *That he had been* '*long enough in* England, *ſeen enough of that Court, and People, and* '*Parliaments, to conclude, That a King of* England, *who will be the* 'MAN *of his People, is the greateſt King in the World; but if he will* '*be Something more, by* G—*d he is Nothing at all.* The King heard Sir *William* very attentively, but ſeem'd a little impatient at firſt: Yet at laſt he declar'd Sir *William had Reaſon in all, and ſo had* Gourville; and then laying his Hand upon Sir *William*'s, he added like a true King of *England, And I will be the* MAN *of my People.*

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2. Sir *William Temple* being appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary for the forementioned Ends, and all his Diſpatches finiſh'd, he departed for *Holland* in *July*. His Inſtructions in General were, 'To aſſure the 'States of his *Britannick* Majeſty's Friendſhip, and firm Reſolution to 'obſerve his Treaties with them; then to offer his Mediation in the pre- 'ſent War, in which both They and almoſt all *Chriſtendom* were en- 'gag'd; and after their Acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewiſe with 'all their Allies; and, to that End, to engage the Offices and Inter- 'vention of the *States:* But, in particular, immediately after his Arri- 'val at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of *Orange*, then in the Field, 'to give him Part of his Majeſty's Intentions in all this Affair, and Aſſu- 'rance of his Kindneſs; and engage his Highneſs as far as cou'd be, to 'ſecond his Majeſty's Deſires, in promoting a General Peace, wherein 'the *United Provinces* ſeem'd to have the greateſt Intereſt.

He is ſent Ambaſſador to Holland.

Upon his Arrival at the *Hague*, Sir *William* deliver'd his Credentials to the proper Preſident, and made a Viſit to Penſionary *Fagel*, in which he ſoon diſcover'd a ſtrong Inclination in the *States* to a Peace, as far as was conſiſtent with the Honour and Engagements of their Allies; and was aſſur'd of the *States* Readineſs to accept of his Maſter's Mediation. After which his Excellency went to *Antwerp*, in hopes of finding the Prince of *Orange* at his Camp between that City and *Louvain*, where he had lain ſometime expecting the Advance of the Confederate Forces; but his Highneſs having two Days before march'd beyond *Louvain*, Sir *William* repair'd to *Bruſſels*, there to deſire a Guard to convey him to the Camp. Having ſent his Secretary to the Governor Count *Montere-ry* with his Compliments, and Deſires of a Guard, the Count return'd the firſt very coldly, and the other with ſuch Excuſes, as amounted to a Refuſal. In reality, the *Spaniards* were grown ſo jealous of his *Britannick* Majeſty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*; of the *States* and Peoples violent Inclination to a Peace, and of the Offices they thought the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador might uſe to ſlacken the Prince of *Orange* in the Proſecution of their preſent hopeful Deſigns; that he found it was reſolv'd by the *Spaniards*, in concert with the Prince Himſelf, firſt to delay, and then to hinder any Interview between his Highneſs and Him, till the Campaign was ended. Sir *William* being ſenſible of this, and unwilling to expoſe either his Majeſty's Character, or Credit with his Nephew, he very prudently return'd to the *Hague*, where he had long Converſations with

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with the Penſionary; by which he gain'd the Lights neceſſary to diſcover the preſent Scene of Affairs, and the Pulſes of the Confederates, in what related to the General Peace.

His Propoſals to Penſionary Fagel.

His Excellency let him know 'How much his Majeſty was ſatisfy'd 'with That he had lately made with the *States*; how much he was re- 'ſolv'd to continue and cultivate it; and how much Reaſon he had to be 'content with the Poſture that had left him in Peace with all his Neigh- 'bours, while they were all in War. That the Advantages of Commerce 'from it, were enough to make him trouble himſelf no further about the 'Peace of *Chriſtendom*, if his Goodneſs and Piety did not prevail more 'with him, than his Intereſt. But that theſe, and the Deſire of a Gene- 'ral Good, had perſuaded him to offer his Mediation in the preſent Con- 'teſts. That it had been already accepted by *France*, and that the Em- 'peror and *Spain* had promis'd to conſider of it in concert with their 'Allies. That the *States* Ambaſſadors at *London*, had aſſur'd his Maje- 'ſty their Maſters wou'd be pleas'd with it, and doubted not their Con- 'ſent, that the Treaty ſhou'd be at *London*; and that thereupon his Ma- 'jeſty had charg'd him with a Letter to the *States*, to offer them his Me- 'diation. That he cou'd not doubt their accepting it with the beſt Grace 'that cou'd be; for he knew their Intereſt was to have a Peace, and not 'to diſoblige the King. That if his Majeſty was Partial to any Side, they 'ought to believe it wou'd be to that wherein his own Nephew was ſo 'deeply concern'd; and the more, becauſe he proffer'd his Offices to- 'wards a Peace, at a Time when the Advantages and Preparations for 'War run ſo high on the *French* ſide, as he doubted the Events might 'ſhew if it continu'd. That they knew his Intereſt wou'd not ſuffer him 'to ſee *Flanders* loſt; and that conſidering what had paſs'd; his Honour 'wou'd not ſuffer him to think of Preſerving it any other Way than by 'that of a Peace. That he wou'd be glad to ſee that Country left by 'the next Peace, in a better Poſture of Defence than it was by the laſt; 'and the *Spaniſh* Territories lye cloſer and rounder than they were then 'left. That when this ſhou'd be concluded, his Majeſty wou'd be ready 'to enter into the ſtrongeſt Guarantees they cou'd deſire, and might 'with Honour enter into a War to preſerve it, tho' he cou'd not to ob- 'tain it.

Fagel's Anſwer.

The Penſionary firſt gave Sir *William* Thanks for his good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the Meaſures of Friendſhip that had interced- ed between his Maſter and them ſince the firſt Breach: 'He applauded 'the King's Reſolution in ſo pious and generous an Offer, and acknow- 'ledg'd his Intereſt might lead him to other Meaſures: That he doubt- 'ed not the *States* Willingneſs to accept it; all the Difference wou'd be 'about the *Time*, and the *Manner* of doing it. As to this, he ſaid, they 'cou'd not do it at leaſt without the Communication of their Allies; but 'wou'd immediately give them Part of his Majeſty's Offer, and the *States* 'Diſpoſition to receive it. That for the *Terms of a Peace*, they wou'd 'be content to make his Majeſty the *Arbiter* of it: That they had late- 'ly recover'd all the Towns they had loſt, except *Grave* and *Maeſtricht*, 'the laſt of which was in ſome meaſure engag'd to *Spain*; and for the 'other, they doubted not of having a good Account of it ſoon. But he 'doubted whether their Allies wou'd be ſo eaſy in their Expectations or 'Demands; and it was impoſſible for the *States* to leave them, who had 'ſav'd their Country from Ruin, when two ſuch great Kings had invaded 'them; nor to break the offenſive Treaties they had made with the *Em- 'peror*, *Spain* and *Brandenburgh*. That the Terms ſtipulated with *Spain* 'oblig'd them to reduce *France* to the *Pyrenean* Treaty; with only this 'Reſerve in one Article, *Unleſs it ſhou'd be otherwiſe agreed by Conſent*

'*between*

'*between them*. That whatever wou'd content *Spain*, ſhou'd ſatisfie 1674.
'Them; tho' they were both equally ſenſible of the ambitious Deſigns of
'the *French*, as well as their Reſentment to the *States*. That they cou'd Car. 26
'never hope for ſuch another Conjuncture, to reduce them to ſuch Reſ. 15
'Bounds as might give Safety to their Neighbours, and Quiet to *Chri-*
'*ſtendom*. That it was a wrong Time to enter into a Treaty between
'*France* and *Spain*, becauſe they knew they cou'd not handſomly de-
'mand the Reſtitution of any Towns loſt by the *Spaniards* in *Flan-*
'*ders* in the laſt War, and given up by the ſucceeding Peace; yet the
'King and They both knew, That without it a Peace cou'd never be
'ſafe for *Flanders*, nor for *Holland*, nor conſequently for *England*. But
'he believ'd there wou'd not paſs many Days before ſome deciſive
'Action wou'd happen between the two Armies, then not far diſtant in
'the Field, which might make room for a Negotiation of Peace the
'next Winter; in which his Majeſty wou'd find the Intereſts and Hu-
'mours of a Trading Country, as theirs was, very ſtrong, and diſpos'd
'to preſs their Allies, as far as poſſible, to facilitate ſo great and ſo good
'a Work.

3. The Penſionary had Reaſon to expect ſome ſudden Action in the Field: For about the middle of *Auguſt* was fought the famous Battel of *Seneffe*, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the renowned Prince of *Conde*. But it prov'd not an Action ſo deciſive as was expected from two Armies of ſo great Force, and ſo animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of the Commanders. The Succeſs of this Battel was ſo differently reported by thoſe that engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the Victory, which each Side challeng'd; and perhaps neither with any good Reaſon. The Confederates claim'd it, becauſe they were laſt upon the Field; and the *French* upon the greateſt Number of Priſoners and Standards they carry'd away: But whoever had the Honour, they both ſeverely felt the Loſs. Only we muſt not forget that the Prince of *Orange*, now about twenty three Years of Age, did glorioufly diſtinguiſh himſelf in this fierce Conteſt; of which there is the moſt undoubted Evidence. Count *de Zouche*, the *German* General, in his Letter to the *States*, ſays, 'That in the whole Courſe of the Action, 'the Prince had ſhew'd the Conduct of an aged Commander, the Cou-'rage of a *Cæſar*, and the undaunted Bravery of a *Marius*.' The Prince of *Conde* himſelf gave this Teſtimony, *That he had done like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himſelf too much like a young Man*; in both which he Himſelf was remarkable that Day. Sir *Richard Bulſtrode*, then Envoy at the Court of *Bruſſels*, in a Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, dated *Aug.* 17. has theſe Words, 'It is acknowledg'd by all Perſons, that 'the Courage and Conduct of the Prince of *Orange* was that Day to be 'admired, who flew from one Part of the Field to another, not only to 'encourage his Men, but from the firſt to the laſt of the ſeveral Engage-'ments, and in the Heat of every Attack, was the foremoſt, and has 'thereby gain'd Immortal Honour.' In another Letter to the ſame Perſon about ten Days after, he ſays, 'Never General more endeavour'd to 'put an Army in good Order, or took more Pains, or was more diligent 'in that great Station, than his Highneſs; being ſo indefatigable in his 'Perſon, of ſo excellent a Temper, ſo valiant againſt his Enemies, and 'ſo obliging to his whole Army, that he is in general cry'd up for the 'moſt hopeful Prince living, and that he is like to be a greater General 'than any of his Anceſtors.

The Battel of Seneffe.

The Prince of Orange's *Behaviour.*

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After the Repair neceſſary to each Camp, both Armies took the Field again, and gave a general Expectation of another Battel: but the Prince of *Conde* ſo well choſe and fortify'd his Encampments, as not to be forc'd out without apparent Diſadvantages. Hereupon the Prince of *Orange* ſat down before *Oudenarde* in *September*, and gain'd his End of drawing the Prince of *Conde* out of his cautious Marches, who came immediately to relieve it. Upon Sight of the *French* Army, the Prince of *Orange* propos'd to draw out and attack them before they were reſted after their hard Day's March. The *Spaniards* were willing, but Count *de Zouche* wou'd not agree to it, and ſo the hopeful Occaſion was loſt; and with ſuch Diſcontent among the Generals, that the next Day the *Germans* left their Trenches, and march'd away about a League, leaving room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Hereupon the Prince of *Orange* was forc'd to riſe too; and leaving Part of the *Dutch* Forces with Count *Monterey*, the *Spaniſh* Governor, went himſelf with the reſt to preſs on the Siege of *Grave*; being reſolv'd, ſince he fail'd in what he deſign'd in the Favour of the *Spaniards*, to free his own Country from the laſt Mark of their intended Servitude. The Place had been inveſted a Month before; yet the Prince found the Siege but little advanc'd at his Arrival, and the *Dutch* Soldiers ſo foil'd with the brave Defence from within, that nothing cou'd have carry'd the Place at this Seaſon, about the Middle of *October*, but the former Humour of leading on his Men whenever they ſhrunk. By which, and his uſual Vigour, as well as the common Methods of ſuch Sieges, he took *Grave* by the End of the Month, with equal Glory to Himſelf, and Satisfaction to all the *United Provinces*; and diſpoſing his Forces into Winter Quarters, he return'd to the *Hague* about the middle of *November*.

He takes Grave.

4. Being arriv'd there, Sir *William Temple* apply'd himſelf to his Highneſs, and particularly acquainted him with his 'Majeſty's perſonal Kind-'neſs and Eſteem for him; his Reſolution to cultivate his preſent Friend-'ſhip with the *States*, and his Deſire to ſee a General Peace reſtored to '*Chriſtendom*; in which he intended to act wholly in concert with his 'Highneſs, whoſe Opinion as to the *Thing*, and the *Conditions* moſt ne-'ceſſary for his Highneſs to inſiſt on, He much deſir'd to underſtand as 'ſoon and fully as he cou'd.' The Prince anſwer'd him with full Expreſſions of Duty and Kindneſs to his Majeſty, and Deſires of a near Conjunction between the two Nations; *which*, he thought, *alone cou'd make his Majeſty ſafe at Home and Abroad*. For the Peace, he ſaid, *Tho' he cou'd make many Complaints of both the* Spaniards *and* Imperialiſts *Conduct ſince their Treaties, yet the* States *cou'd not with any Faith or Honour, make any ſeparate Peace upon any Terms that* France *cou'd offer them. That a* general Peace *cou'd not be made, without leaving* Flanders *in a Poſture of defending it ſelf upon any new Invaſion, againſt which no Guarantees cou'd ſecure it: That* Spain *cou'd not quit the Country of* Burgundy *or* Cambray, *or any Thing in* Flanders, *beyond the* Pyrenean *Treaty, except* Aire *and St.* Omer. *This*, his Highneſs ſaid, *was his Opinion: But if he might know the King's, and find it at all conſiſtent with the Safety of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he wou'd do all he cou'd to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of his Majeſty's Mediation; which was accepted at* Vienna *and* Madrid. Sir *William* alledg'd, 'That the King having been the Author and Guarantee 'of the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and not having ſeen the *French* driven 'out of any Town given them by that Treaty, cou'd with ill Grace pro-'poſe any Thing to *France* beyond thoſe Terms, unleſs it were upon 'ſome Equivalent.' The Prince reſolutely reply'd, *'Twere better going*

Sir W. Temple's *Application to him.*

His Anſwer.

on

on with the War, let it laſt as long, and coſt as much as it wou'd. That his Majeſty might, if he pleas'd, induce France *to whatever Terms he thought juſt; and cou'd never ſhow him ſo much Kindneſs as to bring him out of this War with Honour. If he wou'd not, he muſt go on till ſome Change happen'd, to make the Peace neceſſary on one Side or other. How it wou'd happen he cou'd not tell, and muſt leave it to God; but he thought they had as fair a Game as the* French: *He was ſure they might have been abſolutely beaten at* Seneffe, *if Count* de Zouche *had ſo pleas'd; and have had a fair Blow for it again at* Oudenarde. *That he was ſure* Germany *cou'd furniſh more and better Men than* France; *and they were now in a manner united in the common Defence: But however, he muſt perform what his own Honour, as well as that of the* States *had engag'd to their Allies, let it coſt what it wou'd.* 1674. Car. 26 Reſ. 15

Sir *William* finding the Prince immoveable upon theſe Diſcourſes, he turn'd them another Way, to a tender Point, about which the *Engliſh* King and Court wou'd gladly have been ſatisfy'd; which was upon Occaſion of the many diſcontented Perſons in *England*, at the Courſe of the laſt War and Miniſtry, who were ſuſpected to have correſponded with *Holland*, about raiſing Seditions, and perhaps, Inſurrections in *England*, if the War had continu'd, and the *Dutch* Fleet appear'd upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, that were like to be unguarded the next Summer, by reaſon of his Majeſty's wanting Money to ſet out a Fleet. It was believ'd, among others, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was one that had lately play'd this Game, who having been at the Bottom of the Counſels of the *Cabal*, had firſt done all he cou'd towards the Deſtruction of the *Dutch*, and after that turn'd ſhort upon the Court, and the reſt of the *Cabal*, fell in with the popular Humour both in City and Parliament, decry'd the preſent Conduct and Deſigns, tho' with the Loſs of his Chancellor's Place, and was ſuſpected to manage a Practice in *Holland* for ſome Inſtructions in *England*. Upon which Account Sir *William* told the *Prince* 'What the 'King ſuſpected of ſome of his Subjects, without naming any; how much 'Service it wou'd be to his Majeſty to know them more certainly, and 'how kind it wou'd be in his Highneſs to diſcover them.' Here the Prince was upon the Reſerve, and ſaid, *He was ſure the King wou'd not preſs him upon a Thing ſo much againſt all Honour, as to betray Men that profeſs'd to be his Friends.* Yet in a ſerious and private Diſcourſe afterwards, the Prince acknowledg'd ſo much in general, *That during the laſt War, neither the* States *nor He in particular, were without Applications made them from ſeveral Perſons, and conſiderable, in* England, *who wou'd fain have engag'd them to head the Diſcontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War; which he knew was begun and carry'd on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation, and might, perhaps, have prov'd very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did.*

The Prince is immoveable.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador gave his Majeſty an Account of all that paſs'd this Year between the Prince and Him; which was look'd upon at Court both as cold to his Majeſty, and ſtiff as to the Peace, which great Work they found cou'd not be brought about without another Campaign, and a conſiderable Space of Time. Still the King had the Honour of a Mediator for the general Peace of *Chriſtendom*, being the principal neutral and uningag'd: Notwithſtanding which he became in effect a ſecret Penſioner to the *French* King, as ſufficiently appears by the Letters publiſh'd by the late Duke of *Leeds*; wherein we find that that Monarch, being apprehenſive of the Power of his *Britannick* Majeſty, and his reaſſuming the *Tripple Alliance*, tho' much diſoblig'd at the ſeparate Peace, was willing to comply with his Wants and his Pleaſures, and to allow him a conſide-

The King of England *too much link'd with* France.

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rable annual Stipend or Gratuity, of at leaſt a Hundred Thouſand Pounds, beſides caſual Donatives. This has been believ'd and deny'd according to the Affections of a Party, but never ſo authentickly publiſh'd as in the foremention'd Letters: Of which we may properly in this Place take notice of one from Ambaſſador *Mountagu* at *Paris* to the King, in 1677, wherein he has theſe Words; 'I am ſure the Greatneſs of the King of 'France is ſupported only by your Majeſty's Connivance at what he does, 'and the good Will *Chriſtendom* ſees you have for him. The Advantage 'he has by it, even in the Point of Revenue, by his Conqueſts, does 'amount to five Times the Sum you have now from him; and tho' After-'Games are hard to play, I think I underſtand this Court ſo well, and if 'you care to have it done, I am confident I cou'd get you, by Agree-'ment, a Million of Livres a Year to be paid while the War ſhall laſt, 'and four Millions after the Peace ſhall be made; I mean, Sir, over and 'above what you have from *France* now.' In another Letter written ſhortly after to the Lord Treaſurer, the Ambaſſador ſays thus: 'I ex-'pect his Chriſtian Majeſty's Anſwer to the Demands I made by the King's 'Directions, of two hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling, to be paid till 'the General Peace is concluded; taking for granted that it will be con-'form to my Orders from the King, to inſiſt either upon two Million of 'Livres a Year, during the War, and four Millions after the Peace, or 'elſe two hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling during the War. But I 'am told this Morning, that Mr. *Courtin* has agreed this Matter with the 'King my Maſter, and in your Lordſhip's Preſence; and that his Maje-'ſty will be content with two Millions of Livres a Year only during the 'War; which, I confeſs, ſurpriz'd me extreamly, conſidering the Ne-'ceſſity of his Majeſty's Condition, and the Poſitiveneſs of his Commands 'to me to inſiſt upon two hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling, which I 'had done very effectually, and muſt have ſucceeded in, conſidering the 'Reaſonableneſs of the Demand, except the Generoſity of the King our 'Maſter's Nature, *who values Money ſo little*, has already condeſcended 'to the leſſer Sum of two Millions; in which I am afraid, by the End of 'the Year, he will fall ſhort of being able to ſupport all the emergent 'Occaſions that may happen, and perhaps *France* be a greater Sufferer 'by it than he Himſelf.' But to return to the preſent Year, and the Domeſtick Affairs of *England*.

5. The King was believ'd to have been ſo much offended with the Proceedings of the Parliament in their laſt Seſſion, that it was much diſcours'd of that he had no Inclination to meet them again; tho' they had been ſo long endear'd to him, by ſo many agreeable Acts and continual Supplies. Hence the Popular Rumour aroſe, That his Majeſty intended to Diſſolve the Parliament: But the King apprehending that a Report of this Nature might irritate ſome of the Leading Members, and be otherwiſe prejudicial to his Affairs, he publiſh'd a Proclamation in *May*, Declaring, 'That whereas of late many Perſons ill-affected to the Go-'vernment, have aſſum'd to themſelves a Liberty in their ordinary Diſ-'courſes, to cenſure and defame the Proceedings of State, whereby they 'endeavour to create and nourish in the Minds of his Majeſty's good Sub-'jects, an evil Opinion of Things they underſtand not; and further to 'promote their ſeditious Ends, they do daily invent falſe News, and 'ſpread the ſame abroad among the People, to the great Scandal of his 'Majeſty's Government: Whereof his Majeſty taking notice, and in Par-'ticular of that very falſe Report of an *Intention to Diſſolve this pre-'ſent Parliament*, which hath not been under Deliberation, his Majeſty 'ſeeing no Cauſe to change his Reſolutions taken touching their Meet-ing.

The King's Proclamation concerning the Parliament.

'ing: And therefore his Majeſty wou'd look upon the Spreaders of that 1674.
'Report ſeditiouſly inclin'd, and ill affected to his Service, and was re- Car. 26
'ſolv'd to ſuppreſs that unlawful and undutiful Kind of Diſcourſe, by a Reſ. 15
'moſt ſtrict and exemplary Puniſhment of all ſuch Offenders, as ſhall here-
'after be diſcover'd.

The Papiſts Endeavours for a Diſſolution.

However it was, it is obſervable that both the Papiſts on one Side, and the Proteſtant Diſſenters on the other, began to long for a Diſſolution of this Parliament, which had been ſo ſtrict againſt both: And the Former this very Year made ſome very bold Efforts towards the obtaining of ſo great a Point, and ſome other Advantages as to their Religion and Intereſt. One of the moſt active Sticklers in this Cauſe was Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*, a Perſon of a warm forward Diſpoſition, very zealous in his Way, and of ſuch good natural Parts, and ſo ſenſible of them, that he was thought capable of undertaking very great Projects, and believ'd to be much incourag'd by his Party. However, he certainly attempted ſeveral Things above his Sphere, if not his Capacity, and maintain'd ſuch Correſpondencies with Foreigners, who were Enemies to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution and Religion, as afterwards gave Occaſion to ſtrange and unexpected Diſturbances in the Nation. His Letters of Correſpondence are remarkable, and ſome of them having been writ this Year, we ought to take notice of two or three directed to the *French* King's Confeſſor, and the Pope's Inter-Nuncio. The firſt Letter that was diſcover'd was dated the 29th of *June* this Year, and began thus: 'I am commanded to tell you, That his *Royal Highneſs*, my Ma- *Coleman's Letters.* I.
'ſter, is very ſenſible of the Friendſhip of his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*,
'which he will endeavour to cultivate very *carefully*, and to give him all
'poſſible *Aſſurances* of it, to take away all *Jealouſies* that his Enemies
'wou'd raiſe to the contrary. That his *Royal Highneſs* has done nothing
'in any Manner whatſoever, nor in any Place, againſt the Intereſt of his
'*moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, but hath render'd him all the *good Offices* he hath
'been capable of. That as for Recalling the Parliament, and touching
'my Lord *Arlington*, his Highneſs is altogether of Opinion of his Maje-
'ſty, That neither One or Other is uſeful, but quite contrary, very dan-
'gerous as well for *England* as *France*; and that his *moſt Chriſtian Ma-*
'jeſty is in great Danger of loſing the *Neutrality* of *England* at the next
'Seſſion (if the Parliament meet) as he loſt its *Alliance* by the *Peace* of
'*Holland* at the Laſt; becauſe the *Lower Houſe* and their Friends (as the
'furious Proteſtants, and the Malignants in the Houſe of Lords) have a
'Deſign to leſſen his *Royal Highneſs*, and root out the *Catholick* Religi-
'on; and they think they cannot make uſe of any other fitter Means to
'attain their Ends, than to raiſe the *Dutch*, and to perplex his *moſt Chri-*
'ſtian Majeſty, as much as lies in their Power. That his Highneſs doubts
'not, but it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Intereſt of his *moſt Chriſtian*
'Majeſty, and his *Royal Highneſs*, to uſe all Endeavours to hinder the
'Meeting of the Parliament, by perſuading his *Britannick Majeſty*, That
'his *Greatneſs*, his *Honour*, and his *Quiet*, are no leſs concern'd there-
'in than Theirs: So that if his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* wou'd write free-
'ly his Thoughts thereupon to his *Br— Majeſty* to forewarn him of the
'Danger he apprehends from thence, and wou'd withal think fit to make
'him the ſame generous Offer of his *Purſe*, to perſuade him to diſſolve
'the preſent Parliament, as he hath done to his Highneſs for the Electi-
'on of Another, perhaps he wou'd ſucceed therein by the Aſſiſtance we
'wou'd give him here. As for another Parliament, it wou'd be eaſy
'enough to get ſuch a one as we wiſh for; the Conſtitutions of our Par-
'liaments being of ſuch a Nature, that as there is Nothing to be hop'd
'for by the King from an *Old One*, ſo there is Nothing to be fear'd from

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‘ a *New One*; becauſe ſuch a One at their firſt Meeting muſt needs aſſiſt
‘ his Majeſty, ſo far as to *inable* him to acknowledge his Obligations both
‘ to his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, and to all the World.——

2. In a ſecond Letter, in *September*, after ſome Compliments, and Aſſurances of his Maſter's Steadineſs, *&c.* he proceeds thus: ‘ For the firſt
‘ Point in your Letter, his *Royal Highneſs* has commanded me to tell
‘ you, that he will govern himſelf according to your Advice, and treat
‘ of Nothing concerning the *Catholick Religion* with Monſieur *Rouvigny*,
‘ nor with any other Perſon than your Self; but that he will communi-
‘ cate to you all Things he ſhall find neceſſary for the Good of the *Ca-*
‘ *tholicks*, and ſhall be very well pleas'd to receive Advices from you there-
‘ upon. For the reſt, his *Royal Highneſs* does a little wonder, that he
‘ hears nothing from Monſieur *Rouvigny* touching the Second Point of
‘ your Letter, ſince you have written ſo poſitively, that he had Order to
‘ confirm, and procure Execution of what his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty
‘ propos'd to him the 2d of *June* laſt, by your Mediation.—His *moſt Chri-*
‘ *ſtian Majeſty* made a very generous Offer to his Royal Highneſs of the
‘ *Aſſiſtance of his Purſe*, to enable him to defend them both from the
‘ Evils that threatned him, and by good luck, his Royal Highneſs has la-
‘ bour'd with ſo much Diligence and Succeſs, that the Dangers which
‘ they apprehended are a little put off: But one Thing more is neceſſa-
‘ ry for the perfect ſecuring their Affairs; and without making one ſtep
‘ more, all that he has already done will ſignify nothing. For that the
‘ Aſſiſtance of his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* is no leſs neceſſary at preſent,
‘ than heretofore, to *ſubdue intirely* Thoſe, who being exaſperated againſt
‘ his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, as much as againſt his *Royal Highneſs*, and
‘ are angry with his Royal Highneſs, only becauſe he is *unalterably* ad-
‘ dicted to the Intereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, will exerciſe their
‘ Malice and their Rage with more *Brutality* than ever, if they find Oc-
‘ caſion for it hereafter. If you can therefore by your Credit, obtain
‘ from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the Accompliſhment of the Offer of his
‘ *Purſe*, for raiſing the Reputation of his Royal Highneſs, in the Opini-
‘ on of his *Britannick Majeſty*, and for putting him in a Condition to re-
‘ ſiſt the ſharpeſt Batteries of the Adverſaries of his moſt Chriſtian Maje-
‘ ſty and Royal Highneſs, to wit, the *Poſſibility* they pretend to get Mo-
‘ ney from the Parliament, and the *Impoſſibility* of having any elſewhere,
‘ by which they often keep the Mind of his *Britannick Majeſty* in ſu-
‘ ſpence, and wherein they place their Hope they have to conquer him at
‘ laſt: There will nothing more remain to be fear'd by his moſt Chriſtian
‘ Majeſty, or his Royal Highneſs, but his Royal Highneſs *will be able to*
‘ *Diſſolve the Parliament with Eaſe*, and afterwards, in Recompence of
‘ the ſaid *Aſſiſtance*, will perform on his Part all that his moſt Chriſtian
‘ Majeſty ſhall *ask* of him, and will proceed with *Sincerity* upon the Word
‘ of a *Prince* (that no Man can reproach him for the Violation of) for the
‘ *Intereſt* of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

3. In a third Letter of Mr. *Coleman*'s to the Pope's Inter-Nuncio, dated *September* the 4th, he tells him, ‘ That the Duke's principal Deſign is,
‘ to uſe the Pope's Interpoſition, and by that means to eſtabliſh himſelf
‘ in the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, through the Aſſiſtance of *France* and
‘ *Spain*, and to turn all their Cares for the Eaſe of the Pope's Friends,
‘ and particularly for the *Catholicks* of the Church, againſt their great Ene-
‘ mies; and aſſures him he will find, That the Pope never had an Occaſi-
‘ on ſo favourable as at this Hour, to inrich thoſe of his Family, and to
‘ augment the Number of his Friends; and if he lets it ſlip, he will ne-
‘ ver find the like: So that if ever they propoſe to make uſe of the Trea-
‘ ſure of the Church, 'tis now they ought to do it, for they can demand

‘ nothing

'nothing that the Duke will not be capable to do for the Pope's Friends: 1674.
'On the other ſide, without their Aid, he will run great hazard of being
'loſt, both Himſelf and his Aſſociates.' And in another Letter of *Octo-* Car. 26
ber 3. Mr. *Coleman* to the Inter-Nuncio begins thus: 'You agree with Reſ. 15
'me, that Money is the only Means of bringing the King into the Duke's 4.
'Intereſt, and of diſengaging him from the Parliament; and you muſt
'alſo agree with me, that nothing can more promote the Intereſt of the
'*Catholick Party*, which is the principal Object of the Duke's Care and
'Affection, and of the Hatred of the Parliament, and which muſt hope
'or fear, according as the one or other of them increaſe in Power.——
'Nothing in the World is more certain, than that the King has a good
'Inclination towards the Duke and the *Catholicks*, and wou'd joyn him-
'ſelf willingly and inſeparably to their Intereſts, if he did not apprehend
'ſome Danger from ſuch an Union; which, however, he wou'd not have
'Cauſe to fear, if he found their Intereſt, and conſequently their Power,
'ſo far advanc'd above that of their Adverſaries, that they ſhou'd neither
'have the Power nor the Boldneſs to conteſt any Thing with them;
'which the King cou'd ſee in a very little Time, if we cou'd perſuade
'him to do two or three Things: And I am certain Money cou'd not
'fail of perſuading him to it; for there is Nothing it cannot make him
'do, tho' it were as much to his Prejudice, as this we endeavour to per-
'ſuade him to, will be to his Advantage.' Theſe, and other Letters ſufficiently prove the Deſigns, as well as the Expectations of the *Popiſh* Party, and likewiſe their great Influence in the Court; and in one of them it is expreſly ſaid, That *it was by their own Intereſt*, that the Parliament was put off from ſitting this Year. It had been actually Prorogu'd to the 10th of *November*; but on the 22d of *September*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to publiſh a Proclamation for the further Proroguing the Parliament to the 13th Day of *April* 1675. Yet to ſeem to anſwer the Addreſſes of the laſt Meeting, he was pleas'd to ſhew a publick Care for ſuppreſſing Popery, and convicting *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, and did not only order them to be immediately tranſported, but promis'd a Reward of five hundred Pounds for any one that ſhou'd be taken up.

6. For the Remainder and Concluſion of the Year, we have little elſe to take notice of, but the Honours and Preferments, the Deaths and Deceaſes of ſome conſiderable Perſons of Note and Eminency. As to Honour, we ſhall begin with one very peculiar and uncommon, rather accepted of, or condeſcended to, than conferr'd upon the King Himſelf, which was the *Freedom* of the famous City of *London*. His Majeſty having been nobly and magnificently entertain'd at *Guild-Hall* on the 29th of *October*, when Sir *Robert Viner* was ſworn Lord Mayor, was graciouſly pleas'd to accept of the Freedom of the City, in the *Chamberlain's Office*, from the Hands of Sir *Thomas Player*, the preſent Chamberlain. Upon which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council unanimouſly reſolv'd to teſtify their deepeſt Senſe of ſo unparallel'd a Favour and Honour done to the City, beyond the Example of all his Progenitors. And accordingly, not long after the Lord Mayor, attended by his Brethren and the Commons, attended on his Majeſty in the moſt ſolemn Manner in the *Banquetting-Houſe*; where he and the Chamberlain on their Knees, preſented the King with the Copy of the ſaid Freedom of the City, curiouſly written in Vellum, and adorn'd with Gilding after the fineſt Manner, in a large Square Box of Maſſy Gold; the Seal of the ſaid Freedom hanging at it, inclos'd in another Box of Gold, ſet all over with large Diamonds of a very great Value. All which his Majeſty was pleas'd graciouſly to accept, with many Expreſſions of extraordinary Kindneſs to the

The King accepts of the Freedom of London.

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Honours and Preferments.

the City; ſo that there appear'd all the Marks of indiſſoluble Love and Affection on one Side, as well as unalterable Duty and Loyalty on the other.

As to Offices and Honours conferr'd by his Majeſty this Year, the firſt Perſon diſtinguiſh'd was *John* Earl of *Mulgrave*, who by the Favour of the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, obtain'd the noble Honour of the *Garter*, when ſeveral others were diſappointed, and was inſtall'd at *Windſor* on the 28th of *May*. About the ſame Time *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland* was admitted into the Privy-Council; and not long after, the Earl of *Peterborough* was ſworn into the ſame Honour of a Privy-Counſellor, and after that the ſame Honour was conferr'd upon the Earl of *Strafford*. Sir *Leoline Jenkins* and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, the King's Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty at *Cologn*, arriv'd at *White-Hall* in *May*, and were very graciouſly receiv'd by his Majeſty: And for a Reward of this Service, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, having been one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council, was now made Principal Secretary of State: Which Place became vacant by the Advancement of the Earl of *Arlington*, who, upon the Reſignation of the Earl of St. *Albans Sept.* 11th receiv'd the Staff of Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and with this publick Reaſon given, *That it was in Recompence of his long and faithful Service, and particularly for having perform'd the Office of Principal Secretary of State for the Space of Twelve Years, to his Majeſty's great Satisfaction.* On the contrary, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been a Perſonal Favourite of the King, began now again to decline very much in the good Opinion of his Majeſty. He had made two Lord Treaſurers, and other Miniſters of State; but now was ſo far ſunk, that, being Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, his Majeſty thought fit to declare that Place vacant. Whereupon the Senate of the Univerſity, in a full Aſſembly, the beſt to oblige his Majeſty, unanimouſly elected his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* to ſucceed him, who was accordingly inſtall'd in *Worceſter* Houſe; the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Spencer*, making an eloquent Speech in *Engliſh*, and Dr. *Paman* the Univerſity Orator another in *Latin*, upon that Occaſion. And when the great Ceremony was over, the new Chancellor treated the whole Company, amounting to near three hundred Perſons, with great Splendor and Magnificence.

The Deaths of Biſhop Laney,

Of the conſiderable Perſons that dy'd this Year, we ſhall begin with a worthy Prelate of the Church, Dr. *Benjamin Laney*, Biſhop of *Ely*, a Perſon educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Maſter of *Pembroke* Hall, and Vice-Chancellor, and likewiſe Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Charles* the Firſt, in the Misfortunes of whom he became a great Sharer; and upon the Account of his great Learning and Loyalty, he was appointed to attend his Majeſty in the famous Treaty of *Uxbridge*: After innumerable Sufferings, and ſome Years Exile with the preſent King, he was mounted through ſeveral Preferments to this rich Biſhoprick, where he dy'd in Honour and Reputation. The next was Sir *John Vaughan* Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, a *Welſhman* by Birth, who after an Academical Education in *Oxford*, was particularly incourag'd by the great *Selden* and others, to take pains in the municipal Laws of the Nation, beſides other Parts of Knowledge; all which he undertook with ſuch Succeſs, that he became the moſt noted and learned Lawyer of his Time, and was juſtly rewarded with this high Station in the Law; in which he was ſucceeded by Sir *Francis North*, his Majeſty's Attorney-General, who afterwards became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. The Third to be mention'd is Dr. *Jonathan Goddard*, a celebrated Phyſician and Vertuoſo, belonging to *Cromwell* himſelf,

Judge Vaughan

Dr. Goddard,

himſelf, who made him one of his Council of State, after he had given him the Wardenſhip of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*. Afterwards he became Fellow of the Colledge of Phyſicians, and of the Royal-Society, and Profeſſor of Phyſick in *Greſham* Colledge, where he ſhew'd himſelf a zealous Member for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge, but more eſpecially in Experiments, and the Secrets of Chymiſtry. 1674. Car. 26 Reſ. 15

The two laſt Perſons we ſhall name, are the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *John Milton*, two the moſt oppoſite Perſons in the World in Principles and Practices, tho' both of extraordinary Abilities. Sufficient has been ſaid as to the Character and Fortunes of the Former; therefore we ſhall only add that this great Man dy'd at *Roan* in *France*, in the 67th Year of his Age, after ſeven Years Exile from his Native Country, from which he deſerv'd a much better Fate; and that it is to this Exile that the World owes a conſiderable Part of his glorious Hiſtory; but the moſt valuable Part, from the Reſtoration to his Diſgrace, is ſtill, and we fear ever will be, wanted in this Nation. The other, Mr. *John Milton*, had his Education, and firſt diſplay'd his Parts in *Chriſt-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, which he improv'd by his Travels and his indefatigable Induſtry to that Degree, that he became the Wonder of the Age, tho' always affecting uncommon and heterodoxical Opinions. He was made *Latine* Secretary to the long Parliament, and afterwards to *Cromwell* Himſelf; in which Stations he ſhew'd himſelf a moſt inveterate and unexampled Enemy to the Memory of the Murder'd and Martyr'd King; inſomuch that at the Reſtoration ſome of his Books were order'd to be burnt, and he himſelf was in great Danger. He was certainly a Man of prodigious Parts, and wrot many Books; but what did moſt, and moſt juſtly diſtinguiſh him was his Poetry, particularly his *Paradiſe loſt*, in which he manifeſted ſuch a wonderful ſublime Genius, as perhaps was never exceeded in any Age or Nation in the World. After he had loſt both his Eyes by hard Studying, he this Year dy'd at *Bunhill* near *London*, in the ſame Year of his Age with the laſt mention'd Earl of *Clarendon*.

The Earl of Clarendon,

And John Milton.

Temple. Coleman. MSS. Rot. Parl. Anonymous. Marvel.

II. 1. All this Winter the Court and the Miniſtry were very much divided in their Intereſts and Deſigns, and cou'd not well tell how to ſteer with Relation to the next intended Meeting of the Parliament, which ſome were reſolv'd to oppoſe, and others to promote. The Earl of *Arlington* was very active and induſtrious to recover and ſecure his Intereſt, which began ſenſibly to decline, while that of the Earl of *Danby* encreas'd, who ſucceeded the Lord *Clifford* in the Treaſury, which had ever been the Height of the Earl's Ambition; which gave him an implacable Envy and Hatred againſt the Treaſurer, and which no Offices of Friends cou'd ever allay. This Earl now found himſelf a Sufferer by having ſo deeply engag'd in the *Cabal*, that the Country was againſt him for his Attempts, and the King diſpleas'd at his ill Succeſs. Yet ſtill he thought himſelf out of Danger from the Parliament, and therefore appear'd zealous for their Sitting; and to increaſe his Reputation with them, and to become a Favourite, he ſet himſelf all he cou'd to proſecute the *Roman* Catholicks, and to oppoſe the *French Intereſt*. To ſhew his Zeal againſt the firſt, he reviv'd ſome old dormant Orders for Prohibiting Papiſts to appear about the King, and put them in Execution at his firſt coming into his Office of Lord Chamberlain. And he had gone ſo far as to joyn with the Duke of *Ormond* and Secretary *Coventry*, to perſwade his Majeſty to remove his Brother wholly from Court and Publick Buſineſs, as a Means to appeaſe the Diſcontents of the Parliament, occaſion'd by the late Conduct of Affairs. By which Counſel he had very much offended the Duke; and finding himſelf ill both with his Roy- 167⅘. Car. 27 Reſ. 15

The Earl of Arlington's *Deſigns.*

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al Highneſs and the People, and daily declining in Credit with the King, he thought there was no Way of retrieving his Game, but by making himſelf the Inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe Meaſures, that might be taken between the King and the Prince of *Orange* abroad. He firſt infus'd into his Majeſty the 'Neceſſity and Advantage of ſuch a Negotiation, and then that of his being employ'd in it, from the Intereſt his Lady's Friends and Kindred in *Holland* wou'd be able to give him, as well as from the Credit of having been ſo long in the Secret of the King's Affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them ſuch Colours as might render the late Conduct of them leſs diſagreeable to the Prince. Tho' he profeſs'd great Friendſhip to Sir *William Temple*, then at the *Hague*, yet he repreſented him as unlikely to be truſted with ſuch Confidence from the Prince, as was requiſite in this nice Affair, for having been ſo intimate with *De Wit* in his former Embaſſy.' His Suggeſtions prevail'd upon the King, who cou'd not refuſe an old Servant into whoſe Family he had marry'd a Son; and ſo he went over with all the Auxiliaries that ſeem'd uſeful in this Expedition, carrying not only his own Lady, Siſter to Ambaſſador *Odyke*, but her Siſter *Oſſory*, whoſe Converſation was very agreeable to the Prince; Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, who pretended a great Intimacy with Monſieur *Bentinck*; Dr. *Durel*, a Man fit to deal with Monſieur *Mureſt* a *French* Miniſter in Credit with the Prince; and the Lord *Oſſory*, who had a great Share in the Prince's Eſteem and Kindneſs, as well from his Marriage into that Family, as from his Perſonal Bravery; a Quality lov'd by the Prince, even in an Enemy. All this was concerted without the Knowledge of the Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, who had been made to believe, that a Letter from the Prince to Monſieur *Odyke*, had given an Occaſion to this Journey; as if the Prince had deſir'd ſome Perſon at the *Hague* from the King, with whom he might enter into the laſt Confidence. But his Highneſs aſſured Sir *William Temple*, that there was no ſuch Thing, and that Monſieur *Rouvigny*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, had more Part in the Journey than He, and perhaps any Man elſe; and that all the Endeavours us'd towards a general Peace, came from that Side.

He makes a private Journey to the Hague.

He applys to Sir W. Temple.

However inſtructed, yet thus ſupported, the Lord *Arlington* went to the *Hague*, and told Sir *William Temple* at their firſt Meeting, 'That 'he came over to ſet ſome Things right between the King and the Prince, 'that he doubted were amiſs, and ſettle a perfect Kindneſs and Confi'dence between them; to effect which he muſt go to the Bottom of the 'Sore, and rake into Things paſt; which was an unpleaſant Task, and 'which Sir *William* cou'd not do, as having no Part in the King's Buſi'neſs during that Time, wherein the Prince took his Offence at the 'Counſels of *England*. That his Majeſty had choſen him for this Of'fice, becauſe he cou'd beſt juſtify his Maſter's Intentions to his Highneſs, 'in the whole Courſe of that Affair. That for the intended Peace, tho' 'his Majeſty deſir'd it, yet he wou'd not meddle with it, unleſs the 'Prince, of Himſelf, made any Overtures about it; but wou'd only en'deavour to give the Prince what Lights he cou'd as to the State of 'Things in general, and what he might hope from his Allies, as well as 'from *France*: That if the Prince made no Advances to him upon it, 'he wou'd let it fall, and leave it in Sir *William Temple*'s Hands.' He ſaid beſides, 'That after having fought the King's Battle with the Prince, 'he muſt fight another of his own, who did not deſerve the Coldneſs his 'Highneſs had of late expreſs'd to him; and when that was done, all 'his Buſineſs was ended.' He therefore deſir'd Sir *William* wou'd introduce him and the Lord *Oſſory* the firſt Time to the Prince, and after that he wou'd give his Excellency no more Trouble. Sir *William Temple*

ple told his Lordſhip, 'He was glad to ſee him, let his Buſineſs be what 'it wou'd: That he ſhou'd be gladder yet that the King's Buſineſs ſhou'd 'be done, let it be by whom it wou'd; but much more that it might be by 'Him: That for ſetting Matters right between the King and the Prince, 'he thought it the beſt Office that cou'd be done them both. That for 'the Way he mention'd of *Raking into the Sore, and fighting of Bat-* 'tles, in Defence or Juſtification of what is paſt, he knew not what to 'ſay to it; but wou'd leave it to their own Diſcretions: But for what 'he knew in particular of the Prince's Humour and Thoughts, whate-'ver he did of that Sort, he believ'd ſhou'd be very gentle, and not go 'too deep; being of Opinion, *That Expoſtulations were apt to end well* '*between Lovers, but ill between Friends.*

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Sir William's *Anſwer.*

Sir *William Temple* was well entertain'd during the Courſe of this Adventure; for the Lord *Arlington* told him every Day what he thought fit of all that paſs'd between the Prince and him; and his Highneſs told him not only the Thing, but the Manner of it, which was more important than the Matter it ſelf. His Lordſhip told him much of his 'Epo-'ſtulations, and with what good Turns of Wit he had juſtify'd the King's 'Part in the late War, and his own; but upon all he found the Prince 'dry, ſullen and uneaſy. That as to the State of *Chriſtendom*, and what 'related to that general War he was engag'd in, he made him no Over-'tures at all, not entering further than *That the King might bring him* '*out of it with Honour, if he pleas'd, and with Safety to* Europe; *if* '*not, it muſt go on, till the Fortunes of the Parties Changing, made way* '*for other Thoughts.*' On the the other Side the Prince freely acquainted Sir *William Temple* with 'what Arrogance and Inſolence the Lord '*Arlington* had enter'd upon all his Expoſtulations with him; ſhewing 'not only in his Diſcourſe, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, and 'cou'd by his Wit make him believe what he pleas'd; but in the Man-'ner of it, as if he had taken himſelf for the Prince of *Orange*, and 'Him for the Lord *Arlington*. That all he ſaid was ſo Artificial, and 'giving ſuch falſe Colours to Things every Body knew, that he that was 'a plain Man cou'd not hear it, and was never ſo weary of any Conver-'ſation in his Life.' In a Word, by all the Prince told Sir *William Temple* upon it, his Highneſs was provok'd at the Lord *Arlington*, and not very much pleas'd with the King's Intentions upon the Errand; tho' he ſaid, *He was ſure his Majeſty never intended he ſhou'd treat it in the Manner he had, if he remember'd that he was his Nephew, tho' nothing elſe.*

The Earl applies to the Prince of Orange.

The Penſionary and Count *Waldeck* perceiv'd, That the Bent of the Lord *Arlington* was, Firſt to draw the Prince into ſuch Meaſures of a Peace as *France* then ſo much deſired. Secondly, into a Diſcovery of thoſe Perſons who had made Advances to the Prince or the *States*, of raiſing Commotions in *England*. Thirdly, into ſecret Meaſures with the King, of aſſiſting him againſt any Rebels at home, as well as Enemies abroad. And Fourthly, into the Hopes or Deſigns of a Match with the Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter. Tho', they ſaid, the Earl found the Prince wou'd not enter at all into the Firſt; was obſtinate againſt the Second; treated the Third as a Diſreſpect to the King, to think he cou'd be ſo ill belov'd, or ſo imprudent as to need it: And upon mention made of the laſt by the Lord *Oſſory*, he took no further hold of it, than ſaying, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife.* The Lord *Arlington*, equally diſappointed and diſcontented, took the firſt Opportunity of returning into *England*; and ſo finiſh'd his Myſtical Journey, which is here the more unveil'd, becauſe tho' it brought forth no preſent Fruits, yet Seeds were then ſcatter'd, which afterwards pro-

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duc'd great Events. At his Return to Court, he was receiv'd but coldly by the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that any mention was made of his Daughter, tho' it was only done by the Lord *Offory*, and unknown whether with Order from the King or no: So that never any Strain of Court-Skill and Contrivance ſucceeded ſo unfortunately, and ſo contrary to all the propos'd Ends of it. Inſtead of Advancing the general Peace, he left it deſperate; inſtead of eſtabliſhing a Confidence between the King and the Prince, he left it colder than he found it; inſtead of entering into any Perſonal Friendſhip with the Prince, he left an Unkindneſs that laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his Credit at Court, which he found waining upon the Encreaſe of the Lord *Danby*'s, he made an end of all he had left with the King, who ever after us'd him with no further Confidence than the Forms of his Place; and found the Treaſurer's Credit more advanc'd in ſix Weeks he had been away, than it had in many Months before.

His ill Succeſs.

He ſinks in the Court.

As the Credit of this Earl declin'd, ſo ſeveral Perſons at Court took the liberty to act and mimick his Perſon and Behaviour, as had been formerly done againſt the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*; and it became a common Jeſt for ſome Courtier to put a black Patch upon his Noſe, and ſtrut about with a White-Staff in his Hand, in order to make the King merry; yet he held his Lord Chamberlain's Place to the Day of his Death. The Reaſon of the King's Coldneſs, or perhaps Diſpleaſure, is believ'd to proceed from his late turning towards the popular Stream, and more eſpecially his outward Proceedings againſt the Papiſts, when the Court believ'd him to be one inwardly himſelf. Concerning this, I have receiv'd a particular Story from an unqueſtionable Hand; namely, That Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, having been ſome time abſent from the Court, upon his Return, found the Earl of *Arlington*'s Credit in a low Condition, and ſeeing him one Day acted by a Perſon with a Patch and Staff, he took occaſion to expoſtulate this Matter with the King, with whom he was very familiar; remonſtrating *how very hard it was that poor* Harry Bennet *ſhou'd be thus us'd, after he had ſo long and faithfully ſerv'd his Majeſty, and follow'd him every where in his Exile.* The King hereupon began to complain too, declaring what Cauſe he had to be diſſatisfy'd with *Harry Bennet*'s Conduct, *who had of late behav'd himſelf after a ſtrange Manner; for not content to come to Prayers, as others did, he muſt be conſtant at Sacraments too: Why,* ſaid *Talbot* interrupting him, *does not your Majeſty do the very ſame Thing? Gods fiſh!* reply'd the King with ſome Heat, *I hope there is a Difference between* Harry Bennet *and Me.*

1675. *The* FOURTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

2. The Way being paved by a new Proclamation, and likewiſe a Declaration againſt Popiſh Prieſts, Jeſuits, &c. on the 13th Day of *April*, both Houſes of Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, according to the laſt Prorogation, after a Receſs and Interval of almoſt fourteen Months. The Expectations and Curioſities of the People of late were encreas'd at every Meeting of Parliament; and now more eſpecially, ſince it had been ſo much doubted whether they ſhou'd ever meet again. This was the Fourteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, at which the King appear'd with great Solemnity, and open'd it with this following Speech from the Throne to both Houſes; *The King's Speech to both Houſes.*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The principal End 'of my Calling of you now, is to know what you think may be yet want-'ing to the Security of *Religion* and *Property*, and to give my Self the 'Satisfaction of having us'd the utmoſt of my Endeavours to procure and 'ſettle a Right and Laſting Underſtanding between us: For I muſt tell 'you, I find the contrary ſo much labour'd, and that the pernicious De-

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'ſigns of ill Men, have taken ſo much place under *Specious Pretences*, 1675.
'that it is high Time to be watchful in preventing their Contrivances;
'of which this is not the leaſt, That they wou'd by all Means they can Car. 27
'deviſe, make it *Unpracticable* any longer to continue this preſent Par- Ref. 15
'liament. For that Reaſon, I confeſs, I cannot think ſuch have any good
'Meaning to Me: And therefore when I conſider how much the greateſt
'Part of this Parliament has either Themſelves or Fathers, given me Te-
'ſtimonies of their Affections and Loyalty, I ſhou'd be extreme loath to
'oblige thoſe Enemies, by parting with ſuch Friends: And they may be
'aſſur'd, That none ſhall be able to recommend themſelves to Me by any
'other Way, than their good Services. I have done as much on my Part
'as was poſſible, to extinguiſh the Fears and Jealouſies of *Popery*; and
'will leave nothing undone that may ſhew the World my Zeal to the *Pro-*
'*teſtant* Religion, as it is Eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*, from
'which I will never depart.

'I muſt needs recommend to you the Condition of the *Fleet*, which
'I am not able to put into that Eſtate it ought to be, and which will re-
'quire ſo much Time to repair and build, that I ſhou'd be ſorry to ſee
'the Summer (and conſequently a whole Year) loſt, without providing
'for it. The Seaſon of the Year will not permit any long Seſſion; nor
'wou'd I have call'd you now, but in hopes to do ſomething that may
'give Content to all my Subjects, and to lay before you the Conſiderati-
'on of the Fleet; for I intend to meet you again in Winter. In the mean
'Time, I earneſtly recommend to you all, ſuch a Temper and Modera-
'tion in your Proceedings, as may tend to unite us all in Counſel and
'Affections, and diſappoint the Expectations of thoſe, who can hope on-
'ly by violent and irregular Motions to prevent the bringing this Seſſion
'to a happy Concluſion. The reſt I leave to my Lord Keeper.

Accordingly the Lord Keeper made a long and eloquent Speech to this venerable Aſſembly, of which the greateſt Part ought not to be omitted, beginning thus, '*My Lords*, &c. The Solemnity of this Day's Ap- *The Lord Keeper Finch's Speech.*
'pearance is equal to the Weight and Importance of the Occaſion; The
'Matters to be treated of, deſerve no leſs than an Aſſembly of the *Three*
'*Eſtates*, and a full Concourſe of all the Wiſe and Excellent Perſons
'who bear a Part in this *Great Council*, and do conſtitute and compleat
'this high and honourable Court. —— His Majeſty begins with the Con-
'ſideration of *Religion*; He ſees it is the firſt Thing in all your Thoughts,
'and you cannot but ſee that it hath been, and ſtill is, the firſt and prin-
'cipal Part of his Care. He hath alſo conſidered Religion, Firſt in Ge-
'neral, as it is *Proteſtant*, and ſtands in Oppoſition to *Popery:* And up-
'on that Account it is that he hath awaken'd all the Laws againſt the *Pa-*
'*piſts:* There is not one Statute extant in all the Volumes of our Laws,
'but his Majeſty hath now put in a Way of taking its full Courſe againſt
'them. And upon this Account alſo it is, That in a League lately re-
'new'd with a *Proteſtant* Crown, his Majeſty hath made it one Article
'of that League, that there ſhall be a mutual Defence of the *Proteſtant*
'Religion. His Majeſty hath conſider'd Religion again more particular-
'ly, as it is the *Proteſtant* Religion *Eſtabliſh'd by Law* in the Church of
'*England*; He ſees that as ſuch, it is not only beſt ſuited to the *Monar-*
'*chy*, and moſt likely to defend it, but moſt able to defend it ſelf againſt
'the Enemies of all *Reformation:* And therefore upon this Account it is
'that his Majeſty, with equal and impartial Juſtice, hath reviv'd all the
'Laws againſt *Diſſenters* and *Nonconformiſts*; but not with equal Seve-
'rity: For the Laws againſt the *Papiſts* are edg'd, and the Execution
'of them quicken'd by new Rewards propos'd to the Informers: Thoſe
'againſt Diſſenters are left to that Strength which they have already.

'Both

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'Both theſe, and all other Laws whatſoever, are always underſtood to 'be ſubject to the Pleaſure of a Parliament, which may alter, amend, or 'explain them as they ſee Cauſe, and according with publick Conveni-'ence. For when we conſider Religion in Parliament, we are ſuppos'd 'to conſider it as a Parliament ſhou'd do, and as Parliaments in all Ages 'have done; That is, as it is a Part of our Laws, a Part, and a neceſſary 'Part of our Government. For as it works upon the Conſcience, as it 'is an inward Principle of the Divine Life by which good Men do go-'vern all their Actions, the *State has Nothing to do with it*, 'tis a Thing 'which belongs to another *Kind of Commiſſion* than that by which we ſit 'here.——

'In the next Place the King hath thought fit to direct your Conſidera-'tions upon the Safety and Honour of the *State*; both which are then beſt 'provided for, when we keep up the Strength and Reputation of our '*Fleet*. It is not altogether the natural Decay of Shipping, no nor the 'Accidents of War, that have leſſen'd our Fleet, tho' ſomething may 'be attributed to both theſe; but our Fleet ſeems rather to be weakned 'for the preſent, by being out-grown and out-built by our Neighbours.' Then proceeding to diſcourſe of the Laws in general, he told them, 'In 'making of Laws therefore it will import us to conſider, That too ma-'ny Laws are a *Snare*, too few are a *Weakneſs* in the Government; too 'gentle are ſeldom *obey'd*, too ſevere are as ſeldom *executed*; and San-'guinary Laws are for the moſt Part either the *Cauſe* or the *Effect* of a 'Diſtemper in the State. To eſtabliſh this State there ſeems not to need 'many Laws; ſome will always be wanting: And tho' all that is want-'ing ſhou'd not now be finiſh'd, yet whatever ſhall remain unfiniſh'd, 'may be perfected in Winter, at which Time we have a gracious Inti-'mation from his Majeſty, that we ſhall meet again.' Then ſpeaking of the preſent Happineſs of the Nation, he proceeded thus; 'We are new-'ly gotten out of an expenſive War, and upon Terms more honourable 'than ever. The whole World is now in Peace with us; all Ports are 'open to us, and we exerciſe a free and uninterrupted Traffick through 'the Ocean: And we are reaping the Fruits of all this Peace by a daily 'Improvement of our Trade, and the Encreaſe of our Shipping and Na-'vigation. Our Conſtitution ſeems to be ſo vigorous and ſtrong, that 'nothing can diſorder it, but our ſelves. No Influences of the Stars, 'no Configurations of the Heavens are to be fear'd, ſo long as theſe two 'Houſes ſtand in a good Diſpoſition to each other, and both of them in 'a happy Conjunction with their Lord and Soveraign. Why ſhou'd we 'doubt it? Never was Diſcord more unſeaſonable. A Difference in 'Matters of the *Church* wou'd gratify the Enemies of our Religion, and 'do them more Service than the beſt of their Auxiliaries. A Difference 'in Matters of *State* wou'd gratify our Enemies too, the Enemies of our 'Peace, the Enemies of this Parliament, that hope to ſee, and practiſe 'to bring about Revolutions in the Government. They well underſtand, 'That the beſt Health may be deſtroy'd by too much Care of it; an 'anxious ſcrupulous Care, a Care that is always tampering; a Care that 'labours ſo long to purge all ill Humours out of the Body, that at laſt it 'leaves neither good Blood nor Spirits behind. In like manner there are 'two Symptoms which are dangerous in every *State*, and of which the 'Hiſtorian hath long ſince given us Warning: One is, when Men do '*Quieta movere*; when they ſtir thoſe Things or Queſtions which are, 'and ought to be in Peace; and like unskilful Architects, think to mend 'the Building by removing all the Materials which are not plac'd as they 'wou'd have them. Another is, *Cum Res parvæ magnis Motibus agun-'tur*; When Things, not of the greateſt Moment, are agitated with

'greateſt

'greateſt Heat; and as much Weight is laid upon a New, and not al- 1675.
'ways very Neceſſary Propoſition, as if the whole Sum of Affairs de- Car. 27
'pended upon it.——
'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The King is far, infinitely far, from fear- Reſ. 15
'ing any Exceſs of this Kind here; He knows too well the Wiſdom, the
'Honour, and the Loyalty of this great Aſſembly, to apprehend any Kind
'of Error either in your Judgments, or your Affections. He does not
'only find himſelf ſafe, but he thinks himſelf arm'd too, while he is at-
'tended with ſuch a *Nobility*, ſuch a Gentry as this. You that were
'able to raiſe the King's Affairs when they were in their loweſt and moſt
'deplor'd Condition, will ſurely be able to keep them from any Relapſe.
'You that were able to make this Government take Root again, will ſure-
'ly be able to preſerve it in a growing and a flouriſhing Eſtate. Such
'Pilots need not fear a Storm! If you cou'd, this Conſideration alone
'were enough to ſupport you, *That you carry* Cæſar *and his Fortunes*;
'you ſerve a Prince in whoſe Preſervation Miracles are become Familiar;
'a Prince in whoſe Stile *Dei Gratiâ* ſeems not to be written by a Vul-
'gar Pen, but by the Arm of Omnipotence it ſelf. Raiſe up then, by
'your Example, the Hearts and Hopes of all thoſe whom ill Men have
'wrought upon to ſuch a Degree, as to caſt them into a Sadneſs, and
'into a Deſpondency, which is moſt unreaſonable. What the *Romans*
'ſcorn'd to do after the Battel of *Cannæ*, What the *Venetians* never did
'when they had loſt all their *Terra Firma*; That Men are now taught
'to think a Virtue, and the Sign of a wiſe and good Man, *Deſperare de*
'*Republicâ*. And all this in a Time of as much Juſtice and Peace at
'home; As good Laws for the Security of Religion and Liberty; As
'good Execution of thoſe Laws; As great Plenty of Trade and Com-
'merce abroad, and as likely a Conjuncture of Affairs for the Continu-
'ance of theſe Bleſſings to us, as ever Nation proſper'd under. Con-
'firm the Faith then of thoſe that are made weak, by ſhewing them the
'Stedfaſtneſs of your Belief; Give the King the Hearts of all his Sub-
'jects, by making him a Preſent of yours. Then will the King eſteem
'himſelf a richer Prince than if he were poſſeſs'd of all the Treaſures of
'the Eaſt: Then, tho' this Seſſion ſhou'd cloſe in a few Weeks, yet it
'may be Perpetual for the Fruit it ſhall produce, and for the Comme-
'moration that will follow it. Then will this Year be a true Year of
'*Jubilee*; and we ſhall have nothing to wiſh or pray for in this World,
'*but the bleſſed Continuance of his Majeſty's long and happy Reign over*
'*us*.

The Houſe of Commons appear'd in a very good Humour, and the
firſt Thing they did was to Vote, 'Their humble and hearty Thanks to *The Commons Thanks.*
'his Majeſty for his gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances explain'd in his
'ſaid Speech, to preſerve and maintain us in the *Eſtabliſh'd Religion*,
'and our *Properties* according to Law, and for his Calling us together
'*at this Time* for that Purpoſe.' Which being preſented to the King in
a full Body in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, his Majeſty return'd this gracious
Anſwer, *That he had a great Confidence in his Houſe of Commons; and*
that the ſaid Houſe may be confident that he wou'd always preſerve them
in the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and in their Liberties and Properties. This
did not hinder them from an immediate Proceeding to a new Bill againſt
the Growth of Popery; in debating of which they came to theſe three
Reſolves. 1 'That in the Bill there be inſerted a Clauſe for Payment *Their Reſolves againſt Popery.*
'of a conſiderable Reward to any Perſon that ſhall diſcover any *Popiſh*
'Prieſt, who upon Tryal ſhall be prov'd to be ſo, to be paid by the Per-
'ſon to whom he ſhall be prov'd to have ſaid *Maſs*, or by ſuch as have
'wittingly receiv'd, ſuccour'd or entertain'd ſuch *Popiſh* Prieſt. 2. That

'He

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'He ſhall be eſteem'd to be a *Popiſh* Prieſt, who ſhall be prov'd to have 'ſaid *Maſs*, or officiated either in this Realm, or in any Foreign Coun-'try, in the Manner of a Prieſt, according to the Uſage of the See of '*Rome*, if ſuch Prieſt be not reconcil'd to the Church of *England*; and 'that theſe Votes ſhall not prejudice the Laws now in being concerning '*Popiſh* Prieſts. 3. That Penalties be laid on all that are prov'd to have 'remain'd with any ſuch *Popiſh* Prieſt, when he ſhall be ſaying *Maſs*, or 'Officiating in the Manner of a Prieſt, according to the Uſage of the See 'of *Rome*.' Shortly after, they added two Reſolves more, *viz.* 1. 'That 'a Clauſe be inſerted into the ſaid Bill, to regulate and reſtrain Mr. At-'torney General to enter any *Noli proſequi*. 2. That another Clauſe be 'inſerted for the more effectual Proſecution, and Levying of Penalties 'upon *Popiſh* Recuſants.

After they had ſhewn their Diſlike and Reſentment againſt the Papiſts and their Proceedings, they reſolv'd to take notice of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the only remaining Perſon in Favour, of the late *Cabal*. And to compleat their Accuſation againſt him, they had the Teſtimony of Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, an eminent *Scotch* Divine, who had formerly been intimate with his Grace, but for good Reaſons had alter'd his Opinion of him, and his Actions. What he teſtify'd againſt this Miniſter was, 'That coming 'into *England*, the firſt *Saturday* in *September* 1673, he went to viſit 'the Duke of *Lauderdale* in his Lodgings in *Whitehall*, where the Duke 'and he diſcours'd of the Affairs of *England* and *Scotland*, and particu-'larly of the Proceedings of Parliament concerning the *Declaration* for 'ſuſpending Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical: And being afterwards 'ask'd, *Whether if* Scotland *being call'd to aſſiſt the King, they wou'd 'aſſiſt him or not*, he anſwer'd, *he thought they wou'd not*; but the Duke 'reply'd, *He believ'd they wou'd, and that his coming into* England *wou'd 'bring a great many*. That the Duke asking him of the Affairs of *Scot-'land*, he anſwer'd, *The People in* Scotland *that were at ſuch a Di-'ſtance, cou'd not imagine what to think of the King's Speech and Decla-'ration*. Whereunto the Duke reply'd, *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ! and that 'all had forſaken the King but Himſelf and the Lord* Clifford.

Dr. Burnet's *Information.*

Upon which, and other Informations, the Commons drew up a particular Addreſs againſt him to the King, which after the Preamble runs thus: 'Yet we find upon ſerious Examination of the State of this King-'dom, That there is a great Jealouſie ariſen from ſome late Proceedings 'in the Hearts of your Subjects, That ſome Perſons in great Imployment 'under your Majeſty have fomented Deſigns contrary to the Intereſt both 'of your Majeſty and your People, intending to deprive us of our anci-'ent Rights and Liberties, *&c.* Among thoſe who are at preſent im-'ploy'd under your Majeſty, we have juſt Cauſe to accuſe for a Promo-'ter of ſuch Deſigns the Duke of *Lauderdale*, lately created Earl of '*Guilford*, becauſe we have heard it teſtify'd in our Houſe by ſeveral 'of our own Members, That in the Hearing before the Council of the 'Caſe of Mr. *Whaley*, who had committed Mr. *James* contrary to your 'Majeſty's Declaration of the 15th of *March*, 1671, He the ſaid Duke of '*Lauderdale* did openly affirm in the Preſence of your Majeſty ſitting in 'Council, and before divers of your Subjects attending there, *That your 'Majeſty's Edicts ought to be obey'd; for your Edicts are equal with 'Laws, and ought to be obey'd in the firſt Place*; thereby, as much as 'in him lay, juſtifying the ſaid Declaration, and the Proceedings there-'upon, and declaring his Inclinations to arbitrary Counſels, in Terror of 'your good People. And we are farther confirm'd in this Opinion by 'late Acts of Parliament of a very ſtrange and dangerous Nature, which 'we have obſerv'd amongſt the Printed Statutes of your Kingdom of *Scot-*

The Commons Addreſs againſt the Duke of Lauderdale.

'*land*;

'*land*; the first whereof was in the Third Session of the First Parliament held there under your Majesty, Cap. 25. and the other in your Majesty's second Parliament, Cap. 2. the like whereof was never past since the Union of the two Kingdoms, and are directly contrary to the Intention of an Act past here in the fourth Year of the Reign of King *James*, *For the utter Abolition of all Memory of Hostility, and the Dependencies thereof between* England *and* Scotland, *and for the Repressing of Occasions of Discords and Disorders in Time to come*; And of a like Act past about the same Time in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. By Force of which said late Acts, there is a *Militia* settled in that Kingdom of Twenty Thousand Foot and Two Thousand Horse, *who are oblig'd to be in a Readiness to march into any Part of this Kingdom, for any Service wherein your Majesty's Honour, Authority and Greatness may be concern'd; and are to obey such Orders and Directions as they shall from Time to Time receive from the Privy-Council there.* By colour of which general Words we conceive this Realm may be liable to be invaded under any Pretence whatsoever; and this hath been done, as we apprehend, principally by the Procurement of the said Duke of *Lauderdale*; he having all the Time of these Transactions been principal Secretary of the said Kingdom, and chiefly intrusted with the Administration of Affairs of State there, and Himself Commissioner for holding the Parliament at the Time of passing the latter of the said Acts, whereby the Providing of the said Horse and Foot is effectually impos'd upon the said Kingdom, and that Extraordinary Power vested in the Privy-Council there: And we conceive we have just Reason to apprehend the ill Consequences of so great and unusual a Power; especially when the Affairs of that Kingdom are manag'd by the said Duke, who hath manifested himself a Person of such pernicious Principles. We do therefore in all Humility implore your Sacred Majesty, considering how universal a Fame and Clamour of the said Misdemeanors runneth openly throughout this your Realm, that for the Ease of the Hearts of your People, who are possess'd with extraordinary Grief and Sorrow to see your Majesty thus abus'd, and the Kingdom endanger'd, *your Majesty wou'd graciously be pleas'd to remove the said Duke of* Lauderdale *from all his Imployments, and from your Majesty's Presence and Counsels for ever, as being a Person obnoxious and dangerous to the Government.*

1675. Car. 27. Ref. 16

After some Time of Consideration, the King return'd the following Answer to the House of Commons in Writing: 'His Majesty hath consider'd of the Address against the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and the Reasons accompanying it: As to the Acts of Parliament mention'd to have been pass'd in *Scotland*, his Majesty observes that the First of those Acts was in the Year 1663, which was long before the Duke of *Lauderdale* was his Majesty's Commissioner in that Kingdom; And the Latter was in Pursuance of the Former. And as to the Words, by the Time of Mr. *Whaley*'s Cause his Majesty perceiving, that if they had been spoken, they must have been spoken before the late *Act of General Pardon*: And his Majesty being sensible how great a Satisfaction and Security, the inviolable Preservation of the former *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* hath been to all his Subjects; cannot but apprehend the dangerous Consequences of Inquiring into any Thing that hath been pardoned by any Act of General Pardon; least the Example of that might give Men Cause to fear their Security under the Act of Oblivion.' This Answer was so little Satisfactory to the Commons, that they afterwards resolv'd to draw up another Address against the Duke; but that, as well as many other Matters, prov'd abortive.

The King's Answer.

1675. Car. 27 Ref. 16

The Commons Accuſation of the Earl of Danby.

3. After the Commons had gone ſo far againſt the *Scotch* Favourite, they began to think upon the *Engliſh* One, the Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, who had carry'd many Things with a high Hand, and an over-ruling Genius; ſo that he prov'd a fit Mark to be ſingled out by Emulation and Detraction. The Sum of the Accuſation againſt him was, I. 'That the 'Earl had overthrown the ancient Courſe and Conſtitution of the Ex-'chequer, by perverting the Method of Receipts, in Payments and Ac-'counts contrary to Law; whereby the King's Revenue is put into Con-'fuſion and a waſteful Way of Expence, to the Deſtruction of his Cre-'dit, and expoſing his Treaſure to private Bargains and Corruptions; 'and had ingroſs'd to Himſelf the Power of Diſpoſing all the King's 'Revenues; laying aſide the Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the 'Exchequer, whereby all Checks and Controlls are avoided. II. That 'a Suit of Law being intended about the Marriage of the Daughter of 'Sir *Thomas Hyde*, the ſaid Earl caus'd one Mr. *Brandley*, a Principal 'Witneſs in the Cauſe, to be arreſted by an extraordinary Warrant 'from one of the Secretaries of State, and to be kept for ſome Time 'in cloſe Cuſtody; during which the Earl's Agents labour'd with Mr. '*Brandley* by Threats and Promiſes not to declare the Truth, and at 'Midnight he was brought and examin'd before the King in the pre-'ſence of the Earl; whereupon Mr. *Brandley* was induc'd to deliver in 'a Teſtimony againſt his own Knowledge and Conſcience, he being then 'in dureſſe: And all this was done with an Intent to procure the ſaid 'Heireſs to be marry'd to the Earl's ſecond Son. III. That the Earl 'had receiv'd very great Sums of Mony, beſides the extraordinary Re-'venue, which had been waſtefully ſpent; and far greater Sums than 'ever iſſu'd out for *Secret Service*, without Account; the King's Debts 'remaining unpaid, the Stores unfurniſh'd, and the Navy unrepaired. 'IV. The Earl had violated the Rights and Properties of the People, 'by ſtopping, without Authority, thoſe legal Payments due in the Ex-'chequer. V. That tho' the Office of a Lord Treaſurer is always very 'full of neceſſary and great Imployments, yet the Earl had alſo aſſum'd to 'himſelf the Management of the *Iriſh* Affairs, which before were always 'diſpatcht by the Secretaries, and paſs'd in Council; thereby ſubtlely en-'abling himſelf the better to convert great Sums of Mony out of the '*Iriſh* Revenues to his own private Advantage. VI. That the Earl had 'procured great Gifts and Grants from the Crown, whilſt under great Debts, 'by Warrants counterſign'd by Himſelf. VII. That on *Decemb.* 4th '1674, at the Hearing of a Cauſe in the Treaſury Chamber, ſome Acts 'of Parliament now in being were urg'd againſt a Proclamation, and con-'trary to what his Lordſhip aim'd at; whereupon the Earl, in Contempt 'of the Law, utter'd this Arbitrary Expreſſion, *That a new Proclama-'tion is better than an old Act.* Upon his Lordſhip's Report to the Pri-'vy-Council, the Perſon in Queſtion being a Foreigner, and not obey-'ing ſuch Proclamation, but purſuing his Right at Law, was baniſh'd 'the Kingdom.' Thus early did the Houſe of Commons ſtrike at this great Man; but when the Articles were particularly and at ſeveral Times examin'd, they firſt ſtruck out one, and then another, till upon the whole they concluded that there was not ſufficient Ground for an Impeachment againſt him.

A further Addreſs.

Not reſting here, the Commons proceeded to another Matter not leſs unacceptable to the King, whoſe Honour was particularly concern'd in it; And this was 'An humble Addreſs to his Majeſty for the ſpeedy recal-'ing all his Subjects home out of the *French* King's Service; and for 'hindering any more from going over for that Service for the future.' The King ſeem'd willing to comply with the latter Part, but was apparently

rently averſe to the Former; and therefore after ſome Conſideration, return'd this Anſwer in Writing: 'That ſuch Troops of his Subjects that 'were in the moſt *Chriſtian* King's Service, before the late Treaty made 'with the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, and were not by that 'to be recall'd, as they are at preſent become inconſiderable in their 'Number; ſo his Majeſty conceives they cannot be recall'd, without de- 'rogating from his Honour and Dignity, and to the Prejudice of the 'Peace he now enjoyeth; which he hath publickly profeſs'd to maintain 'with all his Neighbours: But as to the Prohibiting the going over of 'any more, his Majeſty will renew his Proclamation, and uſe all other 'effectual Means both to forbid and hinder it.' Accordingly the King did iſſue out his Proclamation to prohibit his Subjects from going into the *French* King's Service; and tho' it proceeded ſo far as to recall all ſuch as had enter'd into his Service, ſince the Concluſion of the Peace with *Holland*, yet it gave not full Satisfaction; and they prepared a Second Addreſs, with this Addition, 'That the Officers of the ſeveral 'Ports do take care for hindering any more going over for that Service 'for the future. 1675. Car. 27 Reſ. 16 *The King's Anſwer.*

4. But before this, and ſeveral other Things cou'd come to any Maturity, there appear'd a famous Struggle in the Houſe of Peers, who began to think the Commons leſs zealous in their Loyalty, or perhaps more conſiderate in ſupporting the Prerogative than they had formerly been; and therefore had brought in a remarkable Bill Entituled, *An Act to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government.* By which Bill, unexpectedly brought in, all ſuch as enjoy'd any beneficial Office, or Employment, Eccleſiaſtical, or Civil, or Military, to which was added Privy-Counſellors, and Members of Parliament; were under a Penalty to take this following Oath: *I* A. B. *do declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority, againſt his Perſon, or againſt Thoſe that are Commiſſion'd by him in Purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion: And I do ſwear, That I will not at any Time endeavour the Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.* This Oath had, in part, been introduc'd and enforc'd in the *Corporation Act*, and then in the *Militia Act*, and afterwards in full, in the *Five-Mile Act* againſt the Diſſenting Teachers, but at thoſe Times limited and apply'd to more particular Perſons and Caſes. But being now contriv'd to be more general, and in effect univerſal, and at a Time when the Fervour of the Nation had much abated, it rous'd a Spirit among many of the Lords, who reſolv'd to Canvaſs the Matter with a more rigorous Strictneſs than formerly it had been done; and it occaſion'd a warm Author to ſay, *No Conveyancer cou'd ever in more compendious or binding Terms, have drawn a Diſſettlement of the whole Birth-Right of* England. *A grand Debate amongſt the Lords,*

The Bill was brought in by the Earl of *Lindſey*, and receiv'd its firſt Reading and Appointment for the Second without much Oppoſition. At the Second Reading the Lord Keeper, and ſome other of the Court Lords, recommended the Bill in ſet and elaborate Speeches, the Keeper calling it *a moderate Security to the Church and Crown*; and the other Lords declaim'd very much upon the Rebellion of the late Times, the great Number of Phanaticks, and the dangerous Principles of Rebellion ſtill remaining. But the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, now a total Deſerter of the Court, with ſome other Country Lords, earneſtly preſs'd that the Bill might be laid aſide, and that they might not be engag'd in the Debate of it; 'or elſe that that Freedom they ſhou'd be forc'd to uſe in the ne- *Upon the Account of a new Bill.*

1675. Car. 27 Ref. 16

'ceſſary Defence of their Opinion, and the preſerving of their *Laws*, '*Rights* and *Liberties*, which this Bill wou'd overthrow, might not be 'miſconſtrued: For there were many Things that muſt be ſpoken upon 'the Debate, both concerning Church and State, that it was well known 'they had no Mind to hear.' Notwithſtanding this, the other Party call'd for the Queſtion of referring the Bill to a Committee; whereupon the Earl of *Shaftsbury* at large laid open all the miſchievous Deſigns and Conſequences of the Bill; and other Lords joyn'd with him with ſuch Reſolution, that the Debate laſted five Days before the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe; which had hardly ever happen'd to any Bill before, and occaſion'd theſe two following Proteſtations.

A Proteſtation. The firſt Proteſtation runs thus; 'We whoſe Names are underwrit-'ten, being Peers of this Realm, do according to our Rights and anci-'ent Uſage of Parliaments, declare that the Queſtion having been put 'whether the Bill, Entituled *An Act to prevent the Danger which may 'ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government*, doth ſo far intrench 'upon the Priviledges of this Houſe, that it ought therefore to be caſt 'out: It being reſolv'd in the Negative, we do humbly conceive that 'any Bill which impoſeth an Oath upon the Peers with a Penalty, as this 'doth, that upon the Refuſal of that Oath, They ſhall be made uncapa-'ble of Sitting and Voting in this Houſe, as it is a Thing unprecedented 'in former Times, ſo is it, in our humble Opinion, the higheſt Invaſion 'of the Liberties and Priviledges of the Peerage, that poſſibly may be, 'and moſt deſtructive of the Freedom which they ought to enjoy as 'Members of Parliament; becauſe the Priviledges of Sitting and Voting 'in Parliament is an Honour they have by Birth, and a Right ſo inherent in 'them, and inſeparable from them, as that nothing can take it away, but 'what by the Law of the Land muſt withal take away their Lives, 'and corrupt their Blood; upon which Ground we do here enter our 'Diſſent from that Vote, and our Proteſtation againſt it.' Subſcrib'd, *Buckingham, Bridgewater, Wincheſter, Salisbury, Bedford, Dorſet, Aylsbury, Briſtol, Denbeigh, Pagitt, Hollis, Peter, Berkſhire, Mohun, Stamford, Hallifax, De-la-mer, Eure, Shaftsbury, Clarendon, Grey Roll, Say and Seal, Wharton.* The ſecond Proteſtation was againſt the Vote

Another. of committing the Bill, in theſe Words: 'The Queſtion being put Whe-'ther the Bill ſhou'd be committed, it being carry'd in the Affirmative, 'and We after ſeveral Days Debate, being in no Meaſure ſatisfy'd, but 'ſtill apprehending that this Bill doth not only ſubvert the Priviledges, 'and Birth-right of the Peers, by impoſing an Oath upon them with the 'Penalty of loſing their Places in Parliament; but alſo, as we humbly 'conceive, ſtrike at the *Root of Government*; it being neceſſary to all 'Government to have Freedom of Votes and Debates in Thoſe, who 'have Power to alter, and make Laws, and beſides, the expreſs Words 'of this Bill obliging every Man to abjure all Endeavours to alter the 'Government in the Church, without regard to any Thing the Rules 'of Prudence in the Government, or Chriſtian Compaſſion to Prote-'ſtant Diſſenters, or the Neceſſity of Affairs at any Time, ſhall or may 'require. Upon theſe Conſiderations, We humbly conceive it to be of 'dangerous Conſequence to have any Bill of this Nature, ſo much as '*Committed*, and do enter our Diſſents from that Vote, and Proteſtati-'on againſt it. Subſcribed, *Buckingham, Wincheſter, Salisbury, Den-bigh, Briſtol, Berkſhire, Clarendon, Stamford, Shaftsbury, Wharton, Mohun, De-la-mer.*

Theſe Proteſtations were read even by the Commons, and they rais'd a Storm againſt the Subſcribers in their own Houſe, where the very Li-

berty

berty of entering Proteſtations was diſputed; but ended at laſt with a Vote, 'That the Reaſons given in the ſaid Proteſtations, did reflect up-'on the Honour of the Houſe, and were of dangerous Conſequence.' This begat a new Proteſtation, in which they declar'd, 'That they had 'no Intention to reflect upon any Member, much leſs upon the whole 'Houſe; therefore they proteſted againſt the Vote it ſelf.' Yet upon the Commitment of the Bill theſe Lords obtain'd two previous Votes, implying, 'That it ſhou'd not extend to deprive the Members of either 'Houſe of Parliament, of their ancient Freedom and Priviledge of De-'bating any Matters whatſoever, or Repealing, or Altering of any old, 'or preparing any new Laws, or redreſſing any publick Grievance; but 'all ſhou'd have the ſame Freedom of Speech, and all other Privileges, 'as they had before the making this Act.' But this did not ſatisfy as to the Bill it ſelf, and the Nature of the Oath, about which there aroſe very warm and many Days Debates, of which ſome Particulars are neceſſary to be remember'd. The firſt Thing enter'd upon, was, Whether there ſhou'd be an Oath at all in the Bill; in which the Lord *Halifax*, with great Acuteneſs, undertook to make it appear, 'That as there really was 'no Security to any State by Oaths, ſo alſo no Private Perſon, much leſs 'States-Man, wou'd ever order his Affairs as relying upon it; no Man 'wou'd ever ſleep with open Doors, or unlock'd up Plate or Treaſure, 'ſhou'd all the Town be ſworn not to rob: So that the Uſe of multiply-'ing Oaths had been moſt commonly to exclude, or diſturb ſome honeſt 'conſcientious Men, who never wou'd have been prejudicial to the Go-'vernment.' It was alſo inſiſted on by the ſame Lord and others, 'That 'the Oath impos'd by the Bill contain'd three Clauſes, the two former 'Aſſertory, and the laſt Promiſſory; and that it was worthy the Conſi-'deration of the Biſhops, Whether *Aſſertory Oaths*, which are properly 'appointed to give Teſtimony of a Matter of Fact, of which a Man is 'capable to be aſſur'd by the Evidence of his Senſes, be lawful to be made 'uſe of to confirm or invalidate Doctrinal Propoſitions; and whether that 'Legiſlative Power, which impoſes ſuch an Oath, doth not neceſſarily 'aſſume to it ſelf an Infallibility. And as to *Promiſſory Oaths*, It was 'deſir'd that thoſe learned Prelates wou'd conſider the Opinion of *Gro-'tius de jure Belli & Pacis, lib. 2. cap.* 3. who ſeems to make it plain, 'that thoſe Kind of Oaths are forbidden by our Saviour *Chriſt*, *Mat.* 5. 34, '37. and whether it wou'd not become the Fathers of the Church, when 'they have well weigh'd that and other Places of the New Teſtament, to 'be more tender in multiplying Oaths, than hitherto the great Men of 'the Church have been?' But the Biſhops carry'd the Point, and an Oath was order'd by the Majority of the Houſe.

1675. Car. 27 Reſ. 16

The Continuation of the Debate.

After ſome further Conſiderations, they proceeded to the Particulars of the Oath, as Firſt, *I* A. B. *do declare that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King.* Againſt which it was objected, 'That it might introduce a mighty Change in the Go-'vernment, to oblige all the Men of Truſt in *England*, to declare the 'exact Boundary, and Extent, of the Oath of Allegiance, and enforce 'ſome Things to be ſtated, that are much better involv'd in Generals, 'and perhaps are not capable of another Way of Expreſſion, without 'great Wrong on the one Side, or the Other. There was a Law of '25 *Edward* 3, That Arms ſhall not be taken up againſt the King, and it 'is Treaſon ſo to do, and it was a very juſt and reaſonable Law: But it 'was an idle Queſtion at beſt, to ask Whether Arms in *any Caſe* can be 'taken up againſt a Lawful Prince, becauſe it neceſſarily brought a Diffi-'culty into every Man's Mind, How there can be a Diſtinction then left 'between *Abſolute* and *Bounded* Monarchies, if Monarchs had only the

of the Oath in the Bill.

I.

'*Fear*

1675. Car. 27 Ref. 16

'*Fear of God*, and no *Fear of Human Reſiſtance* to reſtrain them.' And it was further urg'd, 'That if the Chance of Human Affairs ſhou'd give 'the *French* King a juſt Title and Inveſtiture in the Crown of *England*, 'and he ſhou'd avowedly own a Deſign by Force, to change the Religi- 'on, and, by the Extirpation of the Chief of the Proteſtant Party, make 'his Government here as abſolute as in *France*, whether in ſuch, or like 'Caſes, the Oath wou'd be a Service to the Government as it is now 'eſtabliſh'd? It was They overthrew the Government, that propos'd to 'place any Part of it above the Fear of Man: For in the *Engliſh* Go- 'vernment, and all limited Monarchies, there every individual Subject 'was under the Fear of the King and his People, either for breaking the 'Peace, or diſturbing the common Intereſt every Man had in it; or if 'he invaded the Perſon or Right of his Prince, he invaded his whole 'People, who had bound up in him and deriv'd from him all their Li- 'berty, Property and Safety: As alſo the Prince himſelf, was under the 'Fear of breaking that golden Chain and Contexture between Him and 'his People, by making his Intereſt contrary to that they juſtly and right- 'ly claim'd. And therefore, ſaid they, neither our Anceſtors, nor any 'other Country, free like ours, while they preſerv'd their Liberties, did 'ever ſuffer any Mercenary, or ſtanding Guards to their Prince; but 'took care *That his Safety ſhou'd be in Them, as theirs was in 'Him.*

2. They went further in the ſecond Particular of the Oath, *And that I do abhor that Trayterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon:* Againſt which they alledg'd, 'That if this were meant an 'Explanation of the Oath of *Allegiance*, to leave Men without Pretence 'to oppoſe where the individual Perſon of the King was, that the Pro- 'poſition as it was here ſet down was Univerſal, and yet in moſt Caſes 'the Poſition was not to be abhor'd by honeſt or wiſe Men: For there 'was but one Caſe, and that never like to happen again, where this Po- 'ſition was in danger to be Trayterous, which was the Caſe of the Long 'Parliament, made perpetual by the King's own Act, by which the Go- 'vernment was perfectly alter'd, and made inconſiſtent with it ſelf; but 'it was to be ſuppos'd the Crown had ſufficient Warning, and full Power 'to prevent falling into the like Danger. But the other Caſes were ma- 'ny, and ſuch as may every Day occur, wherein this Poſition was ſo far 'from being Trayterous, that it wou'd prove neceſſary and a Duty. As 'in the famous Inſtance of *Henry* the Sixth, who being a ſoft and weak 'Prince, when taken Priſoner by his Couſin *Edward* the Fourth, that 'pretended to the Crown, and the great Earl of *Warwick*, was carry'd 'in their Armies, gave what Orders and Commiſſions they pleas'd, and 'yet all that were Loyal to him adhered to his Wife and Son, fought in 'a pitcht Battel againſt him in Perſon, and retook him: This was di- 'rectly taking up Arms by his *Authority* againſt his Perſon, and againſt 'thoſe that were *Commiſſion'd* by him; and yet to this Day no Man ever 'blam'd them, but thought that if they had done otherwiſe, they had be- 'tray'd their Prince.' Then they mention'd the Inſtance of King *Charles* the Sixth of *France*, and of King *James* in his Minority, and then put the Caſe, 'That ſhou'd a future King of *England*, of the ſame Temper 'with *Henry* the 6th, or *Charles* the 6th of *France*, be taken Priſoner by 'the *Spaniard*, *Dutch*, or *French*, whoſe overgrowing Power ſhou'd give 'them Thoughts of univerſal Empire, and ſhou'd, with the *Perſon* and 'the *Commiſſion* of the King, invade *England* for a Conqueſt, were it not 'ſuitable to the *Engliſh* Loyalty to joyn with the Son of that King, for 'the Defence of his Father's Crown and Dignity, even againſt his *Perſon* 'and *Commiſſion?* In thoſe and the like Caſes it was not juſtify'd, but that

'the

'the ſtrict Letter of the Law might be otherwiſe conſtrued, and when 1675.
'wiſely conſider'd, fit it ſhou'd be ſo; yet that it was not ſafe either for
'the Kingdom, or Perſon of the King and his Crown, that it ſhou'd be Car. 27
'in expreſs Words ſworn againſt: For, ſaid they, if we ſhall forſwear all Ref. 16
'*Diſtinctions*, which ill Men have made uſe of, either in *Rebellion* or
'*Hereſy*, we muſt extend the Oath to all the Particulars of *Divinity* and
'*Politicks*.' To this Biſhop *Morley* of *Wincheſter* reply'd, *That to take up Arms in ſuch Caſes, was not againſt, but for the Perſon of the King.* Upon which his Lordſhip was told, *That he might as well, and much better, have left it upon the old Oath of* Allegiance, *than have made ſo wide a Gap in his new* Declaration.

The laſt Particular in the declaratory Part of the Oath was, *Or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſion'd by him in Purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion.* In 3.
this they ſaid, 'The Mask was plainly pluck'd off, and *Arbitrary Go-*
'*vernment* appear'd bare-fac'd, and a *ſtanding Army* eſtabliſh'd by Act of
'Parliament: For if whatſoever was by the King's *Commiſſion*, cou'd not be
'oppos'd by the King's *Authority*, then a ſtanding Army was Law when-
'ever the King pleas'd: And yet the King's *Commiſſion* was never thought
'ſufficient to protect or juſtify any Man, where it is againſt his *Autho-*
'*rity*, which is Law; this allow'd, the whole Law of *England* was al-
'ter'd, in the moſt eſſential and fundamental Parts of it, and made the
'whole Law of *Property* to become *Arbitrary*, and without effect, when-
'ever the King pleas'd. For Inſtance, if in a Suit with a great Favourite,
'a Man recovers Houſe and Lands, and by Courſe of Law be put into
'Poſſeſſion by the Sheriff, and afterwards a Warrant is obtain'd by the
'Intereſt of the Favourite, to command ſome Soldiers of the Standing
'Army to take Poſſeſſion and deliver it back, in ſuch a Caſe, the Man
'in Poſſeſſion may juſtify the Defence of Himſelf, by killing thoſe who
'ſhall forceably endeavour to enter his Houſe; here the Party, whoſe
'Houſe is invaded, takes up Arms by the King's own *Authority* againſt
'thoſe, who are *Commiſſion'd* by him. In like manner, if the Soldiers had
'been *Commiſſion'd* to defend the Houſe againſt the Sheriff, when he firſt
'went to take Poſſeſſion, no Order or *Commiſſion* of the King's cou'd put
'a Stop to the Sheriff, who had ſtill the King's *Authority* in raiſing the
'*Poſſe* of the County to put the Law in Execution.' They further ſaid,
'It was not out of the Way to ſuppoſe, That if any King hereafter ſhou'd,
'contrary to the *Petition of Right*, demand and levy Money by Privy-
'Seal, or otherwiſe, and cauſe Soldiers to enter and diſtrain for ſuch il-
'legal Taxes, that in ſuch a Caſe any Man might defend his Houſe againſt
'them; and yet this was of the ſame Nature with the former, and againſt
'the Words of the *Declaration*. Theſe Inſtances, tho' ſomewhat rough,
'were to be excus'd when All was concern'd; and however happy they
'were now in a Prince, the Suppoſitions were not extravagant, when
'they conſider'd that Kings were but Men, and ſurrounded with greater
'Temptations than others.' The Lord Keeper ſaid *Theſe were remote Inſtances*; to which the Earl of *Salisbury* quickly and freely reply'd, *That they wou'd not hereafter prove ſo, when this new Declaration had made the Practice of them Juſtifiable:* Many other Things were urg'd, but leſs Fundamental, and the Debate laſted ſixteen or ſeventeen whole Days, the Houſe often ſitting till Nine at Night, and ſometimes till Midnight: In the Concluſion of which, the Duke of *Buckingham*, as General of the Party, and laſt in the Field, made a famous Speech conſiſting of eloquent, regular, and well-plac'd Non-Senſe, hoping that that might prevail when Nothing elſe wou'd; and ſo brought Confuſion into the Houſe.

5. But

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A great Difference between the Lords and Commons.

5. But the whole was diverted and interrupted by an Accident that rais'd a violent Conteſt and Diviſion between both Houſes, with relation to the Powers and Priviledges of Parliament. It was occaſion'd by one Dr. *Shirley*'s bringing an Appeal in the Houſe of Lords, from a Decree in *Chancery*, againſt Sir *John Fagg*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons; which that Houſe look'd upon as an open Infringement of their Priviledges. Accordingly they order'd Dr. *Shirley* to be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms; and the firſt Account they heard of him was, That the Warrant for taking the Doctor into Cuſtody was forceably taken from the Serjeant's Deputy by the Lord *Mohun*. Upon which they ſent to the Upper Houſe to demand Juſtice againſt the ſaid Lord *Mohun*, and inſtead of Reparation receiv'd this Anſwer from them, 'That 'the Lord *Mohun* had done Nothing but what was according to his Du-'ty.' The Commons deſired 'That there might be no further Proceed-'ings in the Cauſe before their Lordſhips;' which occaſion'd a Meſſage from them, 'That a Conference be deſired by the Lords to know whe-'ther the Houſe of Commons own'd the Warrant for taking Dr. *Shir-'ley* into Cuſtody.' They anſwer'd 'They wou'd conſider of it,' and Reſolved, 'That the Meſſage laſt receiv'd from the Lords, was an un-'parliamentary Meſſage; and that Whoſoever ſhou'd appear at the Bar 'of the Lords Houſe to proſecute any Suit againſt any Member of theirs, 'ſhou'd be deem'd an Infringer of the Priviledges of Parliament.' Soon after they receiv'd this Reſolution of the Houſe of Peers, 'That it is 'the undoubted Right of the Lords in Judicature to receive and deter-'mine in Time of Parliament Appeals from Inferior Courts, tho' Mem-'bers of either Houſe be concern'd, that there may be no Failure of Ju-'ſtice in the Land; and from their Rights and Priviledges, and the Ex-'erciſes thereof, their Lordſhips will never depart.' The Commons on the other Side reſolv'd, 'That it is the undoubted Right of their Houſe, 'That none of the Members thereof be Summon'd to attend the Houſe 'of Lords, during the Seſſion and Priviledge of Parliament; and that a 'Conference be deſired with their Lordſhips thereupon.' To which the Lords ſent an Anſwer, 'That they agreed to a Conference to Morrow 'Morning, provided Nothing was offer'd then that might concern their 'Lordſhip's Juriſdiction.' Upon this the Commons Voted, 'That it 'was no Grant of a Conference, as it was deſired;' and proceeded ſo far as to Reſolve, 'That there lyes no Appeal to the Juriſdiction of the 'Lords in Parliament from *Courts of Equity*.' And farther to ſhew their Authority, they took up Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Peck*, Sir *John Churchill* and Mr. *Porter*, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, as being Council in the Caſe, by the Speaker's Warrant, and committed them to the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms; and Sir *John Fagg*, their own Member, for his Compliance with the Lords, was ſent to the *Tower*.

The Merits of the Cauſe.

The Reaſons on both Sides for theſe Proceedings, are worth the Inſerting, eſpecially ſince they were never publiſh'd before. The Lords in a Conference deliver'd theſe by the Lord Privy-Seal:

For the Lords.

'1. The Lords 'do take notice of the Houſe of Commons their ordering into Cuſtody 'of their Serjeant at Arms Mr. Serjeant *Pemberton*, Mr. Serjeant *Peck*, 'Sir *John Churchill*, and Mr. *Charles Porter*, Counſellors at Law, aſ-'ſign'd by their Lordſhips at the Barr of their Houſe. 2. The Lords 'do judge theſe Orders for Impriſonment to be Illegal and Arbitrary, 'and the Exerciſe thereof a great Indignity to the King's Majeſty in this 'his higheſt Court of Judicature in this Kingdom, the Lords in Parlia-'ment, where his Majeſty is higheſt, and where the laſt Reſort in all 'Cauſes, and over all Perſons, is undoubtedly fix'd, and permanently 'lodg'd.

'lodg'd. 3. It is an unexampled Uſurpation, and Breach of Priviledge 1675.
'againſt the Houſe of Peers, That their Orders or Judgments ſhou'd
'be diſpens'd with, or endeavour'd to be controverted, or the Execu- Car. 27
'tion thereof obſtructed by the Lower Houſe of Parliament, who are Ref. 16
'no Court, nor have any Authority to adminiſter an Oath, or give any
'Judgment. 4. It is a tranſcendent Invaſion of the Rights and Liberties
'of the Subject, and againſt *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*, 4
'and many other Laws which have provided *That no Free-Man ſhall*
'*be impriſon'd, or otherwiſe reſtrain'd of his Liberty, but by due Pro-*
'*ceſs of Law*. 5. This tends to the Subverſion of the Government of
'this Kingdom, and to the Introducing of Arbitrarineſs and Diſorders.
'Becauſe it is in the Nature of an Injunction from the Lower Houſe,
'who have no Authority, nor Power of Judicature over inferior Sub-
'jects, much leſs over the King and Lords, againſt the Orders and Judg-
'ments of the Supream Court. We are further commanded to acquaint
'you, That the Lords have therefore, out of the Juſtice which they are
'Diſpenſers of againſt Oppreſſion and Breach of Laws, by Judgment
'of this Court, ſet at Liberty, by the Gentleman-Uſher of the black
'Rod, all the ſaid Perſons, and prohibited the Lieutenant of the *Tower*,
'and all other Keepers of Priſons, and all Perſons moleſting or charging
'the ſaid Gentlemen, or any of them, in this Caſe; and if any Perſon
'whatſoever ſhall preſume to the contrary, their Lordſhips will exe-
'cute Authority with thoſe intruſted for putting the Laws in Execu-
'tion.

To which the Commons return'd the following Anſwer: 'Your Lord- *For the Commons.*
'ſhips having deſired the laſt Conference upon *Matters of high Import-*
'*ance, concerning the Dignity of the King, and Safety of the Govern-*
'*ment*, the Commons did not expect to hear from your Lordſhips at
'that Conference Things ſo contrary to, and inconſiſtent with the Mat-
'ters upon which the ſaid Conference was deſir'd, as were then deliver'd
'by your Lordſhips. It was much below the Expectations of the Com-
'mons, that after the Repreſentation of your Lordſhip's Meſſage of Mat-
'ters of ſo high Importance, the Part upon which the Conference was
'grounded, ſhou'd prove only the Commitment of four Lawyers to the
'Cuſtody of their own Serjeant at Arms, for a manifeſt Violation of the
'Priviledges of their Houſe. But the Commons were much more
'ſurpriz'd, when your Lordſhips had introduc'd the Conference with
'an Aſſurance *That it was in Order to a good Correſpondence between the*
'*two Houſes*, that your Lordſhips ſhou'd aſſume a Power to judge
'the Orders of the Houſe of Commons for impriſoning the ſaid Law-
'yers, *to be illegal and arbitrary, and the Execution thereof a great*
'*Indignity to the King's Majeſty*; with many other high Reflections up-
'on the Houſe of Commons, throughout the whole Conference; Where-
'by your Lordſhips have condemn'd the whole Houſe of Commons as
'Criminal, which is without Precedent or Example, or any Ground or
'Reaſon ſo to do. 1. It is not againſt the King's Dignity for the Houſe
'of Commons to puniſh by Impriſonment the Commoner that is guilty
'of violating thoſe Proceedings that be according to the known Laws and
'Cuſtoms of Parliament, and the Rights of their Priviledges, declared
'by the King's Royal Predeceſſors in former Parliaments, and by Him-
'ſelf in this. But your Lordſhips claiming to be the *Supream Court,*
'*and that his Majeſty is higheſt in his Royal Eſtate in the Court of Ju-*
'*dicature there*, is a Diminution of the Dignities of the King, who is
'higheſt in his Royal Eſtate in full Parliament, and is derogatory to the
'Authority of the whole Parliament, by appropriating it to your Selves.
'2. The Commons did not by this Impriſonment infringe any Priviled-

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'ges of the House of Peers, but only defend and maintain their own: 'On the other Side, your Lordships do highly intrench on the Rights 'and Priviledges of the House of Commons, by denying them to be any '*Court*, or to have any *Authority* or *Power of Judicature*; which if ad-'mitted, will leave them without any Power or Authority to preserve 'themselves. As for what the Lords call *transcendent Invasion* of the 'Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and against *Magna Charta*, the '*Petition of Right*, and many other Laws, the House of Commons 'presume your Lordships know, That neither the *Great Charter*, *Pe-'tition of Right*, or any other Laws, do take away the Laws and Customs 'of Parliament, or of either House of Parliament; or else your Lord-'ships have much forgotten the *Great Charter*; and those other Laws 'in the several Judgments you have pass'd upon the King's Subjects in Cases 'of *Priviledges*: But the Commons cannot find by *Magna Charta*, or 'any other Laws, or ancient Customs of Parliament, That your Lord-'ships have any Jurisdiction in Cases of *Appeals* from the *Courts of Equi-'ty*. We are further commanded to acquaint you, That the Inlargement 'of those Persons in Prison by Order of the House of Commons by the 'Gentleman Usher of the Black-Rod, and the Prohibition which threat-'ens all Officers, and other Persons whatsoever, not to receive or detain 'them, is an apparent Breach of the Rights and Priviledges of the 'House of Commons; and they have therefore caused them to be reta-'ken into the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and have committed 'them to the *Tower*.

The King interposes.

6. These Disputes running very high, and more like to encrease, than meet with any Accommodation, the King thought fit to summon both Houses of Parliament to *White-Hall*, where, *June* 5, he made the following Speech to them: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, You may remember 'That at the Meeting of the Session, I told you *No Endeavours wou'd 'be wanting to make the Continuance of this Parliament Unpracticable:* 'I am sorry that Expression hath so quickly shew'd you the Truth of 'what I then said; but I hope you are all convinc'd, That the Intent of 'all these Contrivances is only to procure a Dissolution. I confess, I look 'on it as a most malicious Design of those that are Enemies to Me, and 'the Church of *England*; and were the Contrivers known, I wou'd not 'doubt but the Dislike of their Practices wou'd alone be a Means of 'bringing the Houses to a good Understanding: But since I cannot pre-'scribe any Way how to arrive to the Discovery of it, I must tell you 'plainly my Opinion, That the Means of coming to any Composure be-'tween your Selves, cannot be without admitting of such *Free Confe-'rences*, as may convince one another by the Reasons then offer'd, or 'enable Me to judge rightly of the Differences, when all hath been said 'on both Sides, as the Matter will afford. For I am not to suffer the 'Differences to grow to Disorders in the whole Kingdom, if I can pre-'vent it; and I am sure my Judgment shall be Impartial between my two 'Houses of Parliament; but I must let you know, *That whilst you are 'in Debate about Your Priviledges, I will not suffer my Own to be in-'vaded.* I have no more to say to you at this Time, but to desire, as 'I did when we met first, That you wou'd yet consider, and not suffer 'ill Mens Designs to hinder this Session from a happy Conclusion.

The Commons immediately Resolv'd, *nemine contradicente*, 'That 'the humble and hearty Thanks of this House be return'd to his Maje-'sty for his gracious Speech this Day made to both Houses of Parlia-'ment, and the Expressions therein contain'd.' But Resolv'd also, 'That it 'doth not appear to this House, That any Member thereof hath either con-

'triv'd

'triv'd or promoted the Differences between the two Houſes of Parliament, in Aſſerting the Rights of the Commons of *England*, and the 'Priviledges of this Houſe, or to have done any Thing inconſiſtent with 'his Duty, or the Truſt in him repoſed.' The Lords on the other Side ſent the Uſher of the Black-Rod to the *Tower* to demand the four Lawyers committed by the Commons; but being refuſed by Sir *John Robinſon* the Lieutenant, they addreſs'd the King for Removing him from his Place, to which his Majeſty return'd an uncertain Anſwer. This failing, the Lieutenant was ſerv'd with four Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, to bring the ſaid four *Lawyers before the King and his Parliament at* Weſtminſter *the next Morning*. This was a puzling Caſe to the Lieutenant, who immediately advis'd with the Houſe of Commons, who did not only promiſe him Protection, but came to theſe following Reſolves. '1. That 'no Commoner of *England*, committed by the Order or Warrant of 'this Houſe for Breach of the Priviledges, or Contempt of the Autho-'rity of the ſaid Houſe, ought without the Order of this Houſe to be 'by any Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, or any other Authority whatſoever, 'made to appear and anſwer, or to do, or receive any Determination 'in the Houſe of Peers, during the Seſſion of Parliament wherein ſuch 'Perſons were committed. 2. That the Order of the Houſe of Peers 'for iſſuing out the Writs of *Habeas Corpus* is inſufficient and illegal, 'for that it is general, and expreſſeth no particular Cauſe of Priviledge, 'and commands the King's Great Seal to be put to Writs not returnable 'before the ſaid Houſe of Peers. 3. That the Lord-Keeper be acquaint-'ed with theſe Reſolutions, to the end that the Writs of *Habeas Corpus* 'be ſuſpended, as contrary to Law, and the Priviledges of this Houſe. '4. That a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, to acquaint their Lordſhips, 'That theſe Gentlemen were committed by the Order and Warrant of 'this Houſe, for manifeſt Breach and Contempt of the Authority of this 'Houſe. 5. That a Meſſage be ſent to the Houſe of Lords to deſire a 'Conference upon the Subject Matter of the laſt Conference.

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The Diſputes increaſe.

But they immediately receiv'd a more material Meſſage themſelves from the King, who reſolving not any longer to be perplex'd with endleſs Difficulties, ſent for them to the Houſe of Peers, where from the Throne he made this following Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and* '*Gentlemen*, I think I have given ſufficient Evidence to the World that 'I have not been wanting on my part, in my Endeavours to procure the 'full Satisfaction of all my Subjects, in the Matters both of *Religion* and '*Property*. I have not only invited you to thoſe Conſiderations at our 'firſt Meeting, but I have been careful through the whole Seſſion, that 'no Concern of my own ſhou'd divert you from them. Beſides, as I 'had only deſign'd the Matter of it to be the Procuring of good Laws, 'ſo, for the Gaining of them, I have already waited much longer than 'I intended, and ſhou'd have been contented ſtill to have continu'd my 'Expectations, had there any Hopes remain'd of a good Concluſion: 'But I muſt confeſs the ill Deſigns of our Enemies have been too prevalent 'againſt thoſe good ones I had propos'd to my ſelf, in behalf of my Peo-'ple; and thoſe unhappy Differences between my two Houſes are grown 'to ſuch a Height, that I find no poſſible Means of putting an End to 'them, but by a *Prorogation*. It is with great Unwillingneſs that I make 'uſe of this Expedient, having always intended an *Adjournment*, for the 'Preſerving of ſuch good Bills as were unfiniſh'd; but my Hopes are, 'that by this Means, the preſent Occaſion of Differences being taken 'away, you will be ſo careful hereafter of the Publick, as not to ſeek 'new Ones, nor to revive the Old. I intend to meet you again in Win-'ter,

The King prorogues the Houſe with a Speech.

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The End of the Fourteenth Session of the Second Parliament.

'ter, and have directed my Lord Keeper to Prorogue you till the thir-
'teenth Day of *October* next.

Thus on the 9th Day of *June* ended the Fourteenth Session of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd very near the Space of two Months. Only five Bills were pass'd, and all of them private, therefore not mention'd. Others were in a considerable Forwardness, and three Hundred Thousand Pounds was design'd to be given the King for the Building of Ships; but at the same Time the Commons had determin'd to appropriate the ancient *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, amounting to four hundred Thousand Pounds a Year, to the Use of the Navy, as it was first design'd; but this was no ways acceptable to the Court, and was thought to be one Occasion of the Loss of the Other. Indeed they seem'd to have had very little Inclination to give Money, and particularly upon the Account of the present Lord Treasurer, at whose Greatness they were not a little uneasy; and tho' they had in effect acquitted him of the Articles against him, yet the most considerable of them, fomented by the Lord *Arlington* himself, had agreed, not to consent to give the King any Money while the present Lord Treasurer continu'd in his Place.

III. 1. Before, and during this Interval of Parliament, the General Peace, in which his *Britannick* Majesty was so nearly concern'd, proceeded by slow Steps beyond Sea. After the *English* Mediation had been fully accepted, the first Point consider'd on was the Place of Treaty, which occasion'd no small Dispute; the several Parties reciprocally proposing or rejecting several Places: But at last, Sir *William Temple*, who was very active in it, having nam'd *Cleve* and *Nimeguen*, the Latter was agreed on first by *France*, and afterwards by the Allies. But it soon appear'd that Nothing of Moment cou'd be brought to bear till the finishing of the next Campaign; which prov'd but of little Honour or Advantage to the *French* in *Flanders*, but much worse to them upon the *Rhine*. Here they receiv'd a Blow much more considerable to them than the Loss of a Province, which was the Death of the famous Mareschal *de Turenne*, who was taken off by a Cannon Ball in a Skirmish. The Astonishment was unspeakable in the *French* Camp, upon the Loss of such a General; and the Presumption as great in that of the Imperialists, who look'd upon themselves as Masters of the whole *French* Army, that was straitned between them and the *Rhine*, in want, distemper'd, and above all discourag'd by the Fall of their Captain. All others had the same Expectation; but the Mareschal *de Lorge* taking the Command of the Army, had the Honour of making a Retreat that was worth a Victory; and by the Force of Order and Conduct, with the Bravery of the *English* Troops, and Captain *Churchill* among them, he pass'd the *Rhine* in Sight of the Imperialists, and preserv'd the *French* Army. The Imperialists soon after took *Triers*, and with their Allies made such a Progress, and Change in the Face of Affairs, that the King of *England* in a Letter to Sir *William Temple*, bid him use it for an Argument to induce the Prince of *Orange* to be easy in the Business of Peace, *That it was now Time for him to begin to apprehend again the Greatness of the House of* Austria, *instead of that of* France. When Sir *William* afterwards put the Prince in mind of this new Apprehension, his Highness very readily reply'd, *There was no Fear of that, till they shou'd go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrennees; *whenever that shou'd happen, he shou'd be as much a* French *Man, as he was now a* Spaniard.

Temple. Coleman. Rot. Parl. Marvel. Gazettes. Wood. &c.

Affairs abroad.

In the mean Time the King of *England*, seeing the Negotiations of the Peace for a Time laid asleep, sent for Sir *William Temple* to take a short

Turn

Turn into *England*, and give him an Account of all the Obſervations he had made abroad, in the preſent Conjunctures and Diſpoſitions; as well as receive his Majeſty's Inſtructions, for the future Progreſs of his Mediation. Upon his Arrival ſoon after the Prorogation of the Parliament, his Majeſty diſcovering to him the ſeveral Reaſons that had mov'd him to it, ſaid, *That he doubted much while the War laſted abroad, it wou'd give Occaſion or Pretence for thoſe Heats that had of late appear'd in the Parliament, and make him very uneaſy in his Revenue, which ſo much needed their Aſſiſtance: That ſome of the warm Leaders in both Houſes had a mind to engage him in a War with* France, *which they ſhou'd not do for many Reaſons; and, among the reſt, becauſe he was ſure if they did, they wou'd leave him in it, and make uſe of it to ruin his Miniſters, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King wou'd deſire. But beſides all this, he doubted an impertinent Quarrel between the Lord Treaſurer and Lord Chamberlain, did him more Diſſervice in the Parliament than he cou'd imagine: For the laſt did not care what Harm he did his Buſineſs there, ſo he hop'd to ruin the Lord Treaſurer; and had perſuaded a great many in the Houſe of Commons, that this wou'd certainly be compaſs'd, if they were ſtanch, in giving no Mony during his Miniſtry. That Sir* William *knew they were both his Friends, and He deſir'd he wou'd reconcile them while he ſtay'd in* England. Sir *William* endeavour'd it, but fail'd: The Earl of *Danby* was very inclinable, being ſo poſted as to deſire only to continue where he was; but the Lord *Arlington* was ſo uneaſy at his preſent Condition, which he chiefly attributed to the Treaſurer's Greatneſs, that he was unmanageable upon that Subject. So that when Sir *William* found the Wound too much rankled to be cured, he deſiſted; telling each of them, *That ſince he cou'd not make them Friends, he wou'd however live with them both, as if they were ſo; and deſir'd them not to expect he ſhou'd ſacrifice one Friend to another.* The Treaſurer was contented with this Frankneſs; but the Earl of *Arlington* cou'd not bear this neither, but grew dry and ſtiff in all that paſs'd between them two; often mingling little Reproaches of Sir *William*'s Greatneſs with the Treaſurer; and grew ſo weary of the Scene at Court, where he found himſelf left out, that he retired into the Country for the reſt of the Summer.

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The King's Diſcourſe with Sir William Temple.

Thus the Seeds of Diſcontent, that had been ſown in the Parliament under the Counſels of the *Cabal*, began to ſpring faſt, and root deep, after their Power was wholly at an End; and theſe Heats were, under other Covers, fomented by two of the Chief that compos'd that Miniſtry, *Shaftsbury* and *Buckingham*, and with the Help of Time and Accidents, grew to thoſe Flames that afterwards appear'd. But whatever began or increas'd them, it is certain theſe Agitations in *England* had remarkable Effects on thoſe on the War and Peace abroad. For the Confederates were confident, *That the Humour of the Parliament and People wou'd at length engage the King in their Quarrel*; which they knew wou'd force *France* to ſuch a Peace as they deſired. Among the reſt, *Spain* was ſo preſuming, That *England* wou'd not ſuffer the Loſs of *Flanders*, that they grew careleſs of its Defence, or of thoſe Orders and Supplies that were neceſſary to it; at preſent relying upon the *Dutch* to preſerve it, and on the King of *England* hereafter, whenever he ſhou'd find it more in Danger. And theſe Conſiderations made the Allies leſs inclinable to a Peace, which they might have had upon better Conditions the following Winter, than ever after fell to their Share, by Revolutions not then foreſeen, but yet ſuch as were juſtly ſuſpected by thoſe who knew the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, the Diviſions of the Imperial, and the uncertain Meaſures of the *Engliſh* Court.

Diviſions at home.

At

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At home, the chiefeſt Preparations, as well as the greateſt Expectations, were about the next meeting of Parliament, the Diſſolution of which was deſired by moſt of the Diſſenting Party, but not now ſo much by the *Roman* Catholicks, who look'd upon the Caſe as to them to be very much alter'd, as we find by ſome of Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters, which were written in this Interval of Parliament, and are of too great Moment to be wholly omitted. In one dated *Auguſt* 30, to the Pope's *Inter-Nuncio*, he has theſe Words; 'The Duke hath almoſt ſurmounted all the Difficulties 'which have oppos'd his Eſtabliſhment: The Face of his Affairs are well 'chang'd; for we now paſſionately wiſh to ſee the coming on of the Par-'liament, which we ſo much fear'd before: And while it was held doubt-'ful whether it ought to meet or no, we employ'd all our Power to bring 'it on; which Point we have gain'd but within theſe few Days. And 'for my Part, I no ways doubt but that we ſhall receive as much good 'by it, as we apprehended ill, provided that the Duke fail not in the 'Execution of the good Reſolutions which he hath taken.' In a long Letter wrote about a Month after to the *French* King's Confeſſor, Father *Le Cheſe*, in which he gave him a ſhort Hiſtory of three Years Tranſactions, he ſays thus: 'I take our Caſe to be much the ſame, as it was the 'laſt Seſſions; if we can advance the Duke's Intereſt one Step forward, 'we ſhall put him out of the Reach of all Chances for ever, and all wou'd 'come over to him as the only *ſteady Center of our Government*. In or-'der to this, we have two great Deſigns to attempt the next Seſſions: '1. That which we were about before, *viz. To put the Parliament up-'on making it their humble Requeſt to the King, That the Fleet may be 'put to his Royal Highneſs's Care. 2. To get an Act for a General Li-'berty of Conſcience.* If we carry theſe two, or either of them, we ſhall 'in effect do what we liſt afterwards.——Therefore if his moſt *Chriſtian 'Majeſty* wou'd ſtand by us a little in this Conjuncture, and help us to 'ſuch a Sum as twenty Thouſand Pounds Sterling (which is no great 'Matter to venture upon ſuch an Undertaking as this) I wou'd be con-'tent to be ſacrific'd to the utmoſt Malice of my Enemies, if I did not 'ſucceed. I have propos'd this ſeveral Times to Monſieur *Rouvigny*, 'who ſeems always of my Opinion, but I know not [being a *Proteſtant*] 'whether he will be as zealous in this Point as a *Catholick* wou'd be; be-'cauſe our prevailing in theſe Things *will give the greateſt Blow to the 'Proteſtant Religion here, that ever it receiv'd ſince its Birth*, which 'perhaps he wou'd not be very glad to ſee; eſpecially when he believes 'there is another Way of doing his Maſter's Buſineſs without it, which 'is by a Diſſolution of the Parliament.——But I think our Caſe extream-'ly alter'd from what it was a Year ago in relation to a Diſſolution; for 'then the Body of our governing Miniſters, all but the Earl of *Arling-'ton*, were entirely united to the Duke, and wou'd have govern'd his 'Way, if they had been free from all Fear and Controul, as they wou'd 'have been, if the Parliament had been diſſolv'd: But having ſince then 'been engag'd in quite different Counſels, and embark'd themſelves and 'Intereſts upon other Bottoms, having declar'd themſelves againſt Pope-'ry, &c. to diſſolve the Parliament ſimply, and without any other Step 'made, will leave them to govern what Way they liſt, &c.' Soon after, and a little before the Meeting of the Parliament, he ſent another Letter to the ſame Confeſſor, which, when diſcover'd, made a mighty Impreſſion upon the Nation, and the more becauſe he told him of writing after a Way inviſible to other People, by the Juice of a Lemon, &c. In which Letter, he has theſe ſtartling Words: 'We have here a mighty Work 'upon our Hands, no leſs than the Converſion of three Kingdoms, and 'by that perhaps the ſubduing of a Peſtilent Hereſy, which has domi-'neered

Coleman's *remarkable Letters.*

'neered over a great Part of this Northern World a long Time; there 'were never ſuch Hopes of Succeſs ſince the Death of Queen *Mary*, as 'now in our Days: When God has given us a Prince who is become '(may I ſay, a Miracle) zealous of being the Author and Inſtrument of 'ſo glorious a Work; but the Oppoſition we are ſure to meet with, is 'alſo like to be great; ſo that it imports us to get all the Aid and 'Aſſiſtance we can, *For the Harveſt is great, and the Labourers but 'few.* 1675. Car. 27 Reſ. 16

The FIFTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

2. Before the Meeting of the Parliament, thoſe Debates in the Houſe of Lords concerning the new intended Act and Oath were made publick; which ſo affronted and offended the Court, that an Order was given for the burning of them. This was no popular, but was thought a neceſſary Act, to prepare the Way for the next Seſſion, which according to Prorogation met on the 13th Day of *October*, after a Receſs or Interval of a little above four Months. This was the Fifteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, concerning which Mens Curioſities and Expectations were rais'd as high as any that preceded it. The King being ſeated on the Throne, and adorn'd with his Robes and Crown, made the following Speech to both Houſes: *The King's Speech to both Houſes.* 'My *Lords and Gentlemen*, I meet 'you now with more than uſual Concern for the Event of this Seſſion; 'and I know it is but what may reaſonably be expected from that Care 'I owe to the Preſervation of the Government. The Cauſes of the laſt 'Prorogation, as I for my part do not deſire to remember, ſo I hope no 'Man elſe will, unleſs it be to learn from thence, how to avoid the like 'Occaſions for the future; And I pray conſider how fatal the Conſe-'quence may be, and how little Benefit is like to redound to the People 'by it. However, if any Thing of that Kind ſhall ariſe, I deſire you 'wou'd deferr thoſe Debates, till you have brought ſuch Publick Bills to 'Perfection as may conduce to the Good and Safety of the Kingdom; 'and particularly I recommend to you, whatever may tend to the Secu-'rity of the *Proteſtant* Religion as it is now eſtabliſh'd in the Church of '*England*.

'I muſt likewiſe deſire your Aſſiſtance in ſome Supplies, as well to take 'off the Anticipations which are upon my Revenue, as for Building of 'Ships; and tho' the War has been the great Cauſe of theſe Anticipati-'ons, yet I find by a late Account I have taken of my Expences, that I 'have not been altogether ſo good a Husband, as I might have been, and 'as I reſolve to be for the Future: Although at the ſame Time I have 'had the Satisfaction to find, That I have been far from ſuch an Extra-'vagancy in my own Expence, as ſome wou'd have the World believe. 'I am not ignorant, that there are many who wou'd prevent the Kind-'neſs of my Parliament to me at this Time; but I as well know that 'your Affections have never fail'd me: And you may remember, *it is 'now above Three Years ſince I have ask'd you any Thing for my own Uſe.* 'The Reſt I refer to my Lord Keeper.

Accordingly the Lord Keeper made a Speech, which for the Importance of it is given without Abridgment or Mutilation: *The Lord Keeper Finch's Speech.* '*My Lords, and 'you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, The 'Cauſes of this preſent Aſſembly, and the Reaſons which have mov'd his 'Majeſty to command your Attendance upon him at this Time, are of 'the higheſt Importance. The King reſolves to enter into Terms of 'ſtricteſt Correſpondence and Endearment with his Parliament; To take 'your Counſel in his moſt weighty Affairs; To impart all his Cares to 'you; To acquaint you with all his Wants and Neceſſities; To offer you 'all that can be yet wanting to make you enjoy your Selves; To eſtabliſh

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'a right Underſtanding between Himſelf and his *Three Eſtates*, and between the *Eſtates* Themſelves; To redreſs all your juſt Complaints, and 'to put all his Subjects at Eaſe, as far as in him lies, and can conſiſt with 'the Honour and Safety of the Government. And having made all theſe 'Advances, he doubts not but you will behave your ſelves like thoſe that 'deſerve to be call'd *the King's Friends*, and that you will put him at 'Eaſe too. There is no Cauſe why any Fears of *Religion* or *Liberty* 'ſhou'd divert you: For his Majeſty hath ſo often recommended to you 'the Conſiderations of Religion, ſo very often deſired you to aſſiſt him 'in his Care and Protection of it, That *the Defender of the Faith* is become the Advocate of it too, and hath left all thoſe without Excuſe 'who ſtill remain under any kind of Doubts or Fears. Again, the Care 'of your Civil Rights and Liberties hath been ſo much his Majeſty's, 'that the more you reflect upon theſe Concerns, the more you will find 'your ſelves oblig'd to acknowledge his Majeſty's Tenderneſs of you, and 'Indulgence to you. Search your own Annals, the Annals of thoſe Times 'you account moſt Happy, you will ſcarce find one Year without an 'Example of ſomething more Severe, and more Extraordinary, than a 'whole Reign hath yet produc'd. Peruſe the Hiſtories of Foreign Nations, and you ſhall find, Statues and Altars too have been erected to 'the Memories of thoſe Princes, whoſe beſt Virtues never arriv'd to Half 'that *Moderation*, which we live to ſee and enjoy. No King did ever 'meet a Parliament with juſter Cauſe of Confidence in their Affections! 'And therefore his Majeſty will not ſuffer himſelf to doubt, but relies 'firmly upon it, that you never will forſake him, when he is under any kind 'of Difficulties. He doth aſſure himſelf that you will now think fit to 'provide for his Honour and your own Safety, by helping him to pay 'ſome Part of his Debts, and to make his Navy as Great and as Conſiderable, as it ought to be. For the Greatneſs of the King is the Greatneſs and Safety of his People. The Springs and Rivers which pay Tribute to the Ocean, do not leſſen but preſerve themſelves by that Contribution. It is impoſſible that thoſe Affections that Piety and Allegiance firſt planted, which Perſecution cou'd not abate, which the gracious Influences of his Majeſty's happy Government have hitherto encreas'd, ſhou'd now appear to Wither and Decay: But then the beſt Indication of the Heart is by the Hand. And becauſe it is of infinite Moment to the King's Affairs that there ſhou'd be a chearful Concurrence to his Supplies, there let Hand and Heart both join in the Oblation, for that will make it a Sacrifice well pleaſing indeed.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The Happineſs of this preſent Age, and 'the Fate and Fortune of the next too, is very much in your Hands, and 'at this Time; All that you would deſire to ſettle and improve; All that 'you wou'd wiſh to ſecure and tranſmit to your Poſterities, may now be 'accompliſh'd. Wou'd you raiſe the due Eſtimation and Reverence of 'the Church of *England* to its juſt Height? Wou'd you provide for the 'Safety and Eſtabliſhment of it? Do there want any Laws to ſecure the 'Peace and Quiet of the State? Wou'd you enrich and adorn this Kingdom, by providing for the Extent and Improvement of Trade, by introducing new and uſeful Manufactures, and by Encouraging thoſe we 'have already? Wou'd you prevent all Frauds and Perjuries, all Delays 'and Abuſes in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice? Wou'd you preſerve a famous City from being depopulated by the Suburbs? Wou'd you reſtrain the Exceſs of thoſe new Buildings which begin to ſwarm with Inhabitants unknown? All your Petitions of this Kind will be grateful to 'the King; and you may with Eaſe effect all theſe and much more which 'your great Wiſdoms will ſuggeſt to you. A little Time will ſerve to make

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'many excellent Laws, and to give you the Honour to be the Repairers of all our Breaches; ſo as that Time be wholly employ'd upon the Publick, and not taken up by ſuch Conſiderations as are leſs Meritorious. If therefore there be any without Doors, that labour to diſunite your Counſels, or to render them ineffectual; If they can hope that the Occaſions for this may ariſe from ſome Differences within your ſelves, or hope by thoſe Differences to diſguiſe their own Diſaffections to your good Proceedings; 'tis in your Power to defeat thoſe Hopes, to pull off this Diſguiſe, and to ſecure a happy Concluſion of this Meeting, by ſtudying to preſerve a good Correſpondence, and by a careful avoiding all ſuch Queſtions as are apt to engender Strife. And if ever there were a Time, when the Gravity of the Counſel, the Wiſdom, and good Temper of a Parliament, were neceſſary to ſupport that Government which only can ſupport theſe Aſſemblies, *certainly this is the Hour.* You ſee with what Zeal the King hath recommended to you a good Agreement between your ſelves; and that he doth it with all the Care and Compaſſion, all the Earneſtneſs and Importunity, fit for ſo great a Prince to expreſs, who wou'd be very ſorry that any ſuch Misfortune as your Diſagreement, ſhou'd either deprive him of your Advice and Aſſiſtance, or his People of thoſe good Laws which he is ready to grant you. There is no other Way our Enemies can think of, by which 'tis poſſible for this Seſſions to miſcarry; for Fears and Jealouſies cannot enter here, Calumnies and Slanders will find no Place amongſt wiſe and good Men. They that uſe theſe Arts abroad, will quickly be diſcredited, when the World ſhall ſee the generous Effects of your Confidence. Men will deſpair of attempting any Diſturbance in the State, when they ſee every Step that tends that Way, ſerves only to give you freſh Occaſions to teſtify your Loyalty and your Zeal. You have all the Reaſon in the World to make Men ſee this; For you have the ſame Monarchy to aſſert, the ſame Church to defend, the ſame Intereſts of Nobility and Gentry to maintain, the ſame excellent King to contend for, and the ſame Enemies to contend againſt.

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'And now, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, Since the whole Seſſion of Parliament is in the Judgment and Conſtruction of our Law but as One Day, let us all endeavour that the Morning of it, the firſt Entrance upon it, may be with ſuch fair and auſpicious Circumſtances as may give the whole Kingdom an Aſſurance of a bright and chearful Day. Let no ill Humours gather into Clouds to darken or obſcure it; for this Day is a Critical Day, and more depends upon that Judgment of our Affairs which will be made by it, than can eaſily be imagin'd. It imports us therefore to take care that no Part of this Time be loſt; let every precious Minute of this Day be ſpent in receiving ſuch Acts of Grace and Goodneſs as are ready to flow from the King, and in making ſuch Retributions for them as may become the grateful Hearts of the beſt of Subjects to the beſt of Kings. So ſhall this Day become a Day of Diſappointment and Diſcomfort to our Enemies, but to us and all good Men a Glorious Day, a Day of Triumph and Deliverance, a Memorable and Joyful Day to this preſent, and to all future Generations.'

The Proceedings of the Commons.

Notwithſtanding all this Rhetorick, and all theſe Promiſes, the Houſe of Commons began with reaſſuming ſuch publick Bills as they had ſet on foot in the laſt Seſſion, and others that prov'd to the more immediate Liberty of the Subject; as the Bill for *Habeas Corpus*; that *againſt ſending Men Priſoners beyond Sea*; another againſt *raiſing Money without Conſent of Parliament*; a fourth againſt *Papiſts ſitting in either Houſe*; another *for ſpeedier Convicting of Papiſts*; another for *Recalling the King's*

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Subjects out of the French *Service*, &c. But in these, they suffer'd themselves to be diverted, or rather interrupted by a private Quarrel that happen'd between the Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Thomas Meers*, and Colonel *Thomas Howard* in St. *James's Park*; in which they thought themselves so far concern'd in Honour, that they first sent the Lord *Cavendish*, one of their Members, and afterwards Colonel *Howard*, to the *Tower*. And after that order'd a Bill to be brought in to *prevent Challenges, Duels and Quarrels, and the Mischiefs that may thereby ensue.*

The Accounts of the Nation Stated.

3. After a Week's Sitting, the Commons began to think of the King's Desire of a Supply, and took into Consideration all the Charges and Expences of the late War. The Account in short stands thus in the Journals of the House of Commons: *The Charges of the two Years War amounted to two Millions and forty Thousand Pounds; and what was given by the Parliament, what arose from the Customs that ought to have been appropriated, and what was gain'd by the Prizes, and the* Dutch *Contributions at last, did all together amount to three Millions and forty thousand Pounds; so there remain'd a full Million misapply'd or wasted by ill Management.* In consequence of which they add, 'That at the 'Beginning of this War, by the illegal stopping of the Exchequer, the 'rest of the Revenue, as well as the Customs before mention'd, were 'discharg'd of all Incumbrances, and became a clear Revenue to the 'Crown, and was more than enough to satisfy all other reasonable Ex'pences of the Crown and Government ever since, and so there is no 'Reason to give a Tax whilst we continue in a Peace. But if it be ob'jected, *That since the said Million of Money is gone, and this over'grown Revenue is all spent, and even now goes on to be further charg'd 'in these two Years of Peace, than it was left charg'd after the said 'two Years of War; and tho' it is own'd Things are much amiss, 'and the Management very ill, wishing it might be amended, yet the 'Parliament must look forwards, the Government must be supported, the 'Counsels must not be made desperate, and therefore the King must be sup'ply'd:* The Answer is, That this Kind of Reasoning and Timerousness 'hath brought on us all the Taxes and Mischiefs we have suffer'd these 'Nine Years past, and yet nothing amended; and they still go on, till 'they are made desperate, which the Parliament ought to prevent. There 'is no Fear of Breaking the Bankers the Second Time, and paying Debts 'by that dishonourable Way; it is easy to demonstrate how the last con'tracted Debt may be in a few Years discharg'd by the Revenue, and 'his Majesty's necessary Expences sufficiently supply'd by honest and care'ful Management. No Parliament is oblig'd to pay the King's Debts by 'a Tax: By the like Reasoning we ought to pay such another about a 'Year and a half hence, and so encourage the Court to exact two Milli'ons and a Half Yearly, as hitherto they have done, to the great Dis'quiet and Impoverishment of the Nation; and if (unlook'd for) they 'shou'd prove good Husbands or Frugal, then to the imminent Hazard 'and Loss of Parliaments, and the ancient Liberties of the Subject, as 'now in *France*. Since the War is ended, the whole Charge of the Go'vernment both by Sea and Land amounts not to above Seven Hundred 'Thousand Pounds *per Annum*; and the clear Income of the Revenue 'at present comes at least to Sixteen hundred Thousand Pounds *per An'num*; *Quære, What is become of near a Million per Annum?* And yet 'the King hath these two Years last, *proh Dolor!* anticipated his Reve'nue near a Million more, as his Creatures, and worthy Trustees for their 'Country, have confess'd in Parliament, as a powerful Argument to en'force the Commons to pay such Debts, and by a farther Law entail per-

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'petual Anticipations upon the Kingdom, to its utter Ruin and Deſo-
'lation.

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Upon Conſideration of all this, they finally Reſolv'd, 'That they wou'd
'not grant any Supply to his Majeſty for the taking off the Anticipations
'that were upon his Revenue.' But ſoon after they voted a Supply of
Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds for the Building of Twenty Ships of
War, *viz.* One Firſt Rate, of fourteen Hundred Tun; Eight Second
Rates, of eleven Hundred Tun; and Eleven Third Rates, of ſeven Hun-
dred Tun. But again reſolv'd to appropriate the ancient *Tunnage* and
Poundage to the Uſe of the Navy; which prov'd very unacceptable to
the Court. Another Thing under Conſideration was the Trade with
France, concerning which Sir *George Downing* deliver'd the following Pa-
per, intituled, *A Schedule of the Trade as it is at preſent carry'd on be-
tween* England *and* France, *in the Commodities of the Native Product
and Manufacture of each Country, calculated as exactly as poſſible, in
Obedience to the Command of the right honourable the Lords Commiſſio-
ners for the Treaty of Commerce with* England, *humbly tender'd to your
Lordſhips.* 'The Particulars of the Commodities exported from *Eng-
'land* to *France*, and the Commodities imported from *France* into *Eng-
'land*, are for Brevity ſake omitted; and by the Accounts given to the
'Lords Commiſſioners, it is perceiv'd, That the Linnen and Silk Manu-
'factures only imported from *France* amount to upwards of eight hun-
'dred Thouſand Pounds; and that the Manufacture of Wool and Silk
'exported into *France* doth not amount to eighty five Thouſand Pounds;
'as alſo that all other Commodities of the Product and Manufacture of
'*England* exported into *France*, doth not amount to ninety Thouſand
'Pounds more: Whereas the Wine, Brandy, and other Commodities of
'the Product and Manufacture of *France*, imported into *England*, a-
'mount to upwards of three hundred Thouſand Pounds, beſides an in-
'credible Value of Toys, rich Apparel, Point Lace, *&c.* and ſo it is ap-
'parent that the Exports of our natural Commodities and Manufactures
'to *France*, are leſs in Value by at leaſt a Million Sterling than the Na-
'tive Commodities and Manufactures of *France*, which we receive from
'thence; And if your Lordſhips pleaſe to reflect thereupon, they will
'diſcover the Prejudices the *Engliſh* Nation ſuſtains, and the great Advan-
'tages the *French* have, and do eaſily make by holding the Treaty in
'Suſpence; this Notice upon the Matter excluding Trade thither, whilſt
'in the mean Time the *French* enjoy all and as great Advantages, as
'they can reaſonably expect by any Treaty.' Upon this Subject they
order'd a Bill to be brought in, which was receiv'd with Approba-
tion.

A Supply voted.

An Account of the Trade with France.

The Houſe of Commons, eſpecially of late Years, had acted very un-
like Penſioners, tho' they were often ſo term'd by Way of Reproach.
Therefore being one Day inform'd of Reports ſpread abroad of Money
diſpers'd, and Rewards given among Members of the Houſe for giving
their Votes and promoting Bills, they enter'd upon a Debate, and con-
triv'd a Teſt for purging the Members, and vindicating the Honour of
the Houſe. This Teſt never being publiſh'd, will be worth the Remem-
bring, and runs thus: 'I *A. B.* do proteſt before God, and this Houſe
'of Parliament, That directly nor indirectly, neither I, nor any for my
'Uſe to my Knowledge, have ſince the firſt Day of *January* 1672, had,
'or receiv'd any Sum or Sums of Money by Ways of Impreſt, Gift, Loan,
'or otherwiſe from the King's Majeſty, or any other Perſon by his Ma-
'jeſty's Order, Direction or Knowledge, or by Authority deriv'd from
'his ſaid Majeſty, or any Pardon, Diſcharge, or Reſpite of any Mony
'due to his ſaid Majeſty upon Account, or any Grant, Penſion, Gratui-

*A new Teſt a-
gainſt Bribery.*

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'ty, or Reward, or any Promiſe of any ſuch Office, Place or Command, 'of or from his Majeſty, or out of any Money, Treaſure or Eſtate, of 'or belonging to his Majeſty, or of, from, or by any Foreign Ambaſſa-'dor, or Miniſter, or of, or from any other Perſon in the Name, or by 'the Appointment, or with the Knowledge of his Majeſty, or any of 'them; otherwiſe than what I have now in Writing faithfully diſcover'd, 'and deliver'd to this Houſe, which I have ſubſcrib'd with my Name: Nei-'ther do I know of any ſuch Gift, Grant, or Promiſe ſo given or made 'ſince the ſaid Time to any other Member of this Houſe, but what I 'have alſo inſerted in the ſaid Writing; nor have I given my Vote in 'Parliament for any Reward, or Promiſe whatſoever. So help me God, *&c.*

4. As this, and ſome other uſeful Matters were carrying on, the Houſe was diſturb'd, and thrown into a Ferment by two Things that happen'd ſoon after. The firſt was the Inſolence of ſome Papiſts and Jeſuits, particularly one named Monſieur St. *Germain*, a celebrated Jeſuit, who, underſtanding that one Monſieur *Luzancy*, had been lately converted from the *Romiſh* to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and had publickly preach'd upon that Occaſion, ventur'd even in this Seſſion of Parliament, with ſome others, to ſet upon *Luzancy* in his Lodgings, and by Threats and Terrors of aſſaſſinating him, and of carrying him away by Force beyond Sea, compell'd him to tranſcribe and ſign a pretended Recantation, of what he had ſo preach'd and publiſh'd, to the great Violation of his Honour and Conſcience. The whole Matter at large was laid before the Secretaries of State, and likewiſe before the Houſe of Commons, with theſe Additions of Monſieur *Luzancy*, which ought not to be forgot, *viz.*

The Inſolence of ſome Romiſh *Prieſts.*

'The ſaid Monſieur St. *Germain*, ſeveral Times conferring with Me, 'has atteſted to me what follows: 1. That the King was a *Roman* Ca-'tholick in his Heart. 2. That the Court were endeavouring to get a '*Liberty of Conſcience* in *England* for the *Roman*-Catholicks, and that 'granted, in two Years moſt of the *Engliſh* wou'd acknowledge the '*Pope*. 3. That he knew the King's Intentions concerning Religion, and 'that he was ſure his Majeſty wou'd approve of all he ſhou'd do in that 'Matter. 4. That he laugh'd at the Parliament, as being only a Wave 'that had but a little Time; and ſaid that no Body was better welcome 'at Court, and had greater Intriegues with any of the Nobility than He. '5. That it was good ſometimes to force People to Heaven; and that 'there were an infinite Number of Prieſts and Jeſuits in *London*, that did 'God very great Service. All theſe Things will be ſworn by Mr. *Lu-'zancy* to have been affirm'd by the Jeſuit St. *Germain*, who is the buſi-'eſt Man amongſt them all againſt *Proteſtants*; and many Perſons of good 'Credit and Repute are alſo ready to juſtify upon Oath, that ſeveral of 'the *Roman*-Catholicks have ſpoken Things quite as bad, or worſe: In 'a Word, they are grown ſo bold and inſolent, eſpecially the *French* and '*Iriſh*, that a Proſelyte cannot walk the Streets, without being threat-'ned at every Step, and call'd a Thouſand opprobrious Names.

This, as it caus'd a Heat in the Houſe, ſo it brought forth a Proclamation from the King, not only promiſing Protection and Incouragement to Monſieur *Luzancy*, but alſo a Reward of two Hundred Pounds for the taking the ſaid Monſieur St. *Germain*. But that active Jeſuit ſoon made his Eſcape, and took a proper Refuge in *France*, from whence he held a conſtant Correſpondence with the zealous Mr. *Coleman* ſo often mention'd. In one of his Letters to him, dated *December* 11th in this Year, He tells him 'A Friend had given the *French* King's Confeſſor to 'underſtand, That his Majeſty of *France* ought not to do any Thing 'with the King of *England*, but by the Duke of *York*; and he hath pro-

St. Germain's Letter.

'mis'd

'mis'd and engag'd upon his Life to the King's Confeſſor to make all ſuc- 1675.
'ceed, in Caſe that Way be made Uſe of.' In another Letter directed to Car. 27
Mr. *Coleman* about a Month after, it is ſaid, 'Monſieur St. *Germain* has Ref. 16
'obſerv'd to the Confeſſor of the King of *France*, how great the Pow-
'er of the Duke of *York* is, by the Diſgrace of the two Perſons con-
'cerning which Mr. *Coleman* had writ to Monſieur St. *Germain*; and that
'the vigorous Counſels which were all abſolutely neceſſary, whereby to
'ſucceed in the Traffick of the *Catholicks*, came from the Duke of *York*,
'by the Inſpiration of Mr. *Coleman*, who alſo alone was moſt truly link'd
'to the Welfare of the Commerce of the King of *England*, the Duke
'of *York*, and the *Catholicks*.

The Indignation rais'd in the Houſe by the Inſolence and Activity of the *Popiſh* Party, gave them Occaſion to conſider, as they had done of late Years, of more moderate Proceedings againſt the *Proteſtant* Diſſenters. Upon which Subject the Duke of *Buckingham* exerted himſelf in the Houſe of Lords, in a particular Speech, which being inſerted in the Commons Journals, is proper to be remember'd, and the more becauſe it was ſo publickly diſpers'd: 'My *Lords*, There is a Thing call'd
'*Liberty*, which (whatſoever ſome Men may think) is that the People
'of *England* are fondeſt of; it is that they will never part with, and is
'that his Majeſty in his Speech has promis'd us to take a particular Care
'of. This, *my Lords*, in my Opinion, can never be done without giving
'an *Indulgence* to all *Proteſtant* Diſſenters. It is certainly a very uneaſy
'Kind of Life to any Man, that has either Chriſtian Charity, Humanity,
'or good Nature, to ſee his Fellow-Subjects daily abus'd, diveſted of their
'Liberty and Birth-Rights, and miſerably thrown out of their Poſſeſſions
'and Free-Holds, only becauſe they cannot agree with others in ſome
'Opinions and Niceties of Religion, which their Conſciences will not
'give them leave to conſent to; and which, even by the Confeſſion of
'thoſe, who wou'd impoſe them upon them, are no ways neceſſary to
'Salvation. But, *My Lords*, beſides this, and all that may be ſaid upon
'it, in Order to the Improvement of our Trade, and Increaſe of the
'Wealth, Strength and Greatneſs of this Nation (which, with your
'Leave, I ſhall preſume to diſcourſe of ſome other Time) there is, me-
'thinks, in this Notion of Perſecution a very groſs Miſtake, both as to
'the Point of *Government*, and the Point of *Religion*. There is ſo as
'to the Point of Government, becauſe it makes every Man's Safety de-
'pend on the wrong Place; not upon the Governors, or Man's living
'well towards the Civil Government eſtabliſh'd by Law, but upon his
'being tranſported with Zeal for every Opinion that is held by Thoſe
'that have Power in the Church that is in Faſhion; and I conceive it's a
'Miſtake in Religion, becauſe it is poſitively againſt the expreſs Doctrine
'and Example of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Nay, *My Lords*, as to our *Proteſtant*
'Religion, there is ſomething in it yet worſe; for We *Proteſtants* main-
'tain That none of thoſe Opinions which Chriſtians differ about, are *In-*
'*fallible*; and therefore in us it is ſomewhat an inexcuſable Conception,
'That Men ought to be depriv'd of their Inheritance, and all the certain
'Conveniencies and Advantages of Life, becauſe they will not agree
'with us in our Uncertain Opinions of Religion. My humble Motion
'therefore to your *Lordſhips*, is, That you wou'd give leave to bring in
'a Bill of Indulgence to all *Proteſtant* Diſſenters. I know very well
'that every Peer of this Realm hath a Right to bring into Parliament any
'Bill he conceives to be uſeful to his Nation: But I thought it more re-
'ſpectful to your *Lordſhips* to ask your Leave before; and I cannot think
'the doing of it will be any Prejudice to the Bill, becauſe I am confident
'the *Reaſon*, the *Prudence*, and the *Charitableneſs* of it, will be able to
'juſtify

The D of Buckingham's *Speech for a Toleration.*

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'justify it to this House, and the whole World.' Accordingly the House gave his Grace leave to bring in a Bill to that Purpose.

The Revival of the Dispute between the two Houses.

5. But this, and several other Bills depending were totally interrupted and lost by the second Thing to be mention'd, which threw both Houses into a Ferment; and this was the Revival of the unfortunate Contest between them, concerning Dr. *Shirley* and Sir *John Fagg*; the Former having continu'd his Process against the Latter, and the Lords themselves adhered to their first Hearing of his Appeal. Upon which the Commons again voted it a Breach of Privilege, and laid their Commands upon Sir *John Fagg*, their own Member, not to make any Defence at the Lords Bar in the said Appeal; and after that desired a Conference with the Lords, *For avoiding Differences between the two Houses*. This being obtain'd, on the 19th of *November*, the Commons deliver'd a short Paper in these Words: 'His Majesty having recommended to us at the 'Opening of this Session of Parliament, the Avoiding this Difference, if 'possible; and if it cou'd not be prevented, *that then we shou'd deferr* '*the Debate, till we had brought such Publick Bills to Perfection, as* '*may conduce to the Good and Safety of the Kingdom:* The Commons 'esteem it a great Misfortune, that contrary to that most excellent Advice, the Proceedings in the Appeal, brought the last Session against Sir '*John Fagg* by Dr. *Shirley*, have been renew'd, and a Day set for hearing the Cause: And therefore the Commons have judg'd it the best 'Way, before they enter into the Argument of the Defence of their 'Rights in this Matter, to propose to your Lordships the putting off the 'Proceedings in that Matter for some short Time, that so they may, according to his Majesty's Advice, give a Dispatch to some Bills, now 'before them, of great Importance to the King and Kingdom; which 'being finish'd, the Commons will be ready to give your Lordships such 'Reasons against those Proceedings, and in Defence of their Rights, as 'we hope may satisfy your Lordships, that no such Proceedings ought 'to have been.' This was succeeded the same Day by something really violent or unseasonable, *viz. Resolved* and *Declared*, &c. 'That whosoever shall prosecute any Appeal before the Lords against any Commoner of *England*, from any *Court of Equity*, shall be deem'd a Betrayer of the Rights and Privileges of the Commons of *England*, and 'shall be proceeded against accordingly; and *Order'd*, That this Resolution be affix'd to the *Lobby*, *Westminster-Hall* Gate, and all the Inns of 'Court and *Chancery*.

This threw all into a Flame, and the Lords immediately Voted, 'That 'the Paper posted up in several Places against the Judicature of the House 'of Peers, was Illegal, Unparliamentary, and tending to the Dissolution 'of the Government.' Several Speeches were made by the Lords, and among the rest the Earl of *Shaftsbury* began his with these Words, *Our All is at Stake!* and afterwards proceeded thus: 'This Matter is no less 'than your whole *Judicature*, and your Judicature is the Life and Soul 'of the Dignity of the Peerage of *England*; you will quickly grow burthensome if you grow useless: You have now the greatest and most useful End of Parliaments in you, which is not to make new Laws, but to 'redress Grievances, and to maintain the old Land-Marks. The House 'of Commons Business is to complain, your Lordships to redress, not 'only the Complaints from them, that are the Eyes of the Nation, but 'all other particular Persons that address to you. A Land may groan 'under a Multitude of Laws, and I believe ours does; and when Laws 'grow so multiply'd, they prove oftner Snares than Directions and Security to the People' Then speaking of the Commons, he said, 'I am

The Earl of Shaftbury's Speech upon that Occasion.

'willing

'willing to come to Conference whenever the Diſpute ſhall begin again, and dare undertake to your Lordſhips, That they have neither *Precedent*, *Reaſon*, nor any juſtifiable *Pretence* to ſhew againſt us; and therefore, *my Lords*, if you will part with this undoubted Right meerly for asking, where will the asking ſtop? — I have all the Duty imaginable to his Majeſty, and ſhall with all Submiſſion give way to any Thing he ſhou'd think of Importance to his Affairs: But in this Point it is to alter the Conſtitution of the Government; and there no Reaſon of State can be an Argument to your Lordſhips, to turn your ſelves out of that Intereſt you have in the Conſtitution of the Government: 'Tis not only your Concern that you maintain your ſelves in it, but 'tis the Concern of the pooreſt Man in the Kingdom that you keep your Station. 'Tis your Lordſhips Concern, and that ſo highly, that I will be bold to ſay, the King can give none of you a Requital or Recompence for it. What are empty Titles? What is preſent Power, or Riches and a great Eſtate, wherein I have no firm nor fix'd Property? 'Tis the Conſtitution of the Government, and Maintaining it, that ſecures your Lordſhips, and every Man elſe, in what he hath. The pooreſt Lord, if the Birthright of the Peerage be maintain'd, has a fair Proſpect before him for Himſelf or his Poſterity; but the greateſt Title, with the greateſt preſent Power and Riches, is but a mean Creature, and maintains thoſe in Abſolute Monarchies no otherwiſe than by ſervile and low Flatteries, and upon uncertain Terms. *My Lords*, it is not only your Intereſt, but the Intereſt of the Nation, that you maintain your Rights; for let the Houſe of Commons and Gentry of *England* think what they pleaſe, there is no Prince that ever govern'd without *Nobility* or an *Army*: If you have not one, you muſt have the other, or the Monarchy cannot long ſupport, or keep it ſelf from tumbling into a *Democratical Republick*; Your *Lordſhips* and the *People* have the ſame Cauſe, and the ſame Enemies. *My Lords*, wou'd you be in favour with the King? 'Tis a very ill Way to it, to put your ſelves out of a future Capacity to be conſiderable in his Service: I do not find in Story, or in Modern Experience, but that 'tis better, and a Man is much more regarded, that is ſtill in a Capacity and an Opportunity to ſerve, than He that hath wholly depriv'd himſelf of all for his Prince's Service: And I therefore declare, That I will ſerve my *Prince* as a *Peer*, and will not deſtroy my *Peerage* to ſerve him.——

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Matters were carry'd ſo high in the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons were look'd upon ſo dangerous and pernicious at this Time, that the Lord *Mohun* propos'd to make an Addreſs to his Majeſty to diſſolve the preſent Parliament, and call another. This occaſion'd a warm Debate, which laſted till eight a Clock on *Saturday* Night; when the Queſtion being put for the Addreſs, it paſs'd in the Negative by only two Voices, fifty againſt forty eight. The chief Lords for the Addreſs were His Royal Highneſs Himſelf, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Mancheſter*, *Shaftsbury*, *Clarendon*, *Mulgrave*, *Scarſedale* and *Eſſex*, the Lords *Hallifax*, *Wharton*, *Mohun* and *Townſhend*. The chief againſt the Addreſs were the Lords Keeper, Treaſurer, Privy-Seal and Great Chamberlain, Duke *Lauderdale*, the Earls of *Northampton*, *Briſtol*, and *Oſſery*, and all the Biſhops that were preſent. The King himſelf, who had been us'd to cut thoſe Knots he cou'd not unty, reſolv'd to put an End to all Diſputes, and on *Monday* Morning, the 22d of *November*, came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he prorogu'd the Parliament till the 15th Day of *February* come Twelve-Month; which was the longeſt ſingle Prorogation, but not the longeſt Interval of Parliament, that had been known in the whole Reign. He only paſs'd three private

The End of the Fifteenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

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private Bills, of which one was *For Rebuilding the Town of* Northampton, which this Year had ſuffer'd a vaſt Loſs by Fire, to the value of Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds. And thus ended the Fifteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd only five Weeks and two Days.

6. For a Concluſion and Completion of this Year, we are to take Notice of ſome Tranſactions, which may ſeem to be of an inferior Conſideration, but ſuch as ought not to be wholly omitted. When all ſorts of Pleaſures, Diverſions and Gallantry reign'd in the Court, in the Month of *May*, his Highneſs the Prince of *Newburgh* was pleas'd to make a Viſit to the King of *England*; and coming over in one of his Majeſty's Yatches, appointed to tranſport him from *Calais*, he arriv'd at *Greenwich*, and immediately came to Town with a noble Train of fifty Attendants, among whom were ſeveral Perſons of Quality: Shortly after he was introduc'd at Court, and ſaluted both their Majeſties, and his Royal Highneſs, by whom he was receiv'd with very particular Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Eſteem, and with repeated Entertainments upon the *Thames* and other Places, for the ſake of the Duke his Father, who had ſhewn remarkable Civilities to his Majeſty in his Exile. In *June*, his Highneſs repair'd to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was receiv'd after the Manner of the Prince of *Tuſcany*, was created Doctor of Laws, and was extremely ſatisfy'd with the Civilities and Curioſities of the Place. In the ſame Year came over to the *Engliſh* Court the Famous Dutcheſs of *Mazarine*, who had formerly the greateſt Fortune of any Lady in *Europe*, and was judg'd to have as much Merit, at leaſt ſo far as Wit and Beauty cou'd extend, the two captivating Qualities of her Sex. She was once thought a fit Match for the King Himſelf, and ſo deſign'd; but now with the Loſs of her Fortune and her Reputation, and the final Parting from her Husband, ſhe was forc'd to take Refuge in the *Engliſh* Court; where ſhe was for a while ſet up as a Rival to the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and might probably have prov'd ſo, had not her amorous Inclinations towards another been too ſoon diſcover'd to the King; who notwithſtanding allow'd her a Half Penſion, four Thouſand Pounds a Year: And her Houſe for many Years became the Rendezvous of all the Men of Wit and Quality, and the Scene of all the News of the Town, of Gaming, curious and exquiſite Entertainments, and all manner of Diverſions.

The Arrival of the Prince of Newburgh,

And the Dutcheſs of Mazarine.

Promotions this Year.

As to Preferments and Promotions this Year, they were not very numerous or conſiderable; on the 31ſt of *March*, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd, in Conſideration of the good and faithful Services of *Thomas Povey* Eſquire, to cauſe him to be Sworn one of the Maſters of Requeſts, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Beverly* deceas'd. On the 23d of *June*, his Majeſty was pleas'd, in Conſideration of the eminent Loyalty and Sufferings of *Giles Strangeways* Eſquire, to cauſe him to be ſworn of his moſt honourable Privy-Council, and accordingly he took his Place at the Board. On the 15th of *October*, his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle* was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council. On *December* 19, his Majeſty, as a particular Mark of his Grace and Favour to the right Honourable *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Daventry*, was pleas'd to change his Title of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, into that of Lord High Chancellor of *England*. On the 19th of *January*, his Majeſty conſidering the good Services of *Richard Bulſtrode* Eſquire, as his Agent with the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, had been pleas'd to appoint him his Reſident in that Court, and as a farther Mark of his Favour, this Day to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon him. Two Days after his Majeſty was pleas'd to cauſe the right Reverend *Henry*

Henry Compton, Lord Biſhop of *London*, to be ſworn one of the Lords of his Privy-Council, and accordingly his Lordſhip took his Place at the Board. To this worthy Prelate was in a great Meaſure owing the happy Education of the two young Princeſſes, the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne*, who by his Means were brought up in the Principles of the Church of *England*, and were this Year ſolemnly confirm'd by him in the King's Chapel, being thirteen and eleven Years old, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all who had any Fears and Apprehenſions of Popery. 1675. Car. 27 Reſ. 16

The young Princeſſes confirm'd.

Of the eminent Perſons that dy'd this Year, we ſhall begin with two celebrated Divines of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Humphrey Henchman*, and Dr. *John Lightfoot*; the Firſt was educated in *Clare-Hall* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, from whence he juſtly roſe by ſeveral Steps to be Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and then of *London*, and Lord Almoner to the King: He was for his Wiſdom and Prudence highly eſteem'd by his Majeſty, whoſe happy Eſcape after the Battel of *Worceſter*, this pious Prelate did admirably well manage, eſpecially when he came in a Diſguiſe near *Saliſbury*. He was ſucceeded by the foremention'd Dr. *Compton*, the youngeſt Son to the famous Earl of *Northampton*. The other, Dr. *Lightfoot*, was Maſter of *Catharine-Hall* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and a Divine of a peculiar Mold, who wonderfully diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by an inexhauſtible Fund of Rabinical Learning; in which, if his Judgment had been every way equal to his Labours and Diſcoveries, he muſt have been the greateſt Man of the Age. He was ſucceeded in his Maſterſhip by Dr. *John Echard*, a Perſon ſo nearly related to the Author, that he cannot give him his juſt Character without Suſpicion of Partiality. The next Perſon to be mention'd is Mr. *Richard Smith*, a Citizen of *London*, a Perſon who was infinitely curious in, and inquiſitive after Books and Manuſcripts, and ſuffer'd nothing conſiderable to eſcape his Notice, ſo that in Time he liv'd to ſee himſelf Maſter of one of the choiceſt and beſt collected Libraries in the whole Kingdom; which after his Death was ſold and broken in pieces, to the great Reluctancy of publick-ſpirited Men. Two others are to be mention'd, of different Genius's, Faculties, *&c.* The Firſt was Dr. *Thomas Willis*, the moſt renowned Phyſician of his Time, educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was made Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy, and for a conſiderable Time diſplay'd his Skill with wonderful Succeſs. Afterwards, upon the Invitation of Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, he remov'd to *London*, where he became the moſt celebrated in the College of Phyſicians, as well as the Royal Society, and gain'd the Admiration of all Foreigners, as well as thoſe of his own Country, by his Learned Writings, and his extraordinary Cures, the Pains and Labours of which are thought to have ſhorten'd his Life, and carry'd him off in the 54th Year of his Age. The laſt was Mr. *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, a Perſon who in the late Times made a greater Noiſe and Figure than any of the reſt, and has been many Times mention'd in the laſt Volume, therefore the leſs to be ſpoken of here. We ſhall only take notice of him as an Author who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs*, in which he has ſhewn himſelf one of the moſt impartial Writers of his Party, and conſequently the more to be rely'd on: It is look'd upon as a very valuable Work, yet it is convenient to let the Reader know, That in the Month of *January* 16$\frac{52}{53}$, Page 694, Fig. 3. the Author has theſe Words, in his additional Manuſcript: *My Wife alſo burnt many of my Papers relating to the Publick Affairs, which makes the preſent Relations the leſs perfect.* About twenty Years of his Life were moſt publick and active, and the laſt fifteen as obſcure and retired.

The Deaths of Biſhop Henchman,

Dr. Lightfoot,

Mr. R. Smith,

Dr. Willis,

And Mr. Bulſtrode Whitelock.

1676. Car. 28 Ref. 17

IV. 1. The following Year 1676, in which there cou'd be no Meeting of Parliament, was in a great measure taken up with Pleasures and Diversions, and ordinary Occurrences at home, and with slow Progresses of a Mediation and a general Peace abroad. In the Beginning of it, the People of *England* were so impatient for a general secure Peace, and so jealous of the Increase of Popery and the *French* Power, that they took the liberty of reflecting upon the King and his Ministry in so open a Manner, that it was thought fit by Order of Council to put down all common Coffee-Houses by Proclamation, with this Reason given, 'Because 'in such Houses, and by the Occasion of the Meeting of disaffected Per- 'sons in them, divers false, malicious and scandalous Reports were de- 'vis'd and spread abroad, to the Defamation of his Majesty's Govern- 'ment, and to the Disturbance of the Quiet and Peace of the Realm.' Soon after another Proclamation was publish'd for 'discovering and pu- 'nishing Malicious and Disaffected Persons, who did daily devise and pub- 'lish, as well by Writing as Printing, sundry false, infamous and scanda- 'lous Libels; endeavouring thereby not only to Traduce and Reproach 'the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Government of this Kingdom, and the Pub- 'lick Administrations of the same, but also to stir up and dispose the Minds 'of his Majesty's Subjects to Sedition and Rebellion.' But upon Petition of the Merchants and Retailers of Coffee and Tea, a Permission was granted to keep open their Coffee-Houses to the 24th of *June*; upon Condition, that every Keeper of such House shou'd use his utmost Endeavour to prevent and hinder all scandalous Papers, Books or Libels, concerning the Government, or the Publick Ministry, from being brought into his House, or to be read or divulg'd; and to prevent and hinder all Persons from declaring and uttering in his House all manner of false and scandalous Reports of the Government, or any of the Ministers thereof.

Gazettes. *Temple.* *Marvel.* *Burnet.* *Calamy.* *Wood.* &c.

Proclamation against false News, &c.

But his Majesty's greatest Concern at present was abroad, where he had undertaken, by the consent of all Parties, to be the Mediator for the Peace of the Western World. *Nimeguen*, as was formerly mention'd, was the Place appointed for this grand Treaty; and to this Place there gradually and slowly repair'd the Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries from the Emperor, from *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, *Brandenburg*, *Savoy*, *Lorrain*, and several Princes of the Empire. The *English* Mediators and Ambassadors were Sir *William Temple*, and Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, who arriv'd at the Place in *July*; but they only found there two of the Parties concern'd, namely the *French* and the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries: The rest were some Months in coming in; and to the *English* were afterwards added the Lord *Berkley*, and Mr. *Laurence Hyde*, second Son to the late Earl of *Clarendon*. The *French* were the most forward in forming the Congress, and hastned their Ambassadors to be upon the Place; hoping by their Readiness, and the great Backwardness of some of the Allies, to make way for separate Treaties, especially with the *Dutch*. On the contrary the House of *Austria* was sullen, and like many Losers, were slow and resty in all their steps towards this Treaty: The *Germans* hop'd for great Successes in their Arms this Campaign, and the *Spaniards* flatter'd themselves with the Interests his *Britannick* Majesty had in the Preservation of *Flanders*, and with the Part his Parliament had of late taken in their Affairs; and both were in hopes that something wou'd arise from one of these Sides, to countenance a Pretence that cou'd not bear as Things stood at present. The *Swede* was very earnest for a Peace, as having a better Prospect of recovering himself that Way, than by the Course of a War. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were

The Beginning of the Treaty of Nimeguen.

were violent for continuing the War, finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and not relievable by *France*, otherwiſe than with their Money, and hoping to drive them this Summer out of *Germany*. The *States-General* were very deſirous of a Peace, having no Pretenſions of their own, but to get well out of a War that had ſo much damag'd their Trade and Revenues; but they durſt not break from their Confederates; not truſting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, ſo as to leave themſelves in a Condition of depending upon either of them after the Concluſion of the Peace. One general Thread ran through the Counſels on both Sides; on the *French*, to break the Confidence and Union of the Confederacy by different Paces and Advances to the ſeveral Parties in the Courſe of the Treaty; on the Confederates, to preſerve the ſame Union and Confidence with which they had carry'd on the War, even after the Peace ſhou'd be made. As to the King of *England*, tho' he was offer'd by ſome of the Parties to be Arbiter as well as Mediator in the preſent Differences, and was known by all to have it in his Power to make what Figure he pleas'd, yet he choſe the latter, and gave Orders to his Miniſters only to perform the Offices of a bare Mediation, and to avoid the Parties ſubmitting their Differences to his Determination. And indeed the Counſels at Court were ſo in Balance, between the Deſires of living at leaſt fair with *France*, and the Fears of too much diſpleaſing the Parliament, that their Steps upon the whole Affair look'd like croſs Purpoſes, which none at home or abroad cou'd well underſtand; and were often miſtaken by both Parties engag'd in the War, as well as by both Parties in the Houſe of Commons. 1676. Car. 28 Ref. 17

2. All this Time the War was carried on with Vigour by the *French*, and the Campaign began with ſufficient Glory to Them; for before the middle of *April*, the Mareſchal *Crequi* inveſted the Town of *Conde* with ſixteen Thouſand Men. This haſtned the Prince of *Orange*'s March from *Roſendale* to joyn the *Spaniſh* General, the Duke *De Villa-Hermoſa*, which he did at *Cambron*, on *April* 26th; but the *French* King and his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, with a Re-inforcement of ten Thouſand Men came before *Conde*, and order'd the Town to be ſo furiouſly batter'd and ſtorm'd on every Side, that the Garriſon was forc'd to ſurrender at Diſcretion, tho' the Prince of *Orange* was march'd as far as *Granville* in order to relieve them. Soon after, the *French* ſat down before *Bouchain*, a ſmall Town of Importance between *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, and keeping the Communication between thoſe two Places, which in a ſhort Time was likewiſe ſurrender'd to them. After which the *French* King, who judg'd he had made a ſufficient Appearance in Perſon, in the Beginning of *June* return'd to *Paris*, leaving the Command of his Army in the *Netherlands* to the famous Mareſchal *Schomberg*. *The Progreſs of the* French *in* Flanders.

In the mean Time the Prince of *Orange* having inveſted *Maeſtricht*, reſolv'd about the End of *July* to lay a formal Siege to it; this being the only Town of the *Dutch* Provinces remaining in the *French* Hands, and fortify'd by them with all the Advantages of Art and Expence, and with a Garriſon of eight Thouſand Men under Monſieur *Caloo*, a daring Commander who reſolv'd to hold out to the laſt. This Siege was carry'd on with uncommon Bravery, and many deſperate Aſſaults. About the middle of *Auguſt*, the Prince, who expos'd himſelf upon all Occaſions, receiv'd a Muſquet-Shot in his Arm; at which, perceiving that thoſe about him were diſcourag'd, he immediately pull'd off his Hat with the wounded Arm, and wav'd it about his Head, to ſhew the Wound was only in the Fleſh, and the Bone ſafe; whereupon they all reviv'd, and *The Attempts of the Prince of* Orange.

1676. Car. 28 Ref. 17

the Prince went on without Interruption in all the Motions of the Siege. But there were two principal Reaſons why he cou'd not carry the Place; firſt, the River was grown ſo ſhallow, that he was forc'd to ſtay ſome Days for his heavy Cannon from *Ruremond* for want of Water; then the Forces he expected from the Biſhop of *Munſter* and Princes of *Lunenburg* never came to his Aſſiſtance; to which if it be added, that a cruel Sickneſs fell into the Army, which weaken'd it more than all the Attacks they made upon the Town, the Diſappointment is not to be wonder'd at; For this not only gave Monſieur *Schomberg* an Opportunity to beſiege and take *Aire*, but Encouragement to march even through the Heart of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, to the Relief of *Maeſtricht*. Upon whoſe Approach, it was agreed in a Council of War, that the Siege ſhou'd be rais'd; with which the Campaign ended in the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Provinces.

The Campaign being ended, all Parties began to turn their Thoughts towards the Motions of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*; and the Prince of *Orange*, no ways ſatisfy'd with the dilatory Progreſs of the Emperor, the *German* Princes, and the King of *Spain*, was by Penſionary *Fagel* advis'd of the Neceſſity of making a ſeparate Peace, if no other cou'd be obtain'd. Sir *William Temple* had ſeveral Conferences with the Prince upon this Subject, and one Day told him 'That the Penſionary in a Diſ-'courſe with him, was of Opinion that nothing elſe cou'd be done 'but to make a ſeparate Peace, and that he knew not a Man in *Hol-'land* who was not of his Mind.' Upon which his Highneſs, interrupting him, ſaid, *Yes, I am ſure I know One, and that is my Self, and I'll hinder it as long as I can; but if any Thing ſhou'd happen to me, I know it wou'd be done in two Days.* Then the Ambaſſador ask'd him, 'Whe-'ther he was of the Penſionary's Mind as to what he thought likely to 'happen the next Campaign:' He acknowledg'd, *That the Appearances were ill, but Campaigns did not always end as they began; That Accidents might happen which no Man cou'd foreſee, and that if they came to one fair Battle, none cou'd anſwer for the Event: That the King of* England, *if he pleas'd, might make the Peace before it began; but if he was ſo indifferent as to let that Seaſon paſs, for his Part, he was oblig'd to go on, and take his Fortune.* Then he told him, *That he had that very Morning ſeen a poor old Man tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars, againſt the Eddy of a Sluce upon a Canal; that when with the laſt Endeavours he was juſt got up to the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy carry'd him quite back again; and thus three or four Times while the Prince ſaw him.* Then he concluded, *That this old Man's Buſineſs and his were too much like one another; and that He ought however to do juſt as the old Man did, without knowing the Succeſs, any more than what happen'd in the poor Man's Caſe.*

His Reſolution againſt a ſeparate Peace.

3. To return to *England*; the King having, as it is thought, with ſome Reluctancy made Peace with *Holland*, and being now in a Neutrality with other Princes, appear'd reſolv'd to keep the Peace at home. But the *Dutch* on one Side ſuſpected, that he ſecretly gave Aſſiſtance to the *French*; and the *French* again alledg'd, that ſome *Engliſh* Ships were retain'd in the Service of *Holland*. Hence, 'Upon Complaints made to 'the King by the Miniſters of ſeveral Princes now in Amity with his 'Majeſty, that divers of his Subjects had lately taken Commiſſions 'from ſome Princes and States now in Amity with his Majeſty, to ſerve 'at Sea againſt others, who are likewiſe his Majeſty's Allies; his Majeſty, for 'the Preſervation and Continuance of Friendſhip and Amity between 'him and his reſpective Allies,' thought fit by his Royal Proclamation given at *White-Hall*, *May* 17th 'Strictly to prohibit and forbid all his Sub-'jects

The King's Orders concerning Neutrality, &c.

'jects whatſoever to take any Commiſſion at Sea from any Foreign Prince or State, againſt any other Foreign Prince or State now in Amity with his Majeſty, or to ſerve as Mariners or Sea-Men in any Ship or Veſſel which ſhall be employ'd againſt any Prince or State now in Amity with his Majeſty, during the preſent War.' Shortly after, upon further Complaints from abroad, that Acts of Hoſtility were ſuffer'd to be committed under the Protection of the *Engliſh* Coaſts and Ports, his Majeſty was pleas'd to cauſe another Royal Proclamation to be publiſh'd, in which he declared, 'That finding the Security of Navigation and Commerce to and from his Majeſty's Ports, in this Time of War, hath been very much diſturb'd, and that even the Revenue due to his Ports hath been violated, his Will and Pleaſure is, that theſe following Rules and Ordinances be obſerv'd: I. That within his Majeſty's Ports, Havens and Creeks, and the Precincts thereof, no Hoſtilities ſhall be committed by any of the Parties whatſoever, but that all Ships during their being in the ſaid Ports, *&c.* ſhall be under his Majeſty's ſpecial Protection; that the Ships and Goods of all Aggreſſors or Offenders herein ſhall be *ipſo facto* Confiſcate, notwithſtanding any Commiſſion of War they may have. II. That all his Majeſty's Officers and Subjects do, as far as in them lies, prohibit the Roving of Men of War ſo near his Majeſty's Coaſts or Ports, as may give Apprehenſion to the Merchant-Men that their Paſſage is unſafe, or may hinder the Commerce of his Subjects. That all his Majeſty's Officers do ſuccour and reſcue all Merchant-Men and others, as ſhall be attack'd upon his Majeſty's Coaſts, and apprehend and ſeize the Offenders, in order to bring them to condign Puniſhment.' — To which were added five other Rules and Orders, all deſign'd to inforce the like general Intention of Neutrality and impartial Protection. 1676. Car. 28 Reſ. 17

But while the *French* in a ſpecial Manner receiv'd the Benefit of theſe Orders, the *Engliſh* Veſſels cou'd not be ſo protected from the Injuſtice and Inſolence of their Privateers; who, after the ſeparate Peace between *England* and *Holland*, were let looſe, and ſwarming in the *Channel*, pick'd up many of the *Engliſh* Merchant-Men, and, as if in open War, made Prizes of them. And upon Complaint of this Grievance in the *French* Court, the Method of Redreſs prov'd a new Oppreſſion: For Sir *Ellis Leighton*, Secretary to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in the Court of *France*, being appointed to Solicit in that Court the Reſtitution of the *Engliſh* Ships, and their Ladings, thus ſhamefully taken by *French* Privateers, he behav'd himſelf corruptly in the Negotiation, by making open Contracts, and receiving Bribes in the Proſecution of the Merchants Affairs, and ſometimes making private Agreements with the *French* Privateers to deſiſt from, and relinquiſh all farther Solicitations of the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Subjects, to the great Detriment and Loſs of the Merchants concern'd. All which being made to appear to his Majeſty in Council, he was taken into Cuſtody, in order to be ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*, and to a full Proſecution: But being conſcious of the Effects, he made his Eſcape from the Meſſenger, and fled from Juſtice. *The Inſolence of the* French *Privateers.*

Under the Preſſure of theſe Loſſes and Indignities, the Lords of the Committee of Trade, by the repeated Petitions from the Merchants and Sea-Men, found themſelves oblig'd to preſent to his Majeſty in Council, a Report touching the Injuries which his Subjects ſuſtain'd by the *French* Privateers; with a Liſt of ſuch *Engliſh* Ships as had been ſeiz'd by them ſince *December* 1673, to the Number of fifty Three, concluding thus, 'Wherefore conſidering that the Root of all this Diſorder ariſes from the Violence and Rapine of the *French* Capers, who ought to be look'd on as the Diſturbers of the Publick Quiet, and Enemies to the good 'Friend- *A Repreſentation of them to the King.*

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'Friendſhip between the two Crowns; We are humbly of Opinion, 'That your Majeſty has juſt Occaſion, from the Injuries paſt, and thoſe 'which are now depending, *and which do every Day increaſe*, to make 'a very ſerious Repreſentation of all unto his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; 'and not only preſs for ſome better Method of Repairing the Grievan-'ces mention'd, but earneſtly to inſiſt on the Calling in of all Privateers: 'Or elſe your Majeſty muſt do Right, and give Defence to your Sub-'jects from all the Inſolencies which they ſo frequently meet.' Sign'd *Finch C. Angleſey, Bath, Bridgewater, Craven, H. Coventry, J. Ernle, G. Carteret*, and *Robert Southwell.* To which Report, this particular

His Anſwer. Anſwer in Council was given: 'His Majeſty taking into his ſerious Con-'ſideration the daily Complaint of his Subjects, and having a great Senſe 'and Reſentment of their ill Uſage, hath thought fit to approve the ſaid 'Report, and is therefore graciouſly pleas'd to order, and it is hereby or-'der'd accordingly, That the Right Honourable Mr. *Henry Coventry* do 'immediately tranſmit to his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *Paris* a Copy there-'of, that ſo the evil and unhappy State of theſe Things may be made 'known to that Court, and the Remedies preſs'd for in his Majeſty's 'Name, which are propos'd by the ſaid Report. And Maſter Secre-'tary is alſo to attend the *French* Ambaſſador here with the ſame Re-'preſentation, and to expoſtulate upon all theſe Hardſhips, and the lit-'tle Remedy given to his Majeſty's Subjects, either in the Merits of their 'Cauſes, or the Recommendations of them by his Majeſty: That ſo his 'Excellency being made ſenſible of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure herein, and 'the reaſonable Diſcontent of his Subjects, there may be by his Care ſuch 'lively Impreſſions hereof fix'd with the King his Maſter, and the 'Miniſters of *France*, as may redreſs the Evils that are complain'd of, 'and obtain the juſt Remedies which are propos'd.

Notwithſtanding this, no other Satisfaction cou'd be obtain'd, than by doing Juſtice to themſelves, by a Reprizal on ſeveral of their Privateers; and this only Method did by no means repair the Loſſes of private Men, tho' it ſeem'd a ſort of a Vindication of the Publick Honour. Theſe Inſolencies of the *French*, however, had this Effect, that they made the People of *England* more and more impatient for a Sitting Parliament, expecting and hoping that this inſufferable Grievance wou'd then be effectually redreſs'd by a Reparation of their Damages, or at leaſt by an open War. By way of Preparation for this Meeting, the King thought fit to take notice of the Dangers of Popery, which grew more open and viſible every Day: And tho' the Intervals of Parliament gave Impunity

Complaints againſt the Papiſts. and Connivance to the *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, yet Complaints were publickly made to the King and Council, who particularly in *October* were inform'd, 'Of the bold and open Repair made to ſeveral Places, 'and eſpecially to her Majeſty's Chappel in *Somerſet-houſe*, and the 'Houſes of Foreign Ambaſſadors, Agents, and other Publick Miniſters, 'for the hearing of Maſs, and other Worſhip and Service of the *Romiſh* 'Church; and that the ſaid Ambaſſadors, Agents, and Miniſters do per-'mit and ſuffer, both daily Maſſes to be ſaid, and other Worſhip and 'Service to be perform'd in their Houſes in a publick manner by *Engliſh*, '*Scotch* and *Iriſh* Prieſts; and alſo Sermons in *Engliſh*, to be preached 'in the ſaid Houſes and Chappels, contrary to the expreſs Laws and 'Statutes of this Kingdom.' Upon hearing of this, an Order of Council

A Redreſs was ſoon after iſſued out, declaring, 'That his Majeſty had taken the 'ſaid Complaint into ſerious Conſideration, and being ſenſible thereof, 'as a matter highly tending to the Violation of the Laws of the Realm, 'and the Scandal of Religion and Government, and Breach of good Or-'der; and in his Princely Wiſdom weighing the dangerous Conſequence thereof,

'thereof, was reſolv'd to take ſtrict Order for the ſtopping this Evil be- 1676.
'fore it ſpread any further: His Majeſty therefore, by the Advice of
'his Council, forbids any of his Subjects hereafter to offend in the like Car. 28
'kind at their utmoſt Perils; and likewiſe orders, that his Principal Se- Ref. 17
'cretaries of State ſhou'd repair to the Foreign Miniſters, to make
'known unto them his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and to expect their Compli-
'ance, that they wou'd not permit Maſſes, or other Service, to be ſaid
'by any of the ſaid Prieſts, or Sermons to be preach'd in *Engliſh* in
'their Houſes or Chappels, things never heard of, or attempted by any
'precedent Ambaſſadors or Agents here. His Majeſty thinking fit that
'Notice ſhou'd be firſt given to the ſaid Publick Miniſters (the rather
'to teſtify his Reſpects unto them) before the ſtricter Courſe his Maje-
'ſty hath reſolv'd be taken with his own Subjects, by a vigorous Proſe-
'cution and Infliction of Penalties and Puniſhments, for the preventing
'and repreſſing the like hereafter.

4. As the People grew impatient for a Sitting Parliament, ſo a great ma-
ny appear'd ſuſpicious of their Meeting; and the long Interval of Seſſions
began ſo much to open the Mouths of the City and Country, that on the
23d of *December* his Majeſty thought fit to quiet his loving Subjects by
the certain Proſpect of a Sitting Parliament, and by a Proclamation to de-
clare, 'That having been pleas'd to continue this preſent Parliament by
'Prorogation until the 15th of *February* now next coming, he had a
'full Purpoſe and Reſolution, that the Parliament ſhould be then holden:
'And he was deſirous, for divers weighty Conſiderations, *to have then*
'*a full Aſſembly of the Members of both Houſes.*' But before we arrive
at that Aſſembly, we are to conclude the old Year with ſome few Pro-
motions, and the Deaths of ſeveral notable Men. In Places and Ho-
nours there were no conſiderable Alterations. On the 26th of *April* the *Promotions, &c.*
Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Crew*, was ſworn one of the Lords of his
Majeſty's Privy-Council. The Honour of Knighthood, as was uſual of
late, was conferr'd on the two Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, Sir
John Peak and Sir *Thomas Stamp*. And on the 28th of *October*, both
their Majeſties, accompany'd by their Royal Highneſſes, and the Lady
Mary and the Lady *Anne*, and attended by many of the Nobility and
principal Perſons of Quality, were pleas'd to accept of a hearty Invita-
tion from the City, and to honour the new Lord Mayor Sir *Thomas Da-
vis*, with their Preſence, firſt at the great Show in *Cheapſide*, and after-
wards in the *Guildhall* at Dinner, where the Entertainment was exceed-
ing ſplendid and magnificent in all kinds, and very much to the Satisfa-
ction of their Majeſties, and the whole Court. Not long after Sir *Tho-
mas Doleman*, Knight, was Sworn one of the Clerks of his Majeſty's
moſt Honourable Privy-Council, in the room of Sir *Edward Walker*
Deceaſed.

We are to remember ſeveral celebrated Perſons that died this Year, *The Deaths of Biſhop* Rey-
of various Genius's and Characters; and ſhall begin with two learned Di- nolds,
vines of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, and Dr. *Iſaac
Baſire*. The former, an *Oxonian*, was brought up in the *Presbyterian*
way, became one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and was for ſeveral Years
the Glory of their Party in the City of *London*: But after the Reſtaura-
tion, he thought fit to comply with the Church of *England*, and the *Act
of Uniformity*, and was rewarded with the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*, which
he held to his Death; leaving behind him the Character of a Man of ex-
cellent Parts and Endowments, of a very great Wit, Fancy and Judg-
ment, an eminent Divine, and highly eſteem'd by all Parties for his fa-
mous Preaching, and his exemplary Life and Converſation. The other,

Dr.

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Dr. Basire,

Dr. *Basire*, was educated in the University of *Cambridge*, and became one of the late King's Chaplains, and Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, before the breaking out of the Troubles of *England*. After which he shew'd himself eminent both for his Loyalty and Learning, and Travell'd into several Countries in the East, as *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Mesopotamia*, *Ægypt*, *Greece*, *&c.* where he made himself famous by his indefatigable Labours and Enquiries into the State of the *Eastern* Churches, and by displaying the Nature and Excellency of his own among the Patriarchs and learned Men in those Countries. After the Restauration he again took Possession of his Archdeaconry, which together with a Prebendary of *Durham*, was all the Preferment held by this learned and laborious Man.

Judge Hale,

We shall next mention three famous Knights, Sir *Matthew Hale*, Sir *William Morrice*, and Sir *Edward Walker*. The first was a *Gloucestershire* Gentleman, and famous both for Law and Divinity, a great Genius, and an Ornament of the *English* Nation; who by mighty Industry, and the Acquaintance of great Men, *Glanvile*, *Noy*, *Selden*, *Vaughan*, *&c.* arriv'd at a more than ordinary Perfection in the Municipal Laws of the Kingdom; for which he was highly distinguish'd in the most difficult Times, and afterwards made Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, and then Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*: In both which Stations he did not only manifest a great Reach and a profound Judgment, but such an unaffected Honesty and Uprightness, as can never be exceeded. To sum up his Character in the Words of the celebrated Writer of his Life, 'He was one of the greatest Patterns that this Age hath afforded, whether in his private Deportment as a Christian, or in publick Employments, either at the Bar, or on the Bench.' The second was Sir *William Morrice*, a *Devonshire* Gentleman, who tho' inferior to the other, was so considerable for the prudent Management, and so serviceable in the great Work of the Restauration, that his Name ought to live in History; for which he was rewarded not only with the Honour of Knighthood, but with being made Principal Secretary of State. But after eight Years Preferment, he desir'd to resign his Place, and retire into the Country, where he had provided a choice Library of Books; which prov'd his principal Diversion, and most sensible Pleasure during the last Years of his Life. The last was Sir *Edward Walker*, of *Somersetshire* by Birth, a zealous and loyal Gentleman, who was highly intrusted by the late King in his greatest Difficulties, was made Secretary of War, and *Garter* King at Arms. He is more particularly to be remember'd for his Diligence and careful Observation in collecting and recounting the grand Occurrences that pass'd in the King's Army in the Civil Wars; from whose Papers the Lord *Clarendon* had the greatest and most considerable helps, in writing the warlike Parts of his famous History.

Sir William Morrice,

Sir Edward Walker,

Mr. J. Tombes,

We have three or four other notable Men to mention, but as different as can be; and first Mr. *John Tombes*, Batchelor of Divinity, educated in the University of *Oxford*; a Person who in Time became the Head of the Anabaptist Sect, and their most celebrated Preacher: He was one of incomparable Parts, well vers'd in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages, and a most excellent Disputant, so exceeding apprehensive, that he could find out the End upon the first entry of the Disputes. He was turn'd out of *Lemster* by the *Act of Uniformity*, and dy'd at *Salisbury*, having shewn himself as much averse to the Presbyterian, as to the Church of *England* Doctrines. The next to be mention'd is Mr. *Henry Stubbe*, the noted Physician and Philosopher, commonly call'd the *Doctor of* Warwick, from the Place of his Habitation. He was educated in the University of *Oxford*, where he soon discover'd a warm Head, and a most

Mr. H. Stubbe,

moſt pragmatical Spirit, and afterwards he became as various and bold a Writer as any in the Age. He was dextrous with his Pen, whether *pro* or *con*, that few or none cou'd equal, anſwer, or come near him; having admirable Parts, a prodigious Memory, and a great Knowledge in the common Languages and Sciences: But he had a violent and reſtleſs Head, and no fix'd Principles, ſo that his Raſhneſs often brought him into Danger. After a Life of perpetual Toil and Hurry, he was drown'd near the *Bath*, in the 47th Year of his Age. The third was Mr. *John Ogilby*, a *Scotch* Man by Birth, and only a Dancing-Maſter by Education, who by his own great Labour and Pains made himſelf famous for a great many things, and gain'd the Favour and Acquaintance of the King, and the chief Men of the Kingdom. The great Poets he tranſlated, the voluminous Books that he publiſh'd, the Cuts, Maps and Surveys that he made, together with the Projects he contriv'd, all ſhew him to be a Perſon of uncommon Reach and wonderful Induſtry; and it is ſaid, that if he had been carefully educated when young, he might have prov'd the Glory of the *Scotch* Nation. Laſt of all died *George Digby*, the famous Earl of *Briſtol*, a Perſon who had undergon as much Variety of Fortunes as any Man, whoſe Character has been already given, and his Actions often remembred. He dy'd in the 65th Year of his Age, and his Garter was given to the Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, who now appear'd the greateſt Favourite in the Court.

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Mr. J. Ogilby.

And the Earl of Briſtol.

Nedham. Rot. Parl. Marvel. MSS. Temple.

V. 1. All the laſt Year had in a great Meaſure fill'd an Interval of Parliament, the Prorogation of which was very near fifteen Months, and the longeſt ſingle Prorogation that ever had been known. The length of this, together with the Deſires of a great many in the Nation, occaſion'd three or four Books to be writ, in order to prove the preſent Parliament to be diſſolv'd, according to the ancient Laws of the Kingdom. Others were written on the contrary ſide, by the Encouragement of the preſent Miniſtry, and particularly two call'd *Pacquets of Advices*, &c. *To the Men of* Shaftsbury, &c. all which made a conſiderable Noiſe in the Nation, and very much increas'd the Curioſity and Expectations of the People, at the Meeting of the Parliament, which, according to Prorogation, was on the 15th Day of *February*. This was the Sixteenth Seſſion of the ſecond and long Parliament; at which Meeting a vaſt number of People crowded into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the *Court of Requeſts*, the *Painted-Chamber*, the *Lobbies*, and all Places near the Houſes, being fill'd with more than ordinary Doubts and Expectations. The King, ſeated on the Throne in the Houſe of Peers, adorn'd with his Robes and Crown, made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes.

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The SIXTEENTH *Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have call'd you together again after a long 'Prorogation, that you might have an Opportunity to repair the Miſ-'fortunes of the laſt Seſſion, and to recover and reſtore the right Uſe of 'Parliaments. The time I have given you to recollect your ſelves in, 'and to conſider whither thoſe Differences tend, which have been ſo 'unhappily manag'd and improv'd between you, is enough to leave you 'without all Excuſe, if ever you fall into the like again. I am now re-'ſolv'd to let the World ſee, *That it ſhall not be my Fault, if they be 'not made happy by your Conſultations in Parliament.* For I declare 'my ſelf very plainly to you, that I am prepared to give you all the Sa-'tisfaction and Security in the great Concerns of the *Proteſtant* Religion, 'as it is eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*, that ſhall reaſonably be 'ask'd, or can conſiſt with Chriſtian Prudence; and I declare my ſelf as 'freely, that I am ready to gratify you in a further Security of your *Li-'berty* and *Property* (if you can think you want it) by as many good

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'Laws as you ſhall propoſe, and as can conſiſt with the Safety of the *Government*, without which there will neither be Liberty nor Property left to any Man.

'Having thus plainly told you what I am ready to do for you, I ſhall deal as plainly with you again, and tell you what it is I do expect from you. Firſt, I do expect and require from you, *That all Occaſions of Differences between the two Houſes be carefully avoided*; for elſe they who have no Hopes to prevent your good Reſolutions, will hope by this Reſerve to hinder them from taking any Effect. And let all Men judge who is moſt for Arbitrary Government, they that foment ſuch Differences as tend to Diſſolve all Parliaments; or I, that wou'd preſerve This and all Parliaments from being made uſeleſs by ſuch Diſſenſions. In the next place, I deſire you to conſider the Neceſſity of Building more Ships, and how much all our Safeties are concern'd in it. And ſince the Additional Revenue of Exciſe will ſhortly expire, you that know me to be under a great Burden of Debts, and how hard a ſhift I am making to pay them off as faſt as I can, I hope will never deny me the Continuance of this Revenue, and ſome reaſonable Supply to make my Condition more eaſy. And that you may be ſatisfy'd how impoſſible it is (whatſoever ſome Men think) to ſupport the Government with leſs than the preſent Revenue, you may at any Time ſee the yearly eſtabliſh'd Charge; by which it will appear, That the conſtant and unavoidable Charge being paid, there will remain no Overplus towards the Diſcharging thoſe Contingencies which may happen in all Kingdoms, and which have been a conſiderable Charge to me this laſt Year. To conclude, I do recommend to you the *Peace* of the Kingdom, in the careful Prevention of all Differences; the *Safety* of the Kingdom, in Providing ſome greater Strength at Sea; and the *Proſperity* of the Kingdom, in aſſiſting the neceſſary Charge and Support of the Government. And if any of theſe good Ends ſhou'd happen to be diſappointed, I call God and Men to Witneſs this Day, *That the Misfortune of that Diſappointment ſhall not lye at my Door*. The reſt I refer to the Chancellor.

Whereupon the Chancellor made a long and eloquent Speech, the greateſt Part of which ſeems neceſſary to be remember'd. '*My Lords*, &c.

The Lord Chancellor's Speech.

'By the moſt gracious Pleaſure of the King, you are here again aſſembled to hold another Seſſion of this Parliament; wherein the King expects your *Advice* and your *Aſſiſtance*; your Advice in the Matters of the higheſt Deliberation, your Aſſiſtance in Matters of extream and preſſing Difficulty. Your Deliberations will chiefly be exercis'd about thoſe Things which belong to your Peace, the Peace of the *Church*, and the Peace of the *State*; two Conſiderations of ſo cloſe a Connexion between Themſelves, that in the very *Original Writ of Summons*, by vertue of which you ſtill ſit here, they are jointly recommended to your Counſel and your Care. The Peace of the Church is harder to preſerve than the Peace of the State; for they who deſire Innovations in the State, moſt commonly begin the Attempt upon the Church. And by this Means it comes to paſs, That the Peace of the Church is ſo often diſturb'd, not only by thoſe poor miſtaken Souls, who deſerve to be pity'd, but by malicious and deſigning Men, who deſerve to be puniſh'd: And while Things continue in this Eſtate, it cannot be avoided but that the Laws which are neceſſary to reſtrain the Malicious, muſt and will ſometimes diſquiet and wound thoſe that are Weak. What Remedies are fit for this Diſeaſe, Whether the Fault be in the *Laws*, or the *Men*, in the Men that ſhou'd *Obey*, or in the Men that ſhou'd *Execute*;

'*Execute*; Whether the Cure be a Work of Time and Patience, or of 1667.
'Zeal and Diligence; or Whether any new Expedient can be found to Car. 29
'ſecure the Ship from that Storm which the ſwelling of two contrary Reſ. 17
'Tides ſeems to threaten, is wholly left to your Advice: The King hath
'call'd you for that End, and doubts not but your Counſels will be ſuch
'as ſhall tend to Safety and to Eſtabliſhment.

'The Peace of the State requires as much of your Care and Vigilance
'too: Our Peace at *Home*, and our Peace *Abroad*. As for that Abroad,
'We are at this Time, bleſſed be God for his Mercy to us, and the
'King for his Care of us, in perfect Peace with all the Nations upon Earth:
'Such a Peace as makes us the Envy of the *Chriſtian* World, and hath
'enabled us to do our ſelves Right againſt the *Infidels*: Such a Peace as
'brings with it all the Fruits of Peace, and deſerves not only our Prayers
'for the Continuance of it, but our beſt and moſt watchful Care that
'nothing may be done on our Part to give it an Interruption. But then
'we muſt conſider again, that our Peace Abroad will not ſubſiſt any
'longer than while we maintain our Peace at Home: For without this,
'no Kingdom can be able to act in its full Strength; and without that,
'the Friendſhip or Enmity of any Nation ceaſes to be conſiderable to its
'Neighbours. Now 'tis a great and dangerous Miſtake in thoſe, who
'think the Peace at Home is well enough preſerv'd, ſo long as the Sword
'is not drawn; whereas in Truth nothing deſerves the Name of Peace,
'but *Unity*: Such an Unity as flows from an unſhaken Truſt and Confi-
'dence between the King and his People, from a due Reverence and
'Obedience to the Laws, and to his Government, from a religious and
'aweful Care, not to remove the *Ancient Land-marks*, not to diſturb
'thoſe *Conſtitutions* which Time and the Publick Convenience hath ſet-
'tled, from a Zeal to preſerve the whole *Frame* and *Order* of the Go-
'vernment upon the old Foundations, and from a perfect Deteſtation
'and Abhorrency of all ſuch as are given to change: Whatever falls ſhort
'of This, falls ſhort of Peace too. If therefore there be any Endea-
'vours to renew, nay if there be not all poſſible Endeavours to extin-
'guiſh the *Memory* of all former Provocations and Offences, and the *Oc-
'caſions* of the like for the future; If there be ſuch Diviſions as beget
'great Thoughts of Heart; Shall we call this Peace, becauſe it is not
'War, or becauſe Men do not yet take the Field? As well we may call
'it Health, when there is a dangerous Fermentation in the Blood and
'Spirits, becauſe the Patient hath not yet taken his Bed.

Then laying open the Difficulties with Relation to the Weakneſs of the Fleet and the King's particular Debts, he proceeded thus: 'One Diffi-
'culty more there is, without which all the reſt were none, and that is
'the ſtrange *Diffidence* and *Diſtruſt*, which like a general *Infection* be-
'gins to ſpread it ſelf through all the Corners of the Land. Much of this
'riſes from the Artifice of ill Men, who create and nouriſh all the Suſpici-
'ons they can deviſe; But the *Cure* of it lies perfectly in your Hands, for
'all will preſently vaniſh as ſoon as Men ſhall ſee your Acquieſcence, and the
'Fruits of it in a chearful Concurrence with his Majeſty to all theſe good and
'publick Ends which he hath now ſo earneſtly recommended to you. It
'wou'd be ſomewhat ſtrange, and without all Example in Story, that a Na-
'tion ſhou'd be twice ruin'd, twice undone, by the ſelf-ſame Ways and
'Means, the ſame *Fears* and *Jealouſies*. Will any Man that but gives him-
'ſelf leave to think, refuſe to enjoy and take comfort in the Bleſſings that
'are preſent, only for fear of future Changes and Alterations? Surely it is
'enough for any Kingdom, and more than moſt Kingdoms of the World
'can boaſt of, to have their Affairs brought into ſuch Condition, that
'they may in all *Human Probability*, and unleſs by their own Default,

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'continue a Long Time ſafe and happy. Future Contingencies are not 'capable of any certain Proſpect: A Security beyond that of Human Pro- 'bability, no Nation ever did or ever ſhall attain to. If a Kingdom be 'Guarded by *Nature* againſt all Dangers from Without, and then will 'rely too much upon what Nature hath done for them; If a Kingdom be 'warn'd and caution'd againſt all Dangers from Within, by former *Ex-* '*periences*, and then will either forget, or make no uſe of thoſe Expe- 'riences; If a Kingdom be powerful in Shipping and Navigation, and 'then ſee their Neighbours endeavouring to overpower them that Way, 'without being ſolicitous to augment and reinforce their own naval 'Strength; If a Kingdom be happy in the frequent Aſſemblies of their 'great Councils, where all that is grievous may be redreſs'd, and all that 'is wanting may be enacted, and then will render thoſe Councils uſeleſs 'and impracticable, by continuing endleſs Diſtractions; who can won- 'der if their Affairs ſhou'd begin to be leſs proſperous, when otherwiſe, 'humanly ſpeaking, and in all common Probability, their Condition wou'd 'have been out of the Reach of Fortune, and their Security in a manner 'Impregnable.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, If the Preſaging Malice of our Enemies 'ſhou'd Portend any ſuch Fate as this to befall us, the Wiſdom and Mag- 'nanimity of this great Council will quickly be too hard for all their Au- 'guries: The Honour and Loyalty of this auguſt and venerable Aſſem- 'bly will leave no kind of Room for ſuch Divinations. You that have 'the Happineſs to live under ſo excellent a Monarchy, ſo admirable a 'Conſtitution and Temper of Government; You that remember what 'the Want of this Government coſt us, and the miſerable Deſolations 'which attended it, have all the Motives, and are under all poſſible Obli- 'gations to ſecure and advance the Intereſt of it. The King on his Part 'meets you with ſo open and ſo full a Heart, and ſo abſolutely reſolv'd 'to do his utmoſt to *Glad the Hearts of his People*, that it muſt be the 'ſtrangeſt Infelicity in the World, if either He or his Subjects ſhou'd 'meet with any Diſappointments here. For the King hath no Deſires 'but what are *Publick*, no Ends or Aims which terminate in Himſelf; 'All his Endeavours are ſo entirely bent upon the Welfare of his whole 'Dominions, that he doth not think any Man a good *Subject* who doth 'not heartily love his *Country*: And therefore let no Man paſs for a good '*Patriot*, who doth not heartily love and ſerve his *Prince*. Private Men 'indeed are ſubject to be miſ-led by Private Intereſts, and may entertain 'ſome vain and ſlender Hopes of ſurviving the *Publick*; but a Prince is 'ſure to fall with it, and therefore can never have any Intereſts divided 'from it. To live and dye with the King is the higheſt *Profeſſion* a 'Subject can make, and ſometimes 'tis a Profeſſion only and no more; 'but in a King 'tis an abſolute *Neceſſity*, 'tis a Fate inevitable, that he 'muſt live and dye with his People. Away then with all the vain Ima- 'ginations of thoſe who infuſe a Misbelief of the Government; Away 'with all thoſe ill-meant Diſtinctions between the *Court* and the *Country*, 'between the *Natural* and the *Politick* Capacity; and let us all who go 'about to perſuade others that there are *ſeveral Intereſts*, have a care 'of that Precipice to which ſuch Principles may lead them: For the firſt 'Men that ever began to diſtinguiſh of their *Duty*, never left off till they 'had quite diſtinguiſh'd themſelves out of their *Allegiance*. Let no Con- 'tention then come near this Place, but that of a noble Emulation who 'ſhall ſerve his Country beſt, by well ſerving of the King; Let no Paſſi- 'ons enter here, but that of a pious Zeal to lay hold upon all Op- 'portunities of Promoting the Honour and Service of the Crown, till 'our Enemies deſpair of ever profiting by any Diſorders amongſt us.

'And

'And let all who pray for the long Life and Proſperity of the King, add 'their Endeavours to their Prayers, and ſtudy to prolong this Sacred 'Life, *by giving him all the Joys of Heart which can ariſe from the 'Demonſtrations of the lively and the warm Affections of his Peo-'ple.* 1676. Car. 29 Ref. 17

This Rhetorical Speech was ſhortly after ſucceeded by one of another Kind, deliver'd by the volatile Duke of *Buckingham*, who before had been prepar'd to diſpute the Validity and Eſſence of the preſent Parliament. Therefore as ſoon as the Commons were withdrawn from the upper Houſe, and a Bill offer'd to be read, his Grace ſtood up, and with great Briskneſs deſir'd to be heard firſt. Conſidering the Man, the Argument, and Event, it will be very proper to inſert a great Part of his Speech. After an Introduction he thus comes to the Point; 'The Queſtion is not 'what we are to do, but Whether at this Time *we can do any Thing as 'a Parliament*; it being clear to me that the Parliament is Diſſolv'd: 'And if in this Opinion I have the Misfortune to be miſtaken, I have 'another Misfortune joyn'd to it; for I deſire to maintain the Argument 'with all the Judges and Lawyers in *England*, and leave it afterwards to 'your Lordſhips, whether I am in the right or no.' After that, ſpeaking of the other Houſe, he ſaid, 'I have often wonder'd how it ſhou'd 'come to paſs, that this Houſe of Commons, in which there are ſo many honeſt, and ſo many worthy Gentlemen, ſhou'd yet be leſs reſpectful to your Lordſhips, as certainly they have been, than any Houſe of 'Commons that were ever choſen in *England*; and yet if the Matter be 'a little enquired into, the Reaſon of it will plainly appear. For, *My 'Lords*, the very Nature of the Houſe of Commons is chang'd; they 'do not think now that they are an Aſſembly that are to return to their 'own Houſes, and become *Private Men* again; but they look upon themſelves as a *Standing Senate*, and as a Number of Men pick'd out to be 'Legiſlators for the reſt of their Lives: And if that be the Caſe, they 'have Reaſon to believe themſelves our Equals. But, *My Lords*, 'tis a 'dangerous Thing to try Experiments in a Government: Men do not 'foreſee the ill Conſequences that muſt happen, when they go about to 'alter the Eſſential Parts of it, *the Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of Parliaments.* For all Governments are *Artificial Things*, and every Part of 'them has a Dependence one upon another: And it is with them as with 'Clocks and Watches; if you ſhou'd put great Wheels in the place of 'little ones, all the Movement wou'd ſtand ſtill: So that we cannot alter 'any one Part of a Government, without prejudicing the Motions of the 'whole.——I ſhall go on to ſhew you, *why*, in my Opinion, *we are at 'this Time no Parliament.* The Ground of this Opinion of mine is taken from the ancient and unqueſtionable Statutes of this Realm; and 'give me leave to tell your Lordſhips by the Way, *That Statutes are 'not like Women, for they are not one jot the worſe for being old.* This 'Firſt Statute is that in the 4th of *Edward* III. *viz.* It is accorded, *That 'a Parliament ſhall be holden every Year once, and more often, if need 'be.* Now tho' theſe Words are as plain as a Pike Staff, and no Man 'living, that is not a Scholar, cou'd poſſibly miſtake the Meaning of 'them; yet the Grammarians in thoſe Days made a ſhift to explain, That 'the Words, *if need be*, related as well to the Words *every Year once*, 'as to the Words *more often*; and ſo by this Grammatical Whimſey of 'theirs, have made the Statute to ſignify juſt nothing at all. For this 'Reaſon, in the 36th Year of the ſame King's Reign, a new Act of Parliament was made, in which thoſe unfortunate Words *if need be*, are 'left out; and that Act of Parliament, relating to *Magna Charta* and 'other Statutes, made good. Here now, my Lords, there is not left the leaſt

The Duke of Buckingham's *Speech to prove the Parliament diſſolv'd.*

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'leaſt Colour or Shadow for any Miſtake; for it is plainly declar'd, 'That *the Kings of* England *muſt call a Parliament once within a* 'Year.

Then mentioning the Objection rais'd from the two *Triennial Bills*, he further ſaid, 'There have been ſeveral Half Kind of Arguments drawn 'out of theſe Bills againſt the old Statutes, which I confeſs I never cou'd 'remember, nor indeed thoſe that urg'd them to me ever durſt own: For 'they always laid their Faults upon ſome Body elſe, like ugly fooliſh Chil-'dren, whom becauſe of their Deformity and Want of Wit, their Pa-'rents are aſham'd of, and ſo turn them out of the Pariſh.—The whole 'Matter, *my Lords*, is reduc'd to this ſhort *Dilemma*; Either the Kings 'of *England* are bound by the Acts above-mention'd, or elſe the whole 'Government of *England* by Parliaments and by Law is abſolutely at 'an End: For if the Kings of *England* have Power, by an Order of 'theirs, to invalidate an Act made for the Maintenance of *Magna Char-'ta*, they have alſo Power, by an Order of theirs, to invalidate *Magna 'Charta* it ſelf. This, *my Lords*, I think is a Power that no Lawyer will 'pretend the Kings of *England* have; and yet this Power muſt be al-'low'd, or elſe we that are met here this Day cannot act as a Parliament. 'For we are now met by vertue of the laſt Prorogation, and that Prorо-'gation is an Order of the King's point-blank contrary to two Acts of 'Parliament, that ſay, *That a Parliament ſhall be holden once within a 'Year*; and the Prorogation ſaith, *A Parliament ſhall not be held with-'in a Year, but ſome Months after*; and this is a plain Contradiction, 'and conſequently the Prorogation is void. Now if we cannot Act as 'a Parliament, by vertue of this laſt Prorogation, I beſeech your Lord-'ſhips by vertue of what elſe can we act? Shall we act by vertue of the 'King's Proclamation? Pray, *my Lords*, how ſo? Is a Proclamation of 'more Force than a Prorogation? Or if a Thing that hath been order'd 'the firſt Time, be not valid, doth the ordering it the ſecond Time make 'it good in Law? I have heard indeed, *That two Negatives make an 'Affirmative*, but I never heard before *That two Nothings ever made 'any Thing*. Well, but how then are we met? Is it by our own Ad-'journment? I ſuppoſe no Body has the Confidence to ſay that: Which 'way then is it? Do we meet by Accident? That Thing may be grant-'ed; but an accidental Meeting can no more make a *Parliament*, 'than an accidental Clapping a Crown upon a Man's Head, can make a 'King.——

'*Oh!* but ſay ſome, *if the Prorogation be null and void, then things 'are juſt as they were before, and therefore the Parliament is ſtill in 'being*. I confeſs there wou'd be ſome weight in this but for one thing, 'which is, that not one word of it is true: For if, when the King had 'Prorogu'd us, we had taken no Notice of the Prorogation; but had 'gone on and adjourn'd our ſelves *de Die in Diem*, then I confeſs things 'had been juſt as they were before. But ſince upon the Prorogation 'we went away, and took no care of our ſelves for our Meeting again, 'if we cannot meet and act by vertue of that Prorogation, there is an 'Impoſſibility of our meeting and acting any other way. One may as 'properly ſay, that a Man that is kill'd by Aſſault is ſtill alive, becauſe 'he was kill'd unlawfully, as that the Parliament is ſtill alive becauſe the 'Prorogation was unlawful. The next Argument thoſe are reduc'd to, 'who wou'd maintain this to be a Parliament, is, *That the Parliament is 'Prorogu'd* ſine Die, *and therefore the King may call them again by Pro-'clamation*. Now the Statute ſays, *That a Parliament ſhall be holden 'once within a Year*; and the Prorogation having put them off till a 'Day without the Year, that Day in the Eye of the Law is no Day at 'all,

'all, that is *ſine Die:* And the Prorogation might as well have been put off 1677.
'till ſo many Months after *Dooms-Day*; and then I think no Body wou'd
'have doubted, but that had been a very ſufficient Diſſolution. — Ano- Car. 29
'ther Thing which they much inſiſt upon, is, *That they have found out a* Reſ. 17
'Precedent *in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time, when a Parliament was once Pro-*
'*rogu'd three Days beyond a Year.* This is but one *Precedent*, and of a
'very odd kind of Nature; for it was in the Time of a very great
'Plague, when every Body of a ſudden was forc'd to run away one from
'another, and ſo being in haſte, had not leiſure to calculate well the Time
'of the Prorogation; tho' the Appointing it to be within three Days of
'the Year is an Argument to me, that their Deſign was to keep with-
'in the Bounds of the Acts of Parliament. Now I beſeech your Lord-
'ſhips, what more can be drawn from the ſhewing this *Precedent*, but
'only that Becauſe *once upon a Time a Thing was done Illegally, there-*
'*fore your Lordſhips ſhou'd do ſo again now.— Oh!* but ſay they, *you*
'*muſt think Prudentially of the Inconveniencies which will follow upon*
'*it; for if this be allow'd, all thoſe Acts which were made in that Seſſion*
'*of Parliament will then be void.* It is the Part of Prudential Per-
'ſons to examine the Inconveniencies on both Sides, to weigh which are
'the Greateſt, and to be ſure to avoid them. And, *my Lords*, to that
'Kind of Examination I willingly ſubmit this Cauſe; For I preſume it
'will be eaſy for your Lordſhips to judge, which of theſe two will be
'of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Nation; Either to allow
'that the Statutes made in that particular Seſſion are void, (which may
'eaſily be confirm'd by a Lawful Parliament) or to lay it down for a
'Maxim,' "That the Kings of *England*, by a particular Order of
"theirs, have Power to break all the Laws of *England* when they
"pleaſe."——

'It is plain then in my Opinion, That we are no more a Parliament;
'and I humbly conceive, your Lordſhips ought to give God Thanks for
'it, ſince it has pleas'd him by his Providence to take you out of a Con-
'dition, wherein you muſt have been entirely uſeleſs to his Majeſty, to
'your Selves, and to the whole Nation. For, I do beſeech your Lord-
'ſhips, if nothing of this I have urg'd were true, what honourable Ex-
'cuſe cou'd we find for our Acting again with this Houſe of Commons?
'Except we cou'd pretend an Exquiſite Art of Forgetfulneſs to avoid
'calling to Mind all that paſs'd between us laſt Seſſions; and unleſs
'we cou'd have alſo a Faculty of teaching the ſame Art to the whole
'Nation. What Opinion cou'd They have of us, if it ſhou'd happen,
'that the very ſame Men, who were ſo earneſt the laſt Seſſion, for ha-
'ving this Houſe of Commons Diſſolv'd, when there was no Queſtion
'of their lawful Sitting, ſhou'd be now willing to joyn with them again,
'when without Queſtion they are Diſſolv'd? Nothing can be more dan-
'gerous to a King or a People, than that the Laws ſhou'd be made by an
'Aſſembly, of which there can be no doubt, Whether they have
'Power to make Laws or no: And it wou'd be in us inexcuſable, if we
'ſhou'd over-look this Danger, ſince there is for it ſo eaſy a Remedy,
'which the Law requires, and which all the Nation longs for, namely,
'*The Calling a new Parliament*: That only can put his Majeſty into a
'Poſſibility of Receiving Supplies; That can ſecure your Lordſhips the
'Honour of Sitting in this Houſe like Peers, and of being ſerviceable
'to your King and Country; and that can reſtore to all the People of
'*England* their undoubted Rights of Chuſing Men frequently to repre-
'ſent their Grievances in Parliament. Without this, all we can do wou'd
'be in vain; the Nation may languiſh a while, but muſt periſh at laſt:
'We ſhou'd become a Burden to our Selves, and a Prey to our Neigh-
'bours.

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'bours. My Motion therefore to your Lordſhips ſhall be, That we 'humbly addreſs our Selves to his Majeſty, and beg of him for his own 'Sake, as well as for the People's Sake, *to give us Speedily a new Par-* '*liament*; that ſo we may unanimouſly, before it be too late, uſe our 'utmoſt Endeavours for his Majeſty's Service, and for the Safety, the 'Welfare, and the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation.

This ſurprizing Speech was thought ſo bold and ſhocking, by the Lords in the Miniſtry, that one of them mov'd that the Duke might be call'd to the Bar. But the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was fully prepar'd, oppos'd this Motion as improper and extravagant; and did with great Courage and Sharpneſs of Application, ſecond and enforce the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Argument; and the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Wharton* fell in briskly on the ſame Side. While one of them was Speaking, the Duke took a Pen and writ the following Syllogiſm; 'It is a Maxim in 'the Law of *England*, that the Kings of *England* are bound up by all 'the Statutes made *pro bono Publico*; that every *Order* or *Direction* 'of theirs, contrary to the Scope and full Intent of any ſuch Statute, is '*Void* and *Null* in Law: But the laſt Prorogation of the Parliament 'was an *Order* of the King's contrary to an Act of King *Edward* III. 'made for the greateſt *Common Good*, viz. The Maintenance of all the 'Statutes of *England*, and for the Prevention of the *Miſchiefs* and Grie-'vances which daily happen: *Ergo* the laſt Prorogation of Parliament 'is *Void* and *Null* in Law.' After which he appeal'd to the Biſhops, whether it was not a true *Syllogiſm*, and to the Judges, whether the *Propoſitions* were not true in Law. The Debates aroſe to that Height, that all the four Lords were order'd to be ſent to the *Tower*, for Contempt of the Authority and Being of the preſent Parliament, there to remain during the Pleaſure of his Majeſty and the Houſe of Peers. In the mean Time, the Duke of *Buckingham* took the Opportunity of ſlipping out of the Houſe, while the Lord *Angleſey* was arguing againſt committing them. The Houſe finding he had withdrawn himſelf, were in a Rage, and deſign'd to addreſs the King for a Proclamation againſt him; but the Duke, foreſeeing the Event, wou'd not give them ſo much Trouble, and appear'd the next Day in his Place. The Court Lords immediately cry'd out *To the Bar!* But his Grace, who cou'd readily turn any Thing ſerious into Jeſt, and extricate himſelf out of any Difficulties, roſe up and ſaid, *He begg'd their Lordſhips Pardon for Retiring the Night before; That they very well knew the exact Oeconomy he kept in his Family, and perceiving their Lordſhips intended he ſhou'd be ſome Time in another Place, he only went home to ſet his Houſe in Order, and was now come to ſubmit to their Lordſhips Pleaſure*, which was to ſend him to the *Tower* after the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*. We hear that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, being jealous of the Duke's ſetting himſelf up for the Head of his Party, us'd to ſpeak ſlightly of him as a Man Inconſtant and Giddy, which the other hearing, reſented. It happen'd afterwards that the Duke, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, being diſcharg'd on their Submiſſion, and only the Earl of *Shaftsbury* continu'd in the *Tower*; the Earl look'd out of a Window as his Grace was taking Coach, and cry'd, *What, my Lord, are you going to leave us? Ay, my Lord*, ſaid he, *ſuch giddy headed Fellows as I can never ſtay long in a Place.* The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was continu'd above a Year, as will be afterwards remember'd. The Lords further to ſhew their Reſentment, order'd one Dr. *Cary* to be brought to the Bar of their Houſe, and to be queſtion'd concerning a Book he had carry'd to the Preſs, treating of the Illegality of the Prorogation; and becauſe he wou'd not ſatisfy them in ſome Interrogatories, they fin'd him a Thouſand Pounds

He, and the E. of Shaftsbury, *the E. of* Salisbury, *and the L.* Wharton *are ſent to the* Tower.

Pounds for his Contempt, and kept him close Prisoner till the Payment of the Money. 1677. Car. 29 Ref. 17

2. These active and vigorous Proceedings of the House of Peers, so much to the Honour and Advantage of the Commons, seem'd to have brought that House into a better, or more giving Temper than they had been in some late Sessions. For, notwithstanding some little Opposition from a few Members, they soon agreed to grant a Tax of near six hundred Thousand Pounds towards the Building and Furnishing of thirty Ships of War, and without appropriating any Part of the Customs. And whereas the additional Excise upon Beer and Ale, which had been granted upon the *Triple Alliance*, was now of course to expire on the 24th of *June* this Year, a Bill for Continuing of it three Years longer likewise pass'd without any Difficulty. Yet they refus'd three Bills sent down from the Lords, One entituled *An Act for Securing the Protestant Religion, by Educating the Children of the Royal Family, and providing for the Maintenance of the Protestant Clergy.* Another, *For the more effectual Conviction and Prosecution of Popish Recusants.* A Third, *For the Regulation of the Press*, with a Clause *to break open a House on Suspicion of any Pamphlets.* The two first they rejected, as not answering the Ends of their Titles, and the last as too severe, at a Time when they thought the People under some Necessity of declaring their Minds, especially against the growing Power of *France.* This last seem'd their great Concern; and the general Disposition of the House was either for declaring War, or making stricter Alliances for preventing the Progress of the *French* Conquests in *Flanders*, and on the *Rhine*, which now began to appear more formidable than ever. Accordingly they made this following Address to the King: 'We your Majesty's most loyal Subjects, 'Sc. do most humbly offer to your Majesty's Consideration, That the 'Minds of your People are much disquieted with the manifest Dangers 'arising to your Majesty by the Growth and Power of the *French* King; 'especially by the Acquisitions already made, and the farther Progress 'like to be made by him, in the *Spanish Netherlands*, in the Preservation and Security whereof, we humbly conceive the Interest of your Majesty, and the Safety of your People are highly concern'd; and therefore 'we humbly beseech your Majesty to take the same into your Royal 'Care, and to strengthen your self with such stricter Alliances, as may secure 'your Majesty's Kingdoms, and secure and preserve the said *Spanish Netherlands*, and thereby quiet the Minds of your Majesty's People.' To which the King shortly after gave this following Answer; *That his Majesty was of the Opinion of his two Houses of Parliament; That the Preservation of* Flanders *was of great Consequence; and that he wou'd use all Means in his Power for the Safety of his Kingdom.*

The Proceedings of the Commons.

Their Address to the King.

The Answer.

Shortly after, on the 26th of *March*, they drew up a second Address, as follows: 'We your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, 'Sc. do with 'unspeakable Joy and Comfort, present our humble Thanks to 'your Majesty, for your Majesty's gracious Acceptance of our late Address, and that your Majesty was pleas'd in your Princely Wisdom to 'to express your *Concurrence and Opinion with your two Houses in reference to the Preservation of the* Spanish Netherlands. And we do 'with most earnest and repeated Desires implore your Majesty, that you 'would be pleas'd to take timely Care to prevent those Dangers that 'may arise to these Kingdoms by the great Power of the *French* King, and 'the Progress he daily makes in those *Netherlands* and other Places. 'And therefore that your Majesty wou'd not defer the entering into 'such Alliances as may obtain those Ends; and in Case it shall happen, 'that in Pursuance of such Alliances, your Majesty shou'd be engag'd in

A Second Address.

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'a War with the *French* King, we do hold our Selves oblig'd, and do 'with all Humility and Chearfulneſs aſſure your Majeſty, That we your 'moſt Loyal Subjects ſhall always be ready upon Signification thereof in 'Parliament, fully, and from Time to Time, to aſſiſt your Majeſty with 'ſuch Aids and Supplies, as, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, may enable your 'Majeſty to proſecute the ſame with Succeſs. All which we do moſt 'humbly offer to your Majeſty as the unanimous Senſe and Deſire of the 'whole Kingdom.

Debates upon it. Upon a ſolemn Debate in the Houſe, thoſe againſt the Addreſs argu'd and alledg'd, 'That to preſs the King to make farther Alliances with the 'Confederates againſt the *French* King, was in effect to preſs him to a 'War, that being the direct and unavoidable Conſequence thereof: 'That the Conſideration of War was moſt proper for the King, who 'had full Intelligence of Foreign Affairs, and knew the *Arcana Impe-'rii*. That it was a dangerous Thing haſtily to incite the King to a 'War; ſince our Merchant-Ships and Effects wou'd immediately be ſeiz'd 'by the *French* King, who wou'd thereby probably acquire the Value of 'near a Million to enable him to maintain the War againſt us: That he 'wou'd fall upon our Plantations, and take, plunder and annoy them: 'That he wou'd ſend out abundance of Privateers, and take, and di-'ſturb our Trading Ships in theſe Seas, and in the *Mediterranean*.' It was further alledg'd, 'That at preſent we had not ſo many Ships of War as 'He, and thoſe Thirty which were to be built with the ſix hundred 'Thouſand Pounds now given, cou'd not be finiſh'd in two Years: That 'we had not Naval Stores and Ammunition, *&c.* ſufficient for ſuch 'a Purpoſe; and if we had, yet the Seaſon of the Year was too far ad-'vanc'd to ſet out a conſiderable Fleet, and we cou'd not now lay in 'Beef, Pork, *&c.* That when we were engag'd in a War, the *Dutch* 'wou'd probably leave us in it, and ſo gain to themſelves the ſingular Ad-'vantage of ſole Trading in Peace, a Priviledge we now enjoy, and 'ſhou'd not be weary of. That it was next to impoſſible to make Alliances 'with the ſeveral Parties as might be expected, ſuch and ſo various were 'the Intereſts and Croſs-Biaſſes, of and amongſt the Emperor, the *Spa-'niard*, the *Dane*, the *Dutch*, the *Brandenburger*, and the ſeveral leſſer 'Princes of *Germany*, and others. That we may eaſily enter into a War, 'but it wou'd be hard to find the Way out of it, and a long War wou'd 'be deſtructive to us; for the Emperor, the *French*, *Spaniard*, &c. uſe 'to maintain War for many Years; yet a Trading Nation, ſuch as '*England*, cou'd not endure a tedious War.

In Anſwer to theſe Allegations, on the other Side it was inſiſted on, 'That they did not Addreſs for making *War*, but making *Leagues*, which 'might be a Means to prevent a War: That the beſt Way to preſerve 'Peace, was to be in a Preparation for War: That admitting a War 'ſhou'd enſue thereupon, as was not unlikely, yet in Concluſion that 'wou'd tend to our Peace and Safety; for it cou'd not be deny'd, *That 'if the Power of* France *were not reduc'd, and brought to a more equal 'Ballance, we muſt firſt or laſt, fight or ſubmit*. That it was commonly the Fate of thoſe who kept themſelves Neutral, when their Neigh-'bours were at War, to become a Prey to the Conqueror. That now or 'never was the Seaſon to make War with *France*, while we may have 'ſuch Auxiliaries; and if it were a formidable Thing to engage him now, 'how much more when this Opportunity was loſt, the Confederacy diſ-'ſolv'd, and we left to withſtand him alone? That as to his ſeizing our 'Merchants Effects, the Caſe is the ſame now as it wou'd be three Years 'hence, or whenever the War ſhall commence: And as to our Plantati-'ons and Traders, we muſt look upon the *French* as Powerful, but not

'Omni-

'Omnipotent; and we may as well defend them as the *Dutch* do theirs 1677.
'by Convoys, *&c.* and chiefly when the *French* ſhall have ſo many Ene- Car. 29
'mies, and we ſo many Friends, as no other time is like to afford. Reſ. 17
'They were ſorry, indeed, to hear we wanted Ships, Stores, *&c.*
'but hop'd it wou'd appear to be otherwiſe. That the Seaſon was not
'ſo far ſpent, but that a competent Fleet might be ſet out this Summer;
'and that, however defective we might be in this kind, the *Dutch* were
'ready to make an effectual Supplement in that behalf. That however
'ill and falſe ſome Men might eſteem the *Dutch*, yet *Intereſt will not*
'*lye*; and it is ſo much their Intereſt to confine and reduce the *French*,
'that it is not to be imagin'd but that they will ſteadily adhere to every
'Friend, and every Alliance they ſhall joyn with for that purpoſe.
'That however various the ſeveral Confederates and their Intereſts were,
'yet a common Alliance might be made with them againſt the *French*,
'and the preſent Alliance may be extended to *England*. That a numerous
'and vigorous Conjunction againſt the *French* King is the way to ſhorten
'the Work; whereas, if he ſhou'd hereafter attack us ſingly, he wou'd
'continue the War on as long as he pleas'd, till he made an end of it and us
'together by our final Deſtruction.' In concluſion they urg'd, 'That the
'preſent was the beſt time for the purpoſe, and that it wou'd give Re-
'putation to the Confederates, and immediate Comfort and Courage
'to our beſt Friends, and Safety to our ſelves in futurity againſt the *Old*
'*perpetual Enemy of* England.'

3. The Arguments on this ſide prevail'd; and the ſecond Addreſs was preſented to his Majeſty on the 30th of *March*, but they receiv'd no Anſwer till 12 Days after. In the mean time they vigorouſly proceeded in the finiſhing of ſeveral good Bills, as one for taking away the Writ *De Hæretico Comburendo*, a Law that had made many People very uneaſy, eſpecially now when the Fears of Popery were increaſing. Another againſt the *Profanation of the Lord's-Day*: A third *for the Augmentation of ſmall Vicarages*, which had brought a Scandal upon the Perſons, as well as Revenues of the Clergy. Another remarkable one againſt *Frauds* and *Perjuries*, with ſome others. While they were thus buſily employ'd, on the 11th of *April*, they receiv'd this Meſſage from the King, *His Majeſty having conſider'd your laſt Addreſs, and finding ſome late Alterations in Affairs Abroad, thinks it neceſſary to put you in mind, that the only way to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe in theſe Kingdoms, muſt be putting his Majeſty timely in a Condition to make ſuch fitting Preparations as may enable him to do what may be moſt for the Security of them. And if for this Reaſon you ſhall deſire to ſit any longer time, his Majeſty is content you may adjourn now before* Eaſter [this Year the 15th of *April*,] *and meet again ſuddenly after, to ripen this Matter, and to perfect ſome of the moſt neceſſary Bills now depending.* *The King's Meſſage to them.*

Upon this Meſſage it was mov'd, that the Houſe ſhou'd adjourn till after *Eaſter*, with a Reſolution to enable the King to make ſuch Preparations as ſhou'd be thought neceſſary, and alſo paſs ſome neceſſary Bills for the Kingdom; 'Which if they did not, the blame of the Neg- *Debates upon it.*
'lect muſt reſt upon themſelves, and it wou'd be obſerv'd, they had not
'ſate to any Effect this four Years; and that now they had a Seſſion,
'and had given a Million, they took little care to redreſs Grievances, or
'paſs good Laws for the People; and that they ſhou'd not be able to
'give any Account of themſelves to their Neighbours in the Country,
'unleſs they ſhou'd face them down, that there was no Grievance or
'Miſchief in the Nation to be redreſs'd, and that the King had ſtopp'd
'their Mouths by offering them to ſit longer.' Others ſaid, 'They

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'ſhou'd perfect two Money-Bills, and give the King Eaſe, and take another time to conſider further of *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property*, eſpecially ſeeing all Bills now depending wou'd be kept on foot; the intended Receſs being deſign'd only for an Adjournment: That they had very good Laws already, and wou'd give their Shares in any new ones they were making, to be in the Country at the preſent time; that it was neceſſary for them to be there the 10th of *May*, to execute the Money Bill, and ſome time was to be allow'd for their Journeys, and Reſt after it; that the *Paſſing ſome neceſſary Bills*, came in the end of the King's Meſſage, and by the by; for his Majeſty ſaith, *That if for this Reaſon*, that is, for making of Preparations, *&c. they ſhou'd deſire to ſit longer*; and if ſo, then alſo take the Opportunity of paſſing ſuch Bills.' So the Senſe and Inclination of the Houſe was to riſe before *Eaſter*, as had been before intimated and expected. Then they fell upon the main Conſideration of the Meſſage, and to make a preſent Anſwer. In the Debate, the Majority ſhew'd themſelves zealous againſt *France*; and when it was objected, 'That it was not convenient for his Majeſty to declare his ſecret Purpoſes in a publick Aſſembly;' they reply'd, 'They did not much deſire Secrecy; for let the King take a great Reſolution, and put himſelf at the Head of his Parliament and People in this weighty and worthy Cauſe of *England*, and let a Flying Poſt carry the News to *Paris*, and the *French* King do his worſt.

But being a very thin Houſe at this time, by reaſon of an expected Receſs at *Eaſter*, they were very cautious of giving in any large Proportion; yet as an Earneſt of what they intended, they were willing to do ſomething at preſent, and accordingly they voted the following Anſwer, which was preſented to the King by the Speaker and the whole Houſe on the 13th of *April*:

An Anſwer to it.

'We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, *&c.* do with great Satisfaction of Mind obſerve the Regard your Majeſty is pleas'd to expreſs to our former Addreſſes, by intimating to us *the late Alteration of Affairs Abroad*, and do return our moſt humble Thanks for your Majeſty's moſt gracious Offer made to us thereupon in your late Meſſage: And having taken a ſerious Deliberation of the ſame, and of the Preparations your Majeſty hath therein intimated to us were fitting to be made, in order to thoſe publick Ends we have at preſent provided a Security in a Bill *for the Additional Duty of Exciſe*, upon which your Majeſty may raiſe the Sum of Two hundred thouſand Pounds. And if your Majeſty ſhall think fit to call us together again for this purpoſe in ſome ſhort time after *Eaſter*, by any publick Signification of your Pleaſure, commanding our Attendance; we ſhall at our next Meeting not only be ready to reimburſe your Majeſty what Sums of Money ſhall be expended upon ſuch extraordinary Preparations as ſhall be made in purſuance of our former Addreſſes; but ſhall likewiſe with thankful Hearts proceed then, and at all other times, to furniſh your Majeſty with ſo large a proportion of Aſſiſtance and Supplies upon this Occaſion, as may give your Majeſty and the whole World, an ample Teſtimony of our Loyalty and Affection to your Majeſty's Service; and as may enable your Majeſty, by the help of Almighty God, to maintain ſuch ſtricter Alliances as you ſhall have enter'd into, againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever.' Hereupon his Majeſty, within two Days, ſent this ſecond Meſſage to the Houſe: *His Majeſty having conſider'd the Anſwer of this Houſe to the laſt Meſſage about enabling him to make fitting Preparations for the Security of theſe Kingdoms, finds by it that they have only enabled him to borrow Two hundred thouſand Pounds upon a Fund given him for other Uſes; his Majeſty deſires therefore this Houſe ſhou'd know, and he hopes they will always believe of him, that not only*

Another Meſſage from the King.

that

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that Fund, but any other within his Power ſhall be engag'd to the utmoſt for the Preſervation of his Kingdom: But as his Majeſty's Condition is, (which he doubts not but is as well known to this Houſe as himſelf) he muſt tell them plainly, That without the Sum of Six hundred thouſand Pounds, *or Credit for ſuch a Sum, upon new Funds, it will not be poſſible for him to ſpeak or act thoſe things which ſhou'd anſwer the Ends of their ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing the Kingdom to much greater Danger. His Majeſty doth further acquaint you, that having done his Part, and laid the true ſtate of things before you, he will not be wanting to uſe the beſt means for the Safety of his People, which at preſent he is capable of.*

The Houſe fell into an immediate Conſideration of an Anſwer, and after a ſhort Debate, they drew up the following Addreſs: 'We your 'Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, &c. having conſider'd your Majeſty's laſt 'Meſſage, and the gracious Expreſſions therein contain'd, for *employing 'your Majeſty's whole Revenue at any time, to raiſe Money for the Pre-'ſervation of your Majeſty's Kingdoms,* do find great Cauſe to return our 'moſt humble Thanks to your Majeſty for the ſame, and to deſire your 'Majeſty to reſt aſſur'd, that you ſhall find as much Duty and Affection 'in us, as can be expected from a moſt loyal People, to their moſt graci-'ous Sovereign: And whereas your Majeſty is pleas'd to ſignify to us, '*That the Sum of Two hundred thouſand Pounds is not ſufficient without 'a further Supply, to enable your Majeſty to ſpeak or act thoſe things 'deſir'd by your People,* We humbly take leave to acquaint your Majeſty, 'that many of our Members being (upon an Expectation of an Adjourn-'ment before *Eaſter*) gone into their ſeveral Countries, we cannot 'think it Parliamentary in their Abſence, to take upon us the granting 'of Money; but do therefore deſire your Majeſty to be pleas'd that this 'Houſe may adjourn it ſelf for ſuch a ſhort time, before the ſaid Two 'hundred thouſand Pounds be expended, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit, 'and by your Royal Proclamation to command the Attendance of all 'our Members at the Day of Meeting. By which time we hope your 'Majeſty may have ſo form'd your Affairs, and fix'd your Alliances, in 'purſuance of our former Addreſſes, that your Majeſty may be graci-'ouſly pleas'd to impart them to us in Parliament; and we no ways 'doubt, but at our next aſſembling, your Majeſty will not only meet 'with a Compliance in the Supply your Majeſty deſires; but withal, 'ſuch farther Aſſiſtance as the poſture of your Majeſty's Affairs ſhou'd 'require. In confidence whereof, we hope your Majeſty will be encou-'rag'd in the mean time to ſpeak and act ſuch things as you ſhall judge 'neceſſary for attaining thoſe great Ends, as we have formerly repreſent-'ed to your Majeſty.'

Another Addreſs from the Commons.

The King had no ſooner receiv'd this Addreſs, but, finding the Mony Bills ready, the ſame Evening, *April* the 16th, he came ſuddenly to the Houſe of Peers, and being ſeated on his Throne with the uſual Solemnity, he ſent for the Houſe of Commons, and gave his Royal Aſſent to the ſeveral Bills preſented to him, *viz.* 1. *An Act for raiſing the Sum of Five hundred eighty four thouſand Pounds,* &c. *for the ſpeedy building thirty Ships of War.* 2. An Act for *an additional Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors for three Years.* 3. An Act for *the better Obſervation of the Lord's-Day.* 4. An Act for *Prevention of Frauds and Perjuries.* 5. An Act for *taking Affidavits in the Country, to be us'd in the Courts of* Weſtminſter-Hall. 6. An Act for *confirming and perpetuating Augmentations made by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, on ſmall Vicarages and Curacies.* 7. An Act for *taking away the Writ* De Hæretico Comburendo. 8. An Act for *Naturalizing of Children of his Majeſty's* Engliſh *Subjects born*

The King paſſes ſeveral Bills.

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born in Foreign Countries during the late Troubles. 9. An Act for *Erecting a Judicature to determine Differences touching Houſes burnt by the late dreadful Fire in* Southwark. 10. *An Act for the better Repairing and Maintaining the Peer of* Great Yarmouth. Of all theſe Acts the Fourth, *Againſt Frauds and Perjuries*, has been diſtinguiſh'd and commended, as one of univerſal Benefit to the Nation; and a moſt eminent Lawyer has declar'd his Opinion of it, 'That it is of that Weight and 'Worth, that every Paragraph is equal to another Act of Parliament.' After the paſſing theſe Acts, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, acquainted the two Houſes, that they had leave to Adjourn themſelves till the 21ſt of *May* next. And thus the Parliament broke up, and had a Receſs of near five Weeks, having had an imperfect, but not diſhonourable Seſſion, of a little above two Months.

The Parliament Adjourn'd.

4. What ſo much excited the Vigour and Activity of the Houſe of Commons, was the great Progreſs of the *French* abroad, as was before hinted; who, while the *Engliſh* Court was taken up with Pleaſures, were with their great Monarch purſuing their Glory with irreſiſtable Force. They had block'd up *Cambray* and *Valenciennes* in the Beginning of the Year; and about the End of *February*, having provided ſufficient Magazines in the Winter, they began to break into *Flanders*, and into the Parts of *Germany* on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, and with all the moſt cruel Ravages of Burning and Spoiling thoſe Parts of *Germany* that cou'd be exercis'd, and ſuch as had not been us'd by either Side ſince the War began. The Allies and Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen* made Complaints of this new Manner of War to his *Britannick* Majeſty, who employ'd his Offices towards *France*, to hinder ſuch a Proſecution of a Conteſt, while a Peace was treating under his Mediation; but the Thing was done, and their Point was gain'd, before any Interpoſition cou'd take place. Being ſecure againſt any Diverſion from the *Rhine*, about the Beginning of *March*, the *French* King ſat down before *Valenciennes*; and having ſurmounted the very Force of the Seaſons, he took it on the 17th of that Month. From thence he march'd with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one Part of it, and to St. *Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. After five Days Siege from the Opening of the Trenches, he took *Cambray*, like all the other *Spaniſh* Towns, by Surrender upon Articles; but the Citadel held out for ſome Days longer.

The Progreſs of the French *King.*

In the mean Time, the *Dutch*, finding the *French* thus going on, while the Treaty at *Nimeguen* ſerv'd but for an Amuſement, reſolv'd to venture another Campaign; being kept up to this Reſolution by the Vigour of the Prince of *Orange*, who urg'd them to the Obſervance of their Treaties, and their Intereſt in the Defence of *Flanders*. The *Spaniards* were very negligent, ſo that his Highneſs with all imaginable Diligence and Application, cou'd not come to the Relief of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*, but with Part of the Forces of the *States* alone; and without either Troops, or ſo much as Guides furniſh'd him by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly to St. *Omer*, reſolving to raiſe that Siege with the Hazard of a Battel, how diſadvantagious ſoever. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a ſmall Part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before St. *Omer*, march'd to meet the Prince of *Orange*, being on the Way reinforc'd by Monſieur *de Luxemburg*, with all the Troops the *French* King cou'd ſpare out of his Army, before the Citadel of *Cambray*. Theſe Armies met, and fought with great Bravery at *Mont-Caſſel*, where after a ſharp Diſpute, the firſt Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break, and fall into Diſorder: The Prince rode immediately to that Part where the ſhock

The Fight of Mont-Caſſel.

ſhock began, rally'd them ſeveral Times, and renew'd the Charge; but at laſt was born down by the plain Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to reſiſt like Enemies, and fall in among them with his Sword in his Hand; and cutting the firſt croſs over the Face, cry'd out aloud, *Raſcal! I'll ſet a Mark on Thee at leaſt, that I may hang thee afterwards.* Neither Voice nor Action, Threats nor Example, cou'd give Courage to Men who had already loſt it; and ſo the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Stream that carry'd him back to the reſt of his Troops, which yet ſtood firm; with whom, and what he cou'd gather of thoſe that had been routed, he made a Retreat that, as Sir *William Temple* ſays, wanted little of the Honour of a Victory; the Safety of the *Dutch* Army being wholly owing to his Highneſs's Conduct and Bravery. After this Misfortune, both St. *Omer* and the Citadel of *Cambray* were ſurrender'd to the *French* about the 20th of *April*; with which the *Spaniards* loſt the main Strength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that Side, as they had done that on the other by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* in the former War, as likewiſe all the Hopes of raiſing Contributions in *France*, which was a great Part of the Subſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* Troops: So as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier conſiderable, beſides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, and *Oſtend* and *Nieuport* to the Sea. 1677. Car. 29 Reſ. 17

The Neglect of the Spaniards.

After all, the *Spaniards* were ſo extremely paſſive, that they ſeem'd to have abandon'd the Fate of *Flanders* to the Care of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, with a Reſignation more becoming good Chriſtians than wiſe Reaſoners. From whence the foremention'd Author obſerv'd, from all he had ſeen, heard or read, That nothing was ſo fallacious, as to reaſon upon the Counſels and Conduct of Governments, from what one conceives to be their true *Intereſts:* For in all Places there was an Intereſt of the Governors, and another of the Governed; and further, there was an Intereſt of Quiet Men, that deſire only to keep what they have; and another of Unquiet Men, who deſire to obtain what they have not. Therefore *He never cou'd find a better Way of Judging the Reſolutions of a State, than by the Perſonal Temper and Underſtanding, or Paſſions and Humours of the Princes, or chief Miniſters, that were then at the Head of Affairs.* But the *Spaniards* reaſon'd only the common Way, from what they thought the Intereſt of each Country: They knew *Holland* wou'd ſave *Flanders* if they cou'd; and they were ſure *England* cou'd, if they wou'd; and believ'd they wou'd be brought to it at laſt by the Increaſe of the Danger, the Force of their Intereſt, and the Humour of the People. In this Hope or Preſumption they were much flatter'd by the Miniſters then in *England*, *de Salinas*, Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonſeca*, Conſul there, who did indeed very induſtriouſly foment the Heats that began to appear about this Time in Parliament, upon the Apprehenſions of the *French* Conqueſts; which mov'd them to make the already mention'd Addreſſes to the King. *De Salinas* proceeded ſo far, as to tell ſome of the Commons, That the King was very angry at their Addreſs, and ſaid, *That the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues:* Which making a great Noiſe in the Houſe, his Majeſty reſented it as a Piece of Malice, or at leaſt as a Deſign to inflame the Commons; and thereupon order'd *de Salinas* to depart the Kingdom within certain Days.

All this Time *France* had ſo much regard to the Jealouſies of *England* and *Holland*, of their deſigning an Entire Conqueſt of *Flanders*, that after having gain'd thoſe three important Frontier Towns ſo eaſily in the Spring, and diſpos'd his Army into Quarters of Refreſhment, the King went to *Dunkirk*; from whence he ſent the Duke of *Crequi* to his *Britannick* Majeſty with a Compliment and a Letter, importing, 'That to ſhew 'he had no Intention to conquer *Flanders*, but only to make a *General* 'Peace,

The Offers of France.

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'*Peace*, he was contented, notwithſtanding the great Advantages and 'Forces he had at preſent, to make a *General Truce*, in Caſe his Allies 'the *Swedes* wou'd agree to it, which he deſir'd his Majeſty to inform 'himſelf of, ſince he had not Convenience of doing it, *for want of Li-* '*berty of Couriers into* Sweden.' The Contents of this Letter were promoted by the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, among the ſeveral Miniſters there, till they found it had an Effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too groſs an Artifice. Even *Beverning* the *Dutch* Plenipotentiary, tho' of all others the moſt forward for a Peace, reſented it ſo openly, that he ſaid, *That the* French *were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of* Importance, *nor ſo much as of* Amuſement: *That they had given their* Blow, *and wou'd now hinder the Allies from giving Theirs: That the Reſerve of* Sweden's *Conſent was an eaſy Way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies ſhou'd accept it: That this it ſelf cou'd not be done, becauſe* Flanders *wou'd be left ſo open, as to be eaſily ſwallow'd up by the next Invaſion, having no Frontier on either ſide. That for his Part, he deſired the Peace contrary to the Politicks of his Aſſociate* Beuninghen, *and the other Miniſters of the Allies in* England; ever affirming, *That notwithſtanding all their Intrigues and Intelligences there, he was aſſur'd, That his* Britannick *Majeſty wou'd not enter into the War to ſave the laſt Town in* Flanders. In purſuance of this Confidence, he follow'd all the Ways imaginable towards a Peace, and by ſuch Steps as ſome thought forwarder than his Commiſſion allow'd, and very ill concerted with thoſe of the Allies; ſo that about *July* all Points were ſeparately, and in a great meaſure adjuſted between the *French* and the *Hollanders*.

The Continuation of the SIXTEENTH SESSION *of Parliament.*

VI. 1. In the mean Time, on the 21ſt of *May*, the Parliament of *England* met according to Adjournment, after a Receſs of near five Weeks, and this was a Continuation of the Sixteenth Seſſion of the ſecond and long Parliament. This began without any Speech from the King; but the Meeting was open'd by a verbal Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, deliver'd by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, by which 'His Majeſty acquainted the Houſe, That having according to 'their Deſire in their Anſwer to his late Meſſage, *April* 16. directed their 'Adjournment to this Time; becauſe they did alledge it *to be Unparlia-* '*mentary to Grant Supplies when the Houſe was ſo thin, in Expectation* '*of a ſpeedy Adjournment*; and having alſo iſſu'd out his Proclamation of 'Summons, to the End there might be a full Houſe, he did now expect 'they wou'd forthwith enter upon the Conſideration of his laſt Meſſage, 'and the rather, becauſe he intended there ſhou'd be a Receſs very 'quickly.' Upon this it was mov'd, That the King's laſt Meſſage of *April* 16, and the Anſwer to it ſhou'd be read: Which being done, after a long Silence, a Debate began about their Expectation, and Neceſſity of Alliances; and particularly it was intimated 'That an Alliance with '*Holland* was moſt expedient, for that we ſhou'd deceive our ſelves if 'we thought we cou'd be defended otherwiſe; we alone cou'd not with-'ſtand the *French*, his Purſe and Power was too great; nor cou'd the '*Dutch* withſtand him, but both together might.' The general Argument was, 'That they came with an Expectation to have Alliances de-'clared, and if they were not made ſo as to be imported, they were not 'call'd or come to that purpoſe they deſired, and hop'd to meet upon; 'and if ſome few Days might ripen them, they wou'd be content to Ad-'journ for the mean Time.' The Secretary and others ſaid, 'Theſe Al-'liances were things of great Weight and Difficulty, and the Time had 'been ſhort; but if they were finiſh'd, yet it was not convenient to pub-

Rot. Parl. *Marvel. Temple. Leeds. Orleans. Mountagu. Pope. Calamy. Wood. MSS.*

Debates of the Commons.

'liſh

'liſh them, 'till the King was in a Readineſs and Poſture to proſecute and 'maintain them; 'till when his Majeſty cou'd not ſo much as ſpeak out, '*i. e. without firſt receiving ſix Hundred Thouſand Pounds*, according 'to the Words of his Meſſage.' By others it was obſerv'd and ſaid, 'That they met now upon a publick Notice by Proclamation, which 'Proclamation was in purſuance of their laſt Addreſs, in which Addreſs 'they deſire the King *They may Adjourn for ſuch Time, as within which, 'they hop'd, Alliances might be fix'd, ſo as to be imparted.* They men-'tion'd not any particular Day; if his Majeſty had not thought this Time 'long enough for the purpoſe, he might have appointed the Adjourn-'ment for a longer Time; or he might have given Notice by Proclama-'tion, That upon this Account they ſhou'd Re-Adjourn to a yet longer 'Time.' In this State of Uncertainty, the Houſe adjourn'd for two Days, having firſt order'd the Committee for the Bill *for Recalling his Majeſty's Subjects out of the Service of the French King*, to ſit in the After-noon, when they went through the Bill. 1677. Car. 29 Reſ. 18

The Commons being met at the Time appointed, his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage for the Houſe to attend him immediately at the *Banquetting Houſe* in *White-Hall*, where he made the following Speech to them: *Gentlemen, I have ſent for you hither that I might prevent thoſe Miſtakes and Diſtruſts which I find ſome are ready to make, as if I had called you together only to get Money from you, for other Uſes than you wou'd have it imploy'd. I do aſſure you on the Word of a King, that you ſhall not repent any Truſt you repoſe in Me, for the Safety of my Kingdoms; and I deſire you to believe I wou'd not break my Credit with you; but as I have already told you*, That it will not be poſſible for me to Speak or Act thoſe Things which ſhou'd anſwer the Ends of your ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing my Kingdoms to much greater Dangers, *ſo I declare to you again, I will neither hazard my own Safety, nor Yours, until I be in a better Condition than I am able to put my ſelf, both to defend my Subjects, and offend my Enemies. I do further aſſure you, I have not loſt one Day ſince your laſt Meeting in doing all I cou'd for your Defence; and I tell you plainly, it ſhall be your Fault and not mine, if your Security be not ſufficiently provided for.* *The King's Speech to them.*

The Commons returning to their Houſe, reſolv'd to conſider of the Speech in a full and regular Debate: In which the Secretary and others propounded the Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds Supply, but ſaid, 'They 'did not preſs the Houſe, but they might do as they pleas'd: But if they 'expected Alliances to be made, and made known, that Sum muſt be 'firſt granted: The King had the ſame Power of making War and Leagues, 'as this Houſe had in giving Money; He cou'd not have Money with-'out them, nor they Alliances without Him. He had conſider'd the 'Matter, and found that he ought by ſuch a Sum to be enabled to main-'tain and proſecute his Alliances, before they cou'd or ſhou'd be declar'd, 'and truly otherwiſe our Nakedneſs and Weakneſs wou'd be expos'd. '*Tis* true as has been objected, The asking and giving of Money for 'this purpoſe, wou'd allarm as declaring the Alliance, but then it wou'd 'defend too. *A Whip will allarm a wild Beaſt, but will not defend 'the Man; a Sword will allarm the Beaſt, but will alſo defend the Man.*' Others alledg'd, 'That Alliances might be made forthwith, and then 'Money wou'd be granted forthwith; if they were declar'd to Day, the 'ſix hundred thouſand Pounds wou'd be granted to Morrow: There was 'no Fear of the Want of Money, our own Extravagancies wou'd main-'tain the War.' They further ſaid, '*The Door towards* France *muſt be 'ſhut and guarded; for as long as it is open, our Treaſure and Trade 'will creep out, and their Religion creep in at it.* We think the Proſe-'cuting theſe Alliances, the only good uſe for which our Money can be *Debates upon it.*

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An Address to the King.

'employ'd; and therefore before we give, we shou'd be secure it 'shou'd be apply'd to this purpose, and not by ill Counsels diverted to 'others.

After a long Debate, they agreed to draw up a long Address to his Majesty, of which the greatest Part ought to be inserted; 'We your Ma-'jesty's most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, *&c.* having taken into Consi-'deration your Majesty's most gracious Speech, do beseech your Majesty 'to believe it is a great Affliction to us, to find our selves oblig'd, at pre-'sent, to declare against the granting your Majesty the Supply you are 'pleas'd to demand; conceiving it not agreeable to the Usage of Parlia-'ments, to grant Supplies for Maintenance of Wars and Alliances, be-'fore they are signify'd in Parliament; from which Usage, if we might 'depart, the Precedent might be of dangerous Consequence in future 'Times, tho' your Majesty's Goodness gives us great Security during 'your Reign, which we beseech God long to continue. This Conside-'ration prompted us in our last Address, humbly to mention to your 'Majesty our Hopes, that before our Meeting again, your Majesty's Al-'liances might be so fix'd, as that you might be graciously pleas'd to im-'part them to us in Parliament, that so our earnest Desires of supplying 'your Majesty, might meet with no Impediment or Obstruction; being 'highly sensible of the Necessity of Supporting, as well as Making the 'foremention'd Alliances, and which we still conceive so important to 'the Safety of your Majesty and your Kingdoms, That we cannot 'omit, upon all Occasions, humbly to beseech your Majesty, as we do 'now, *to enter into a League, Offensive and Defensive, with the* States-'General *of the* United Provinces, *against the Growth and Power of the* 'French *King, and for the Preservation of the* Spanish Netherlands; *and* 'to make such other Alliances with other such of the Confederates, as your 'Majesty shall think fit and useful to that End: In doing which (that 'no Time may be lost) we humbly offer to your Majesty these Reasons 'for the expediting of it. 1. That if the entering into such Alliances 'shou'd draw on a War with the *French* King, it wou'd be least detri-'mental to your Subjects at this Time of the Year, they having now 'fewest Effects within the Dominion of that King. 2. That tho' we have 'great Reason to believe the Power of the *French* King to be dangerous 'to your Majesty and your Kingdoms, when he shall be at more leisure 'to molest us; yet we conceive the many Enemies he has to deal withal 'at present, together with the Situation of your Majesty's Kingdoms, *the* 'Unanimity of the People in the Cause, the Care your Majesty hath been 'pleas'd to take of your ordinary Guards of the Sea, together with the 'Credit provided by the late Act *for an Additional Excise for three* 'Years, make the Entering into, and Declaring Alliances very safe, un-'til we may in a regular Way give your Majesty such further Supplies, 'as may enable you to support your Alliances, and defend your King-'doms. 3. And because of the great Danger and Charge which must 'necessarily fall upon your Majesty's Kingdoms, if through Want of that 'timely Encouragement and Assistance, which your joyning with the 'States-General of the United Provinces, and other Confederates, wou'd 'give them, the said *States*, or any other considerable Part of the Con-'federates, shou'd the next Winter, or sooner, make a Peace, or a Truce 'with the *French* King.——Having thus discharg'd our Duty, in laying 'before your Majesty the Danger threatning your Majesty and your King-'doms, and the only Remedies we can think of, for the securing and 'quieting the Minds of your Majesty's People, with some few of those 'Reasons which have mov'd us to this, and our former Addresses on 'these Subjects; We most humbly beseech your Majesty, to take the Matter

'Matter into your ſerious Conſideration, and to take ſuch Reſolutions, as 'may not leave it in the Power of any Neighbouring Prince, to rob your 'People of that Happineſs which they enjoy under your Majeſty's gra- 'cious Government; beſeeching your Majeſty to reſt confident and aſ- 'ſured, that when your Majeſty ſhall be pleas'd to declare ſuch Alliances 'in Parliament, we ſhall hold our ſelves oblig'd, not only by our Pro- 'miſes and Aſſurances given, and now with great Unanimity reviv'd in 'a full Houſe; but by the Zeal and Deſires of thoſe whom we repreſent, 'and by the Intereſts of all our Safeties, moſt chearfully to give your 'Majeſty from time to time ſuch ſpeedy Supplies and Aſſiſtances, as may 'fully and plentifully anſwer the Occaſions, and by God's Bleſſing pre- 'ſerve your Majeſty's Honour, and the Safety of the People. 1677. Car. 29 Reſ. 18

After the Reading of this Addreſs in the Houſe, it was obſerv'd and objected, 'That there was but one Reaſon given in it for declining the 'Granting Money, and that was *that it was unprecedented*, about which 'they were not ſatisfy'd.' On the other Side it was ſaid, 'There might 'be other Reaſons aſſign'd againſt giving of Money before the Alli- 'ances, but they rather deſired to ſpare them;' only in general they ſaid, ''Twas not reaſonable to grant Money before there was a Change '(they wou'd not ſay of *Counſellors*, but) of *Counſels*; and a hearty Un- 'dertaking theſe Alliances, wou'd be the beſt Demonſtration of that 'Change: For the Swerving from this Intereſt and Part, was the Step by 'which we went awry, and the Returning thereto wou'd reſtore us to 'our right Place and Way.' Some other Things were objected, but in the main the Addreſs paſs'd the Houſe without any Diviſion, and was preſented to the King on the 26th of *May*. His Majeſty was ſenſibly mov'd at this Addreſs, and two Days after, he ſent for the Commons to the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *White-Hall*, where he was pleas'd to ſhew his Reſentment in this following Speech. *Gentlemen, Cou'd I have been Silent, I wou'd rather have choſen to be ſo, than to call to mind Things ſo unfit for you to meddle with, as are contain'd in ſome Parts of your laſt* Addreſs, *wherein you have entrench'd upon ſo undoubted a Right of the Crown, that I am confident it will appear in no Age (when the Sword was not drawn) that the* Prerogative of making Peace and War *hath been ſo dangerouſly invaded. You do not content your ſelves with deſiring Me to enter into* ſuch Leagues, *as may be for the Safety of the Kingdom, but you tell me what* Sort of Leagues *they muſt be, and* with Whom; *and, as your Addreſs is worded, it is more liable to be underſtood to be by your* Leave, *than at your* Requeſt, *that I ſhou'd make ſuch other Alli- ances, as I pleaſe, with other of the Confederates. Shou'd I ſuffer this Fundamental Power of* Making War and Peace *to be ſo far invaded (tho' but once) as to have the* Manner *and* Circumſtances *of Leagues pre- ſcrib'd to Me by* Parliament, *'tis plain that no Prince or State wou'd any longer believe that the Sovereignty of* England *reſts in the* Crown; *Nor cou'd I think my ſelf to ſignify any more to Foreign Princes, than the empty Sound of a* King. *Wherefore you may reſt aſſured, That no Condi- tion ſhall make me depart from, or leſſen ſo Eſſential a Part of the* Mo- narchy; *And I am willing to believe ſo well of the Houſe of Commons, that I am confident theſe* ill Conſequences *are not intended by You. Theſe are in ſhort the Reaſons why I can by no means approve of your Ad- dreſs; and yet tho' you have declin'd to grant me that Supply which is neceſſary to the Ends of it, I do again declare to you, That as I have done all that lay in my Power ſince your laſt Meeting, ſo I will ſtill ap- ply my ſelf by all the Means I can, to let the World ſee my* Care *for the Security and Satisfaction of my People, altho' it may not be with thoſe* Advantages *to them, which by your Aſſiſtance I might have procured.* At

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the Concluſion of this Speech, his Majeſty was pleas'd farther to declare his Pleaſure to them, That the Houſe be Adjourn'd 'till the 16th of *July* next; telling them, He wou'd give them Notice by his Proclamation when he intended they ſhou'd ſit again; which, his Majeſty was pleas'd to add, wou'd not be till the Winter, unleſs there ſhou'd happen ſome extraordinary Occaſion of calling them ſooner.

The Parliament breaks up by Adjournment.

And thus ended this Part of the Sixteenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament, which broke up with much Uneaſineſs on both Sides; and the King to teſtify his Reſentment, order'd his Speech to be printed in the next *Gazette*, a Thing 'till now altogether unuſual in this Reign. But before we leave the Parliamentary Affairs, we are to remember, among the Proceedings of this Seſſion, That a Queſtion was made without Doors, as had formerly been within, Whether this Parliament were not truely and legally diſſolv'd. Therefore the Lords, who had been ſo ſevere with their own Members, to reſtrain and terrify People from ſuch exceſſive Freedom, made an Order, 'That the Serjeant at Arms attending that Houſe ſhou'd 'take into his Cuſtody *Aaron Smith*, and bring him to the Bar of the 'ſaid Houſe, there to anſwer for ſpeaking certain dangerous and ſeditious Words againſt the Being of this preſent Parliament.' And Mr. *Smith* having upon this abſconded, they immediately preſented their humble Deſires to his Majeſty, 'That he wou'd by his Royal Proclamation ſtrictly charge and command, that the utmoſt and moſt effectual Endeavours ſhou'd be us'd for apprehending the Perſon of the ſaid '*Aaron Smith*, and bring him before the ſaid Houſe of Peers (if the Parliament ſhou'd be ſitting at the Time of his Apprehenſion) or in caſe 'the Parliament ſhou'd not be then ſitting, before one of his Majeſty's 'principal Secretaries of State, to the intent that the ſaid *Aaron Smith* 'might be ſecured, in order to his Appearance before the Houſe of Peers, 'to anſwer for his ſaid Offence.' To which his Majeſty comply'd by a Proclamation iſſu'd out two or three Days after the Parliament broke up. And it is believ'd, the more effectually to chaſtiſe Him and other like Offenders, that the Parliament was this Year continu'd by Adjournments rather than by Prorogation, as was moſt commonly practis'd.

2. All this while the Affairs abroad were kept in ſome Suſpence, and chiefly by the very ſlow Progreſs made in the Treaty at *Nimeguen*. And what ſtill lengthen'd the Negotiation, was the Departure of Sir *William Temple*, the chief *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who was ſent for into *England* by the King, under the Notion of Preferring him to the Secretary's Place. Sir *William* did not approve of the Conditions, but was very graciouſly receiv'd by his Majeſty, who often held private Diſcourſes with him in his Cloſet alone, or with none other preſent beſides the Duke of *York*, or the Lord Treaſurer, and often both. The Subjects of theſe Converſations were uſually the general Peace, and an intended Journey of the Prince of *Orange* into *England*. The King always expreſs'd a great Deſire for the firſt, but none for the other, till the firſt was concluded.

The King's Diſcourſe with Sir W. Temple.

He ſaid, *The Parliament wou'd never be quiet or eaſy with him while the War laſted abroad: That they had got it into their Heads to draw him into it whether he wou'd or no. That they pretended* Publick Ends *and* Dangers from *France*; *and there might be both meant by a great many honeſt Men amongſt them; but the Heats had been rais'd by ſome factious Leaders, who thought more of themſelves than of any Thing elſe; and had a mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unleſs they might have their Terms in removing and filling up Places: And he was very unwilling to be ſo much at their Mercy. That beſides, he ſaw the longer it continu'd, the worſe it wou'd be for the Confederates; and there-*

therefore he wou'd fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they wou'd not do it for Themſelves: That if He and the Prince cou'd fall into the Terms of it, he was ſure it might be done; And after ſeveral Converſations upon this Subject, the King told him, *He found that the Conduct of* Spain *was like to ruin all at laſt, therefore he had a great mind that he ſhou'd go and try the Prince, if he cou'd perſwade him to it.* The Duke and the Lord Treaſurer both preſs'd Sir *William* upon the ſame Point; but he repreſented to them, 'How often he had been 'employ'd upon this Errand to the Prince; how immoveable he had 'found him, and how ſure he was to find him ſo ſtill, unleſs his Majeſty 'wou'd conſider of another *Scheme* for the Peace: That his Majeſty 'wou'd do well to try another Hand; and he wou'd the better know 'the Prince's Mind, if his Anſwers were the ſame to both.' The King ſaid, *It was an Affair of Confidence between Him and the Prince, and muſt be ſo treated; and he knew no Body he had beſides to ſend.* Upon which Sir *William* propos'd to name a Perſon, which was Mr. *Hyde*; whoſe Choice was approv'd by the Duke of *York*, the Lord-Treaſurer, and the King himſelf. Mr. *Hyde* was diſpatcht away accordingly, and attended the Prince at the Camp; but found his Highneſs firm and reſolute againſt the Peace, upon the very Terms he had propos'd to Sir *William Temple*: Of which he gave an Account, both to the King and Sir *William*; and then went to reſide at *Nimeguen* as one of the Ambaſſadors and Mediators. 1677. Car. 29 Reſ. 18

Steps towards the Marriage of the Prince of Orange.

The other Affair, the intended Journey of the Prince of *Orange* into *England*, was a great Secret of the higheſt Importance, which began to diſcover it ſelf towards the End of this Year's Campaign; and this was for a Marriage between his Highneſs and the Princeſs *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter of *James* Duke of *York*, a glorious Lady, not much above 15 Years of Age. The firſt Motion of this happy Deſign was made by the Prince himſelf to Sir *William Temple* at the beginning of the Spring in the former Year 1676; when being ready to take the Field, he told that Ambaſſador, *That he deſired to have ſome Diſcourſe with him in private*, and appointed him a time to meet him in his Garden at *Hounſler-dyke*, where he freely unboſom'd himſelf to his Excellency, and told him, 'He wou'd eaſily believe, that being the only Son 'that was left of his Family, he was often preſs'd by his Friends to think 'of marrying, and had many Perſons propos'd to him, as their ſeveral 'Humours led them: That for his own Part, he knew it was a thing to 'be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the 'Thoughts of it otherwiſe than in general, till the War was ended: 'That, beſides his own Friends, the Deputies of the *States* began to 'preſs him more earneſtly every Day, and the more as they ſaw the War 'like to continue; and perhaps they had more reaſon to do it than any 'others. That he had at laſt promis'd them he wou'd think of it more 'ſeriouſly and particularly; and ſo he had, and reſolv'd he wou'd marry; 'but the Choice of a Perſon he thought more difficult: That he found 'himſelf inclin'd to no Propoſals that had been made him out of *France* 'or *Germany*, nor indeed to any that had been mention'd upon this Occa-'ſion by any of his Friends, but that of *England*. That before he con-'cluded to make any Steps that way, he was reſolv'd to have his Opinion 'upon two Points; but yet wou'd not ask it, unleſs he promis'd to anſwer 'him as a *Friend*, or at leaſt an *indifferent Perſon*, and not as the King 'of *England*'s Ambaſſador. When Sir *William* told him *he ſhou'd be obey'd*, he proceeded and ſaid, 'That he wou'd confeſs to him, *That* 'during the late War, neither the States *nor he in particular, were* 'without Applications made to them from ſeveral Perſons, and conſiderable

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'*in* England, *who wou'd fain have engag'd them to Head the Diſcontents* '*that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which* '*he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the Humour of the* '*Nation, and might, perhaps, have prov'd dangerous to the Crown, if it* '*had not ended as it did.* That all theſe Perſons who pretended to be 'much his Friends, were extreamly againſt any Thoughts of his marry-'ing in *England*; and their Reaſons were, That he wou'd by that loſe 'all the Eſteem and Intereſt he had there, and be believ'd to have run 'wholly into the Diſpoſition and Deſigns of the Court, which were ge-'nerally thought ſo different from thoſe of the Nation, eſpecially upon 'the *Point of Religion*; that his Friends there did not believe the Go-'vernment wou'd be long without ſome great Diſturbance, unleſs they 'chang'd their Meaſures, which was not thought very likely to be done; '*and upon this he deſir'd his Thoughts as a Friend.*' The next was the Perſon and Diſpoſitions of the young Lady; 'for tho' it wou'd not paſs 'in the World for a Prince to ſeem concern'd in thoſe Particulars, yet 'for himſelf he wou'd ſay without any Affectation, that no Circumſtances 'of *Fortune* or *Intereſt* wou'd engage him, without thoſe of the *Perſon*, 'eſpecially thoſe of *Humour* and *Diſpoſition*. That he might, perhaps, be 'not very eaſy for a Wife to live with; he was ſure he ſhou'd not to ſuch 'Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age. That if he ſhou'd 'meet with one to give him Trouble at Home, 'twas what he ſhou'd not 'be able to bear, who was like to have enough Abroad in the Courſe of 'his Life: And that after the manner he was reſolv'd to live with a Wife, 'which ſhou'd be the beſt he cou'd, he wou'd have one that he thought 'likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon 'their *Diſpoſition* and *Education*; and if he knew any thing particular 'of the Lady *Mary* in theſe Points, he deſired him to tell him freely.

Sir *William Temple* like a Friend anſwer'd his Highneſs, 'That he was 'very glad to find he was reſolv'd to Marry, being what he ow'd his Fami-'ly and Friends: That he was much pleas'd that his Inclinations led him 'to endeavour it in *England*. That he thought it as much for his Intereſt, 'as other of his *Engliſh* Friends thought it was againſt it. That the 'King and his Highneſs wou'd ever be able to do one another more Good 'and more Harm, than any other Princes cou'd do either of them, by 'being Friends or Enemies. That it was a great ſtep to be one Degree 'nearer the Crown, and in all Appearance the next. That for his Friends '(as they pretended) in *England*, they muſt ſee much further than he 'cou'd, to believe the King in any ſuch Dangers or Difficulties as they 'imagin'd. That the Crown of *England* ſtood upon ſurer Foundations 'than ever it had done in former times, and the more for what had paſs'd 'in the laſt Reign; and that he believ'd the People would be found bet-'ter Subjects than perhaps the King himſelf believ'd them. That it was, 'however, in his Power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to 'make as ſhort Turns to ſuch an End; if not, yet with the Help of a 'little good Husbandry, he might paſs his Reign in Peace, tho' not per-'haps with ſo much Eaſe at home, or Glory abroad, as if he fell into 'the Humour of his People. That if the Court were of Sentiments 'different from thoſe of his Highneſs, yet his Adviſers wou'd make him 'a greater Compliment, in believing him as likely to induce the Court 'to his, as in concluding they wou'd bring him to theirs; and if that 'ſhou'd happen, the moſt ſeditious Men in *England* will hardly be able 'to find an ill Side in ſuch a Match. That for the other Point, he cou'd 'ſay nothing to it; but that he had always heard his Wife and Siſter 'ſpeak with all the Advantage that cou'd be of what they cou'd 'diſcern in a Princeſs ſo young; and more from what they had been

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'told by the Governeſs, with whom they had a particular Friendſhip; 'and who, they were ſure, took all the Care that cou'd be in ſo much 'of the Lady's Education as fell to her Share. 1677. Car. 29 Reſ. 18

After two hours Diſcourſe upon this Subject, the Reſult was, that the Prince concluded to enter upon his Purſuit; and in order to it, reſolv'd to write both to the King and the Duke, to beg their Favour and Leave to come over into *England*, and make his Applications at the End of the Campaign. And likewiſe, that Sir *William Temple*'s Lady, a Perſon of admirable Senſe and Addreſs, who was then going over upon private Affairs, ſhould carry and deliver theſe Letters; but ſhou'd firſt endeavour to inform her ſelf the beſt ſhe cou'd, of all that concern'd the Perſon, Humour and Diſpoſition of the young Princeſs. The only Perſon in *England* intruſted with this Secret, for a conſiderable time, was the Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, who inviolably obſerv'd it. And he has ſince inform'd us, that the King did not know any of the Prince's Thoughts of that Matter till *May* 1677, when he firſt try'd how the King wou'd approve of ſuch a Propoſal; and that it was at leaſt two Months after before he had any hopes of his Majeſty's Allowance of any Treaty about it. The Prince himſelf was long diverted from this Purſuit and Inclination by his Fatigues in the Camp, and by the Perplexity of the Affairs of *Europe*, and eſpecially by the tedious Suſpence of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. About the end of *July* this Year he made an Attempt upon *Charleroy*, but fail'd in the intended Surprize of that Place. And now at laſt perceiving there cou'd be no ſtop put to the Progreſs of the *French* Arms, but by calling in the Aſſiſtance of *England*, he reſolv'd to purſue the Marriage with all Vigour, and ſent over Monſieur *Bentinck*, ſince Earl of *Portland*, into *England*, to ſollicit that Affair, and to make way for his Journey thither. This was managed with ſuch Skill and Secrecy, by the Aſſiſtance of the Lord Treaſurer, that the King was brought to allow and approve of the Prince's Journey; but ſtill in a great Meaſure under the cover of Foreign Buſineſs. *The Progreſs of it.*

3. Under this Encouragement, the Prince, accompanied by a great many Perſons of the beſt Quality in *Holland*, came over into *England*, and arriv'd at *Harwich* on the 9th Day of *October*. His Highneſs, like an eager Lover, went Poſt from thence to *Newmarket*, where the Court was enjoying all ſorts of Rural Sports and Entertainments. At his firſt alighting, the Earl of *Arlington*, as Chamberlain, attended his Highneſs, making his Pretence of the chief Confidence with him; and the Court expected no leſs from his Acquaintance and Journeys into *Holland*. The Lord Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple* went together to attend him; and whiſpering to them both, he ſaid to Sir *William*, *That he muſt deſire him to anſwer for him and the Lord Treaſurer one to another, ſo as they might from that time, enter both into Buſineſs and Converſation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance*. This was a wiſe Strain of Policy, conſidering the Treaſurer's Intereſt in the Court at that time, and prov'd of ſpecial uſe to the Prince, in the Courſe of his Affairs then in *England*: And tho' it much diſpleas'd the Lord *Arlington* and his Friends, yet it cou'd not be wonder'd at by ſuch as knew what had paſs'd between the Prince and him. His Highneſs was very kindly receiv'd by the King and the Duke, who both invited him often into Diſcourſes of Buſineſs, which they were ſurpriz'd to ſee him decline ſo induſtriouſly; inſomuch that the King order'd Sir *William Temple* to find out the Reaſon of it. His Highneſs plainly told Sir *William*, *He was reſolv'd to ſee the young Princeſs, before he enter'd upon any Conferences about the Peace or War*. The King laugh'd at this nice Piece of Gallantry; but, however, *The Prince arrives in* Englandl

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ever, to humour his Highneſs in it, he left *Newmarket* ſome Days ſooner than he intended.

His Reception.

The Prince, upon his Arrival at *London*, and ſight of the Lady *Mary*, was ſo captivated with her Perſon, and all thoſe Signs of ſuch an Humour as had been deſcrib'd to him upon former Enquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke of *York*. His Royal Highneſs was very cold upon the Propoſal, which was very well receiv'd and aſſented to by his Majeſty; but with this Condition, *That the Terms of a Peace Abroad might be firſt agreed on between them.* The Prince excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, *He muſt end his firſt Buſineſs before he begun the other.* The King and the Duke were both poſitive in their Opinion, and the Prince as reſolute in his; and ſaid at laſt, *That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace, as Things then ſtood, wou'd be apt to believe that he had made his Match at their Coſt; and for his Part, he wou'd never ſell his Honour for a Wife.* This prevail'd not, but the King continu'd ſo poſitive for three or four Days, that the Lord-Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple*, the great Promoters of the Match, began to fear the whole Buſineſs wou'd break upon this Punctilio. About that time Sir *William* went by chance to the Prince after Supper, and found him in the worſt Humour that ever he ſaw him. His Highneſs told him, *That he repented he ever came into* England, *and reſolv'd he wou'd ſtay but two Days longer, and then be gone, if the King continu'd in his Mind of treating upon the Peace before he was married; but that before he went, the King muſt chuſe how they ſhou'd live hereafter; for he was ſure it muſt be either like the greateſt Friends, or the greateſt Enemies,* and deſir'd Sir *William to let his Majeſty know ſo next Morning, and give him Account of what he ſhou'd ſay upon it.* Accordingly Sir *William*, early in the Morning, told the King all that the Prince had ſaid to him the Night before, and repreſented to his Majeſty the ill Conſequences of a Breach between them, *conſidering the ill Humours of ſo many of his Subjects upon the late Meaſures with* France, *and the INVITATION made the Prince by ſeveral of them during the late War.* The King heard him with great Attention, and in concluſion ſaid, *I never yet was deceiv'd in judging a Man's Honeſty by his Looks,* of which he gave him ſome Examples; *and if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's Face, he is the honeſteſt Man in the World, and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that 'tis a thing I am reſolv'd on.* Sir *William* did ſo, and the Duke at firſt ſeem'd a little ſurpriz'd, but at laſt ſaid, *The King ſhall be obey'd, and I ſhou'd be glad if all his Subjects wou'd learn of me to obey him: I do tell him my Opinion very freely upon any thing; but when that is done, and I know his Pleaſure upon it, I obey him.* From the Duke of *York*, Sir *William Temple* went to the Prince of *Orange*, who hearing the Story was ſo tranſported, that embracing him, he told him, *He had made him a very happy Man, and very unexpectedly.*

The Match declared between him and the Lady Mary.

Immediately after, Sir *William* gave an Account of what had paſs'd to the Lord Treaſurer, who took upon him to adjuſt all the reſt, as well the Portion of Forty Thouſand Pounds, as other Matters, between the King, the Duke and the Prince; all which he effected ſo well, that the Match was declar'd that Evening at the Committee, before any other of the Court knew the leaſt of it. The next Morning, the 24th of *October*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſummon the Lords of the Privy-Council upon this extraordinary Occaſion, and to declare to them, That he had concluded a Marriage between her Highneſs the Lady *Mary*, and his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*. Upon which their Lordſhips, about three in the

the Afternoon, with great Pleaſure, went in a Body to make their Compliments and Congratulations firſt to the Lady, and afterwards to the Prince. And as the ſurprizing News flew about, the City was preſently fill'd with Lights of Bonfires, the Sound of the Guns and Bells, and all the Marks of the moſt dilated Joy and Satisfaction. The *French* Ambaſſador and the Lord *Arlington* appear'd the only two diſſatisfy'd Perſons about the Court; the firſt not knowing how to anſwer it to his Maſter, that an Affair of that high Importance ſhould be tranſacted without his Advice, or ſo much as his Knowledge, in a Court where nothing before had been done ſo for many Years; and the Lord *Arlington*, that it ſhould paſs without his Knowledge, who ſtill endeavour'd to keep up the Court in the Belief of his Confidence with the Prince; to whom, however, he made this Compliment, *That ſome Things good in themſelves, were ſpoil'd by the* Manner *of doing them, as ſome Things Bad were mended by it; but he wou'd confeſs this was a Thing ſo good in it ſelf, that the* Manner *of doing of it, cou'd not ſpoil it.* On the 29th of the ſame Month, Sir *Francis Chaplin*, the preſent Lord Mayor, made a Solemn Invitation in the Name of the City to the Prince and the whole Court. Accordingly both their Majeſties, accompany'd with his Royal Highneſs the Duke, with the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne*, the Prince of *Orange*, attended by a great many of the principal Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, went firſt to the Show in *Cheapſide*, and after that to the *Guild-Hall* to Dinner, where the Entertainment was wonderful Noble and Magnificent in all Kinds. His Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *William Royſton* and *Thomas Beckford*, the preſent Sheriffs, and return'd with the Court to *White-Hall*, extreamly pleas'd with the abundant Demonſtrations of Joy and Duty that appear'd upon this Occaſion.

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Their Entertainment by the Lord Mayor.

The Prince of *Orange*, upon the firſt Notice of his Succeſs, immediately diſpatch'd away an Expreſs to the *States*, to acquaint them with what had paſs'd, expecting the Approbation of the Match with all Speed; that he might the ſooner repair to them, for the Service of their Country. Upon which the *States-General* aſſembled, and having maturely weigh'd the Advantages which might accrue to their Government by this Marriage; and particularly, 'A Confirmation of the *Union* between '*England* and *Holland*, the Eſtabliſhment and Illuſtration of the Houſe 'of *Orange*, and the Concluſion of the Peace ſo earneſtly deſired, be'ſides the happy Choice his Highneſs had made of a Princeſs, every 'Way accompliſh'd;' they expreſs'd their Approbation by a *Publick Edict*, in Terms full of Joy and Satisfaction: Declaring moreover, 'the 'mighty Eſteem they had for ſo glorious an Alliance, and their ſincere 'and firm Reſolution to cultivate the ancient Friendſhip and good Cor'reſpondence, which was between his *Britannick* Majeſty and Them.' This Anſwer arriving at *London* on his Highneſs's Birth-Day, *November* the 4th, the Marriage was privately celebrated at St. *James*'s, about Eleven at Night, by the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of his Majeſty, who gave the Bride, their Royal Highneſſes, and ſome of the Principal Nobility. The News of this the next Morning rais'd new Tranſports of Joy in the City; and this was the firſt Time that the *Fifth of November* ſeem'd to have met with a double Solemnity. This Marriage was ſo much for the preſent Benefit of the Nation, and ſo important in the Conſequence, that too much Gratitude can hardly be expreſs'd to the Memory of the Authors. And here we may properly take Notice of Father *Orleans*'s Account of it, a Perſon afterwards ſo well acquainted with King *James*, who ſays, 'Some are of Opinion that 'the Prince had Foreſight enough to have the Succeſſion in View when 'he marry'd the Princeſs *Mary*, Eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *York*;

The Marriage conſummated.

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'and that from the Time he perceiv'd the Storm riſing againſt the Heir 'to the Crown of *England*, he thought it his Right to make the beſt 'Advantage of his Shipwreck. The Duke of *York* had miſtruſted it, 'and done all he could to obſtruct the Match, which the King his Bro- 'ther, being impos'd upon by the Earl of *Danby* and Sir *William Tem-* '*ple*, had concluded without his Privity. The Event has plainly ſhew'd 'that the Duke ſaw farther than others; but being under Command, he 'could make no uſe of that Foreſight for his own Preſervation, *&c.*'

The two Authors of it.

This, tho' obliquely repreſented by a Jeſuit, muſt juſtly be turn'd to the Honour of theſe two Great Men; and the former of them, ſince he was Duke of *Leeds*, has declared in Print, *That he will not ſuffer that part of his Service to be bury'd in Oblivion.* What Senſe the Prince had of his Services, will appear from his Letters to the Treaſurer, in which we ſhall take Notice of two Paſſages: Firſt, when the Prince was going into *Holland* with his Princeſs, *December* 8th from on board his Ship, he writes thus, 'I was deſirous to write to you juſt upon my 'Departure from *England*, that the laſt Thing I do before I go, may 'be thanking you for all the good Offices you have done me, and intreat- 'ing that I may always have the Continuance of them.' Soon after he landed in *Holland*, in another Letter he writes thus, 'Altho' I landed 'but Yeſterday, and therefore can have no great Buſineſs to write a- 'bout; yet I cou'd not forbear writing, to repeat to you the Offer of my 'moſt humble Service, and to aſſure you of the true Senſe I have of all 'the Obligations you have laid upon me. — As for me, I entirely rely 'upon you; and reſt ſatisfy'd, that you will neglect nothing that lies in 'your Power to do for the Security of both the Nations, and am, 'with all the Paſſion that is poſſible for me to be, *Yours, &c. W. H.*

Debates between the King and the Prince about the Peace.

4. Within a few Days after this auſpicious Marriage, the Prince earneſtly proceeded to the other Affair which he had ſo long declin'd; and the King, the Duke and He, with none others admitted but the Lord Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple*, fell into Debates upon the Terms of a general Peace. The Prince inſiſted hard upon the Strength and Enlargement of a Frontier, or Barrier, on both Sides of *Flanders*, *without which* France *would end his War with the Proſpect of beginning another, and carrying* Flanders *in one Campaign.* The King was content to leave that Buſineſs a little looſer, upon the Confidence *That* France *was ſo weary of the War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign; That the King grew paſt his Youth, and lazy, and would turn to the Pleaſures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in Quiet.* The Prince ſtill urg'd, *That* France *wou'd not make a Peace now, but to break the preſent Confederacy; and their Ambition wou'd never end till they had all* Flanders *and* Germany *to the* Rhine, *and thereby* Holland *in an abſolute Dependance upon them, which wou'd leave the* Dutch *in a bad Condition, and the* Engliſh *in no good one.* Sir *William Temple* ſeconded the Prince, and told his Majeſty, *That in the Courſe of his Life, he had never obſerv'd Men's Natures to alter by Age or Fortunes; but that a good Boy made a good Man; a young Coxcomb, an old Fool; a young Cheat, an old Knave; and that quiet Spirits were ſo, young as well as old; and unquiet Ones wou'd be ſo, old as well as young: That he believ'd the King of* France *wou'd have ſome Bent or other, ſometimes War, ſometimes Love, ſometimes Building; but he was of the Prince's Opinion, That he wou'd ever make Peace with a Deſign of a new War, after he had fix'd his Conqueſt by the laſt*; of which Opinion his Majeſty approv'd. The Points of demanding *Lorrain* and *Alſatia* were eaſily agreed to by the King and Duke; but they wou'd not

not hear of the County of *Burgundy*, *as what* France *cou'd never be brought to*, tho' the Prince inſiſted much upon it; ſo as the King imagined he was touch'd by the Intereſt of his own Lands in that Country, which were too conſiderable to be neglected; and thereupon told him, *That for his Lands he wou'd charge Himſelf with either his enjoying them as ſafely under* France *as* Spain, *or if he ſhould rather chuſe to part with them than have that Dependence, he wou'd undertake to get him what Price he ſhould value them at.* But the Prince anſwer'd briskly and generouſly, *That he ſhou'd not trouble himſelf nor the Peace about that Matter; and that he would be content to loſe all his Lands there, to get one good Town more for the* Spaniards *upon the Frontier of* Flanders. This admitted great Debates between the King and Prince; one pretending *France* would never be brought to one Scheme, and t'other that *Spain* would never conſent to the other. But at laſt it was agreed, That the Peace ſhould be made upon theſe Terms, 'All ſhould be reſtored by *France* to the Emperor that had been taken in the War; the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to that Duke, and all on both ſides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, St. *Giſland*, and *Binch*.' That the Prince ſhould endeavour to procure the Conſent of *Spain*, and the King that of *France*; for which purpoſe he ſhould ſend ſome Perſon immediately over with the Propoſition, who was to enter into no Reaſonings upon it, but demand a poſitive Anſwer in two Days, and after that Term immediately return.

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A Scheme agreed on.

For the effecting of this, the Lord *Duras*, the afterwards Earl of *Feverſham*, a Creature of the Duke's, was at laſt the Perſon fix'd on, and ſent over into *France*. Soon after which, the Prince and Princeſs embarqu'd for *Holland*; the King aſſuring his Highneſs, *That he wou'd never part from the leaſt Point of the Scheme ſent over, and wou'd enter into the War againſt* France, *if they refus'd it.* However, before he went, he had the Mortification to ſee the Sitting of the Parliament put off from the Third of *December*, to the Fourth of *April*; which the *French* Ambaſſador had gain'd, to make ſome friendly Appearance with *France* after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Diſpatch of the Terms of Peace to that Court. Upon the Lord *Duras*'s Arrival at *Paris*, the Court there were ſurpriz'd both at the Thing, and more at the Manner; but took it gently, and ſaid, 'His *Britannick* Majeſty knew very well 'he might always be Maſter of the Peace; but ſome of the Towns in '*Flanders* ſeem'd very hard, eſpecially *Tournay*, upon whoſe Fortifications ſuch vaſt Sums had been expended; and that they would take ſome 'ſhort Time to conſider of the Anſwer.' His Lordſhip told them, *he was ty'd to two Days Stay*; but when that was out, he was prevail'd with to ſtay ſome few Days longer, and to come away without any poſitive Anſwer: What he brought was, *That the moſt Chriſtian King hop'd his Brother would not break with him upon one or two Towns; but even upon them he would ſend Orders to his Ambaſſadour at* London *to treat with his Majeſty Himſelf.* And to ſave thoſe Towns, very great Sums of Money were offer'd to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador *Mountague*, for the Uſe of the King, and the Lord Treaſurer, which were never accepted. However, the King was ſo mollify'd, that the Buſineſs came to be drawn out into ſo many Meſſages from *England*, and Returns from *France*, that it diminiſh'd into nothing.

The Delays of France,

In the mean Time the ill Humour of the People growing higher upon the Noiſe of a Peace, and negotiated in *France*, and the late Prolongation of the Parliament, the King thought fit by Proclamation to anticipate the meeting of the Parliament, and to appoint it on the 15th Day of *Janua-*

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ry; making a ſhew as if he reſolv'd to enter into the War, for which the Parliament ſeem'd impatient whenever the King appear'd averſe to it, and grew jealous of ſome Tricks whenever the Court ſeem'd inclin'd to it. However, the King was ſure of obliging them in the Particular of the late Marriage of his Neece; the News of which Marriage at *Nimeguen*, gave the Confederates great Hopes that his Majeſty of *England* would now declare in their Favour. But it had a different Effect in *Holland*, particularly in *Amſterdam*; and tho' it had been generally receiv'd with great Satisfaction, yet in a little Time the *French* Emiſſaries found Means to raiſe Jealouſies of the Meaſures concerted between the King and the Prince upon this new Alliance, as dangerous to the Liberty of their Country; and to make it believ'd, 'That by this Match the 'King and the Duke had wholly brought over the Prince to their Inte-'reſt and Sentiments;' when in reality, the Prince went away poſſeſs'd of having drawn Them into His; tho' they were equally miſtaken. But how different ſoever their Apprehenſions abroad might be of Things, at Home the King wav'd his Engagements to the Prince, of entering into the War with the Allies, in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from the King of *France*; and contented himſelf with ſending Mr. *Thynne* over into *Holland* with a former Draught of an Alliance to be made with the *States-General*, in order to compel *France* and *Spain* into the Compliance of the Scheme agreed on; and to conſign the ſame into the Hands of Mr. *Hyde*, then at the *Hague*. Accordingly the Treaty was ſign'd on the 16th of *January*, tho' not without great Difficulties, and much Diſſatisfaction on the Part of the Prince of *Orange*; who had yet the ſmall Comfort to be cover'd in it by the private Conſent of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter there, in behalf of his Maſter; ſo that the War cou'd not break out but upon *France*, in caſe of their Refuſal.

And Contrivances.

Promotions at Home.

5. Such was the State of Affairs at the next Meeting of the Parliament, againſt which all Preparations had been made; but before we come to that, for a Concluſion of the Year, we are to take Notice of ſome Honours and Preferments, and the Deaths of ſeveral noted and conſiderable Men. As to the Former, this Year his Grace *Henry* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and the Earl of *Danby* Lord Treaſurer of *England*, were inſtall'd Knights of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter* at *Windſor*, on the 19th of *April*, in the Room of *William* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and *George* Earl of *Briſtol*. About the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Ormond* was again conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and made his Journey towards that Kingdom with a noble Equipage, and agreeable to the Dignity of that Employment; being accompany'd out of Town by moſt of the principal Nobility and Perſons of Quality, in a numerous Train of Coaches: Arriving in *Ireland*, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, his Grace was ſolemnly conducted to the Council-Chamber, where he was ſworn into that great Office, and receiv'd the Sword from the Earl of *Eſſex*, the laſt Lord Lieutenant, who began now to decline in the King's Favour. In the Beginning of *January*, his Majeſty was pleas'd, in Conſideration of the great Services perform'd to him and his Royal Father, by *George Wharton*, Eſquire, and of his Sufferings in the late Times of Uſurpation, to confer on him the Dignity of a Baronet of this Kingdom.

The Deaths of Archbiſhop Sheldon,

Of the Eminent Perſons that dy'd this Year, we ſhall begin with two venerable Prelates, Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, and Dr. *William Lucy*: The Former was educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was Warden of *All-Souls*; and having been Chaplain to the late King, and run through many Difficulties, after the Reſtoration, he was made firſt Biſhop of *London*, and laſtly Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which See he fill'd with

with great Honour and Reputation for above Fourteen Years, when he dy'd at Seventy nine Years of Age. Beſides his Learning and Piety, he is particularly diſtinguiſh'd by his munificent Benefactions, in which no Man more readily ſignaliz'd himſelf; and particularly he immortaliz'd his Name in that glorious Work, the Theatre of *Oxford*; and we are aſſur'd from his Relations, that from the Time of his being Biſhop of *London* to that of his Death, it appear'd in his Book of Accompts, that upon Publick, Pious and Charitable Uſes, he had beſtow'd about Threeſcore and ſix Thouſand Pounds. He was ſucceeded in this high Station by Dr. *William Sancroft*, the worthy Dean of St. *Pauls*, who was advanc'd to it without any Expectation or Inclination of his own. The other Prelate was Dr. *Lucy*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, a Perſon who had his Education in both Univerſities, and particularly in *Caius* College in *Cambridge*, where he liv'd ſeveral Years on his own Eſtate; from whence, removing into *Hampſhire*, after variety of Fortunes, he was upon the Reſtoration advanc'd to his Epiſcopal See, in which he dy'd in the 87th of his Age, full of Years and Reputation; being a Perſon of ſignal Candor, and Virtues requiſite to a true Church-Man, which in the moſt difficult Times gain'd him great Eſteem from the very Enemies of his Order and Function. 1677. Car. 29 Ref. 18 *Biſhop Lucy.*

The next to be mention'd are two other eminent Divines of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Iſaac Barrow*, and Dr. *Robert Mapletoft*: The Former was of *London* by Birth, and principally educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where, after he had improv'd Himſelf by Travel, he was made ſucceſſively *Greek* and Mathematick Profeſſor, as well as Geometry Lecturer in *Greſham* College: Afterwards the preſent King made him Maſter of *Trinity* College in the ſame Univerſity, and when he beſtow'd it upon him was pleas'd to ſay, *That he gave it to the beſt Scholar in* England; and truly he ſhew'd himſelf of a moſt extenſive Genius, profoundly vers'd in Theology, as well as other Parts of Learning, and had ſuch an Invention and Method, that all his Sermons ſeem'd as compleat Treatiſes, in which the Subject, after his peculiar Manner, was exhauſted. After an exemplary Life of Piety, Modeſty and Sweetneſs, he dy'd in the 47th Year of his Age. The Other Divine, Dr. *Mapletoft*, was of *Lincolnſhire* by Birth, and of *Pembroke*-Hall in *Cambridge* by Education, of which College he was afterwards made Maſter, afterwards Sub-Dean of *Lincoln*, and laſt of all Dean of *Ely*. His Worth was ſo diſtinguiſhing, that when Archbiſhop *Sheldon* perceiv'd the Dutcheſs of *York* inclinable to Popery, he look'd upon Dr. *Mapletoft* a ſufficient Perſon to ſatisfy her Scruples, and keep her in the Communion of the Church of *England*, and us'd to call him by the Name of *The Primitive Divine*; but he was ſent for too late. He is particularly to be remember'd for his pious and charitable Donations, his Founding two Schools, his Catechetical Lectures, his free Gifts to Cathedrals, Colleges, Clergy-Mens Widows, *&c.* for which his Name deſerves to be perpetuated. *Dr. Barrow,* *Dr. Mapletoft,*

After theſe, we are to mention two celebrated Divines of the Diſſenting Party, Dr. *Thomas Manton*, and Mr. *Theophilus Gale*: The Firſt was once of the *Presbyterian*, and then of the *Independent* Sect, and a Chief amongſt Both, of whoſe extraordinary Services and Compliances with reſpect to *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwell*, mention has been formerly made. At the King's Reſtoration he was in great Repute, was made one of his Majeſty's Chaplains, one of the *Savoy* Commiſſioners, and became a zealous Mover to get the Declaration for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs paſs'd into a Law; which had he compaſs'd, he wou'd have accepted of a Deanery that was offer'd him; but upon the Act of *Uniformity*, he thought fit not only to refuſe his Deanery, but alſo to quit his Church of *Covent-Garden* *Dr. Manton,*

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Garden in *London*. After which he became a conſiderable Sufferer from the Laws againſt Diſſenters, yet kept up a mighty Intereſt with ſome great Men, as the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Wharton*, &c. and left the World with the Name of a Perſon of great Learning and Temper, Judgment and Integrity, and an excellent unwearied Preacher. But with all theſe good Qualities and Abilities, a faithful Hiſtorian ought not to let him paſs without declaring, That he knows not how to excuſe his general Proceedings in the late Times. It cannot be deny'd, that the Diſſenters felt a great Loſs in his Death, but the Church in general had not ſo great a one in his Quitting his Living, if it be conſider'd who was his Succeſſor, the unexceptionable Dr. *Symon Patrick*. The Other, Mr. *Gale*, ſeem'd to have had more Learning and leſs Faction than the Former: He had been Fellow of *Magdalene* College in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and a frequent Preacher there. Being ejected, at the Reſtoration, out of that, and a Place in *Wincheſter*, he travell'd into Foreign Parts, as Tutor to the Lord *Wharton*'s Sons; from whence returning, he ſettled in *London*, and ſhew'd himſelf to be a Man of vaſt Reading and Induſtry, an exact Philologiſt and Philoſopher, as his *Court of the Gentiles*, and his other learned Works do ſufficiently teſtify. In the midſt of his great Deſigns he was ſnatcht away in the Prime of his Years, the 49th of his Age.

Mr. Gale,

Beſides theſe, we are to mention three or four others of different Characters: The two firſt were Mr. *Robert Sheringham*, and Dr. *Francis Gliſſon*, both educated in *Caius* College in *Cambridge*. The Firſt, being driven from his Fellowſhip in the College in 1643, went into *Holland*, where he taught the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* Tongues; but after the Reſtoration, he return'd to his Fellowſhip, and liv'd a ſtudious and retired Life, ſhewing himſelf to be an extraordinary Linguiſt, eſpecially in the Oriental and *Gothick* Languages, as alſo admirably well vers'd in the Original Antiquities of the *Engliſh* Nation, as appears from his Book *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*, and other learned Writings. The Other, Dr. *Gliſſon*, was one of the famous Phyſicians of the Age, who for his Eminency was firſt made the King's Profeſſor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and afterwards Preſident of the College of Phyſicians. He made ſeveral notable Diſcoveries in Anatomy, wrote ſome very uſeful Treatiſes in his Faculty, and dy'd at *London*, much lamented by Foreigners, as well as his own Countrymen. The two laſt to be mention'd are Sir *John King*, and Mr. *James Harrington*: The Former had his Education in *Queen*'s College in *Cambridge*, where he firſt diſcover'd his great Parts and Abilities; from whence he remov'd to the *Inner Temple*, where he ſhew'd himſelf moſt famous in his Profeſſion, the Law, and was made Solicitor General to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*; and his Buſineſs ſo much increas'd upon his Hands, that in the laſt Part of his Life his Fees amounted to forty and fifty Pounds a Day. He was not only a compleat Lawyer, but a general Scholar, an accompliſh'd Gentleman, and a modeſt and pious Chriſtian, who was ſuddenly taken from the World in the 39th Year of his Age, to the great Affliction of his numerous Friends and Relations. The Other, Mr. *James Harrington*, was a fine Gentleman that made a conſiderable Figure in the World during the late Times of Confuſion, of whom mention has been already made. After a great Improvement made by ſeveral Years Travels, and having been an Attendant on the late King during his Impriſonment, he afterwards much diſtinguiſh'd Himſelf by Inventing a new Model of a Commonwealth, and writing ſeveral Books to that End, of which his *Oceana* and the *Rota* were ſo highly admired by ſome, as to be compared to the Pattern in the Mount, but by others look'd upon as ingenious Maggots, never to be reduc'd

Mr. Sheringham,

Dr. Gliſſon,

Sir John King,

And Mr. Harrington.

duc'd to Practice in the *Engliſh* Nation. After the Reſtoration his Schemes all vaniſh'd and diſappear'd, and he again went to travel in Foreign Countries, ſeeking out new Models of Government, till the Warmth of his curious Head, after his Return home, brought on a ſort of a Delirium, or an uncommon Strength of Imagination, in which Condition he left the World in the 67th Year of his Age.

Gazettes. Rot. Parl. *Wright. Temple. Shaftsbury's* Life.

VII. 1. We are now arriv'd at the 30th Year of this King's Reign, a Year, upon the Account of Domeſtick Affairs, more remarkable and tumultuous than any ſince the Reſtoration. It began with a further Continuation of the Sixteenth Seſſion of the Second and long Parliament. By way of Preparation to this Meeting, his Majeſty thought fit to do ſome Things Terrifying as well as Popular, to ſhew his Authority as well as his Clemency, in ſuppreſſing Libels and ſeditious Diſcourſes, which very much encreas'd about this Time. Particularly the Dangers of Popery, and the Advances of the *Popiſh* Intereſt at Court, were ſo boldly and reflectingly repreſented by Mr. *Andrew Marvel* in his *Account of the Growth of Popery*, &c. that his Majeſty caus'd an Order to be publiſh'd in theſe Words: 'Whereas there have been lately Printed and Publiſh'd 'ſeveral Seditious and Scandalous Libels againſt the Proceedings of both 'Houſes of Parliament, and other his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice, to the 'Diſhonour of his Majeſty's Government, and the Hazard of the Publick Peace: Theſe are to give notice, That what Perſon ſoever ſhall 'diſcover unto one of the Secretaries of State, the Printer, Publiſher, 'Author, or Hander to the Preſs of any of the ſaid Libels, ſo that full 'Evidence thereof may be made to a Jury, without mentioning the Informer; eſpecially one Libel intituled, *An Account of the Growth of 'Popery*, &c. and Another call'd, *A Seaſonable Argument to all Grand 'Juries*, &c. The Diſcoverer ſhall be rewarded as follows: He ſhall 'have fifty Pound for ſuch Diſcovery, as aforeſaid, of the Printer, or the 'Publiſher of it from the Preſs; and for the Hander of it to the Preſs, 'one Hundred Pounds, *&c.*

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A further Continuation of the SIXTEENTH SESSION *of Parliament.*

Thus prepared, on the 15th Day of *January* both Houſes of Parliament met according to Adjournment, after a Receſs or Interval of a little above ſeven Months. But before they began any Buſineſs, the King ſent them this following Meſſage: 'That his Majeſty had Matters of ve- *The King's Meſſage.* 'ry great Importance to communicate to both Houſes, in Order to the 'Satisfaction of the late Addreſſes *for the Preſervation of* Flanders. But 'it ſo happening, that Matters are not yet ſo ripe as within a few Days 'they will be; therefore his Majeſty's Pleaſure was, that they ſhou'd be 'immediately adjourn'd till *Monday* the 28th of this Inſtant *January.*' On that Day his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords* *And Speech to both Houſes.* '*and Gentlemen*, When we parted laſt I told you, *That before we met 'again I wou'd do that which ſhou'd be to your Satisfaction*; I have accordingly made ſuch Alliances with *Holland* as are for the Preſervation 'of *Flanders*, and which cannot fail of that End, unleſs prevented either 'by the Want of due *Aſſiſtances* to ſupport thoſe Alliances, or by the 'ſmall *Regard* the *Spaniards* themſelves muſt have to their own Preſervation. The Firſt of theſe I cannot ſuſpect, by reaſon of your repeated *Engagements* to maintain them; and I know you are ſo wiſe as to conſider, That a War, which muſt be the neceſſary Conſequence of 'them, ought neither to be proſecuted by Halves, nor to want ſuch Aſſurances of *Perſeverance* as may give me Encouragement to purſue it: 'Beſides, it will not be leſs neceſſary to let our Enemies have ſuch a '*Proſpect* of our Reſolutions, as may let them ſee certainly, That we

'ſhall

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'ſhall not be weary of our Arms, 'till *Chriſtendom* be reſtored to 'ſuch a Peace, as ſhall not be in the Power of any Prince alone to di-'ſturb.

'I do acknowledge to you, that I have us'd all Means poſſible, by a 'Mediation, to have procured an honourable and ſafe *Peace* for *Chriſten-'dom*; knowing how preferable ſuch a Peace wou'd have been to any 'War, and eſpecially to this Kingdom, which muſt neceſſarily own the 'vaſt Benefits it has receiv'd by Peace, while its Neighbours only have 'yet ſmarted by the War: But finding it no longer to be hop'd for by 'fair Means, it ſhall not be my Fault if that be not obtain'd by *Force*, 'which cannot be had any other *Ways*. For this Reaſon I have recall'd 'my Troops from *France*, and have conſider'd, That altho' the *Dutch* 'ſhall do their Parts, we cannot have leſs on ours than Ninety Sail of 'Capital Ships conſtantly maintain'd, nor leſs than thirty or forty Thou-'ſand Land Men (with the Dependencies) to be employ'd upon our 'Fleets and elſewhere. And becauſe there ſhall be no Fear of Miſem-'ploying what you ſhall give to theſe Uſes, I am contented that ſuch Mo-'ney be appropriated to thoſe Ends as ſtrictly as you can deſire. I have 'given Teſtimony enough of my Care in that Kind by the Progreſs 'I have made in Building the new Ships; wherein, for the making them 'more uſeful, I have directed ſuch larger Dimenſions, as will coſt me 'above one Hundred Thouſand Pounds more than the Acts allow. I 'have gone as far as I cou'd in Repairing the Old Fleet, and in Buying 'neceſſary Stores for the Navy and Ordnance; and in this and other Pro-'viſions, for better Securing both my Foreign Plantations and the Iſlands 'nearer home, I have expended a great deal more than the Two Hun-'dred Thouſand Pounds you enabled me to Borrow upon the Exciſe, 'altho' I have not found ſuch Credit as I expected upon that Security. I 'have born the Charge both of a Rebellion in *Virginia*, and a new War 'with *Algiers*: I ſtand engag'd to the Prince of *Orange* for my Neice's 'Portion; and I ſhall not be able to maintain my conſtant neceſſary Eſta-'bliſhments, unleſs the *New Impoſt upon Wines*, &c. be continu'd to 'me, which wou'd otherwiſe turn only to their Profit to whom we leaſt 'intend it.

'I hope theſe Things will need little Recommendation to you, when 'you conſider your *Promiſes* in ſome, and the *Neceſſity* of the reſt; and 'to let you ſee that I have not only employ'd my Time and Treaſure for 'your Safety, but done all I cou'd to remove all ſorts of Jealouſies, I 'have marry'd my Neice to the Prince of *Orange*, by which I hope I 'have given full Aſſurances that I ſhall never ſuffer his Intereſts to be 'ruin'd, if I can be aſſiſted as I ought to be, to preſerve them. Having 'done all this, I expect from you a *Plentiful Supply* ſuitable to ſuch 'Great Occaſions; whereon depends not only the *Honour*, but, for ought 'I know, the *Being* of an *Engliſh* Nation, which will not be ſav'd by 'finding Faults afterwards, but may be prevented by avoiding the chief 'Fault of doing Weakly and by Halves, what can only be hop'd from 'a vigorous and thorough Proſecution of what we undertake. Theſe 'Conſiderations are of the greateſt Importance that ever concern'd this 'Kingdom, and therefore I wou'd have you enter immediately upon them, 'without ſuffering any other *Buſineſs* whatſoever to divert you from 'bringing them to good *Reſolutions*.

The Conſtitution of the Commons. The Conſtitution of the preſent Houſe of Commons, that had ſat near ſeventeen Years, was now more manifeſtly grown into two Parties, which were call'd by the Name of the *Court* and the *Country*: The Former were grown numerous, by a Practice introduc'd about five Years

Years before this time by the Lord-Treaſurer *Clifford*, of downright buying off one Man after another, as they cou'd make the Bargain. The Country Party ſtill continu'd the Majority, and return'd more Credit upon the Corruption of others, and their Profeſſion of Adherence to the true Intereſts of the Nation, eſpecially in the Points of *France* and *Popery:* Where theſe came in Queſtion, many of the Court Party voted with thoſe of the Country, who then carried all before them; but whenever the Court appear'd to fall in with the true Intereſts of the Nation, eſpecially in thoſe two Points, then many of the Country Party, meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carried the Votes, as they ſoon did upon the King's Pretence to grow bold with *France*, and reſolve upon a War, if the Peace was refus'd. But firſt they began with an unexpected Strain of Loyalty, and before they conſider'd any part of his Majeſty's Speech. Having ſat on part of the 30th of *January*, the Anniverſary Faſt, upon the Motion of the Lord *O-Brian*, whoſe Son had lately marry'd the Lord-Treaſurer's Daughter, they voted, 'The 'Sum of Seventy thouſand Pounds for a ſolemn Funeral of his late Ma- 'jeſty King *Charles* the Firſt, and to erect a Monument for the ſaid 'Prince of glorious Memory; the ſaid Sum to be rais'd by a two 'Months Tax, to begin at the Expiration of the preſent Tax for build- 'ing Ships.' This, tho' look'd upon as an Affair to which the Nation had ſtood oblig'd for many Years, yet being never heartily mov'd in that Houſe before, was at preſent not a little ſurprizing to many, whoſe Minds were fill'd with various Conjectures.

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Their Loyalty.

2. The next Day the Commons took the King's Speech into Conſideration, and in return preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty at *Whitehall*, declaring their 'Thanks for his Care expreſſed for the Preſerva- 'tion and Encouragement of the *Proteſtant Religion*, in concluding a 'Marriage between his Neece and the Prince of *Orange*; beſeeching 'him not to admit any Treaty of Peace, whereby the *French* King 'ſhou'd be left in Poſſeſſion of any greater Dominion or Power, than 'was left him by the *Pyrenean* Treaty: That both on our Parts, and the 'Parts of the Confederates, no Ship nor Veſſel may be admitted to 'come out of any Port of *France*, but that the Ships and Men be ſeiz'd, 'and the Goods deſtroy'd: That he wou'd pleaſe to provide that none 'of the Parties who ſhou'd join in this Alliance and Confederacy againſt '*France*, depart from the ſaid Alliance, 'till the ſaid King be reduced to 'the ſaid Treaty: That neither we nor the Confederates admit any 'Trade with *France*, or ſuffer any Goods to be imported from thence 'on pain of Forfeiture: That his Majeſty in making ſuch Confederacies 'as neceſſary for attaining theſe Ends, ſhall never doubt of the Affections 'of his People. Laſtly, they renew'd their former Proteſtations and En- 'gagements to perſevere in the Proſecution of the ſaid War; and when 'he ſhou'd be pleas'd to impart ſuch Alliances and Confederacies to them 'in Parliament, they wou'd give ſuch ready Aſſiſtances, upon all Occa- 'ſions, as might bring the War to a happy Concluſion.

And Addreſs to the King.

To this Addreſs the King return'd the following Anſwer in Writing, which was read in the Houſe of Commons the 4th of *February*: 'That 'he was not a little ſurpriz'd to find ſo much inſerted in their Addreſs 'of what *ſhou'd not be*, and ſo little of what *ſhou'd:* That his Speech 'was to both Houſes jointly, and the Return ought to be from both: 'That in their Addreſs of the 20th of *May* laſt, they did *invite him to a 'League Offenſive and Defenſive with* Holland *againſt the* French *King, 'and for Preſerving the* Spaniſh Netherlands; *and upon his Declaration 'of ſuch Alliances, aſſur'd ſuch ſpeedy Aſſiſtances as might fully anſwer*

The King's Anſwer.

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'*the Occaſion:* That he hath made ſuch Alliances, yet finds no Return 'but the *Old* Promiſes upon *New* Conditions; and ſo he may be us'd to 'Eternity, ſhou'd he ſeem ſatisfy'd with ſuch Proceedings: That on the '28th of *May* laſt he told them, *how highly he was offended at the great* '*Invaſion of his Prerogative*; yet they took no notice of it, but added 'to their former ill Conduct new Invaſions. They deſir'd him *to oblige* '*his Confederates never to conſent to a Peace till the moſt Chriſtian King* '*be reduc'd to the* Pyrenean *Treaty*; a Determination fitting only for 'God Almighty, ſince none but he can tell the Terms of Peace who 'knows the Event of War: They deſire him *not to ſuffer a Ship of theirs* '*to come from* France *under Pain of Confiſcation*, not excepting Allies, 'Prince, or Ambaſſadors (if any among them) that he did not believe 'any Aſſembly of Men ever gave ſo great and publick a Provocation to 'the whole World, without ſo much as conſidering to provide one Ship, 'Regiment, or Penny towards juſtifying it: That, however, if by their 'Aſſiſtance he might be put into Arms ſufficient for ſuch a Work, he 'wou'd not be weary till *Chriſtendom* be reſtor'd *to ſuch a Peace, that* '*it ſhou'd not be in the Power of one Prince to diſturb it:* That the 'Rights of making and managing War and Peace were in his Majeſty; 'and if they thought he wou'd depart from any part of that Right, they 'were miſtaken: The Reins of Government were in his Hands, and he 'had the ſame Care to preſerve them there, as to preſerve his own Per-'ſon. He kept both his People's Protection and Safety; and that if the 'Houſe of Commons wou'd encourage his Majeſty to go further in Al-'liances, they muſt conſider of raiſing *ſpeedy Supplies*; for from the 'Conſideration of thoſe he muſt take his Meaſures.'

Shortly after the Commons reſolv'd upon a Supply, but with ſome ſtrict Limitations. At the ſame time they undertook to regulate ſuch Grievances as aroſe from their own Privileges; and took off all written Protections which had been granted by ſeveral Members to ſuch as were not really their Servants, to an incredible number; and particularly voted, 'That no Protection ſhou'd be allow'd to any but their Menial Servants, 'actually in Service, and that without a written Certificate.

The E. of Shaftsbury's Caſe,

3. All this time, and for above a Year, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was kept a cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*; for an Offence of a high Nature, as was formerly mention'd. After he had continu'd many Months, and finding his Petitions rejected for want of a formal Recantation of his Crime, he had recourſe to the *King's-Bench*, whither he was brought by a *Habeas Corpus* on the 27th of *January*, where Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Wallop*, and Mr. *Smith*, his Council, argued that the Court ought to relieve him; and the Earl ſpoke himſelf with great Reaſon and Eloquence for the Liberty of the Subject, and his own Diſcharge. Yet the Judges deny'd him Redreſs, one of them declaring before the Cauſe was heard, *That the Court cou'd not help him*; and ſo the Earl was remanded to Priſon. This Application to an inferior Court was ſoon taken Notice of by the Lords, who voted it a Breach of Privilege, for which the Earl was to anſwer his Contempt at the Bar of the Houſe. On the 22d of *February* he was accordingly brought to the Bar, where he offer'd to acknowledge his aſſerting the Diſſolution of the Parliament to be an unadviſed Action, and to beg their Lordſhips Pardon for his Offence in bringing his *Habeas Corpus*. Soon after the Houſe proceeded to a Reſolution, that the Lord *Shaftsbury* ſhou'd make his Submiſſion and Acknowledgment in a Form preſcrib'd by that Houſe, without which he was to expect no Releaſe. This, tho' a Mortification to a high Spirit, the Earl was forc'd to ſubmit to: Accordingly the Lord Chancellor read the

the following Words to him, while the Earl kneeling repeated them at the Bar. 1. *I do acknowledge that my endeavouring to maintain that the Parliament was diſſolv'd, was an ill-adviſed Action; for which I humbly beg Pardon of the King's Majeſty, and this moſt honourable Houſe.* 2. *I do acknowledge that my bringing a Writ of* Habeas Corpus *in the King's-Bench, was a High Violation of your Lordſhips Privilege, and a great Aggravation of my former Offence, for all which I beg Pardon.* Having both repeated and ſubſcrib'd this Recantation, the Houſe order'd the Lords with White Staffs to acquaint his Majeſty, 'That they 'had receiv'd Satisfaction from the Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the Matter of 'the *Habeas Corpus*, and the other Contempt, and pray'd him to diſ-'charge the ſaid Earl from his Confinement.' Accordingly the Earl was releas'd, after an Impriſonment of about thirteen Months, and the next Day ſat in the Houſe of Lords, where he ſoon found Opportunities of ſhewing his Reſentments. 1677. Car. 30 Reſ. 18 *And Submiſſion.*

About the ſame time the City and Parliament were very much alarm'd with the ſudden and ſucceſsful Motions of the *French* King; who, to the Surprize of all Men, began his Campaign on the End of *February:* And marching at the head of his Army with his Queen and Court Ladies to *Mentz*, he ſeem'd firſt to threaten *Luxemburg*, *Namur* or *Mons*; but having drawn the *Spaniſh* Forces that way, he ſuddenly croſs'd the Country, and ſat down before *Ghent*; and notwithſtanding the Difficulties of the Seaſon, and their drowning part of the Country, he made himſelf Maſter of that large Place, and ſoon after of *Ypres*. By which he gave a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and ſtrengthen'd the Credit and Endeavours of thoſe who were already diſpos'd to his Conditions of Peace, as grown now abſolutely neceſſary; while *England* ſeem'd reſolv'd to enter into the War, or at leaſt gave the Confederates many ſuch Hopes. After this Succeſs, the *French* King thought fit for a while to relax, and to diſpoſe his Armies into Quarters of Refreſhment; whether he thought them ſufficiently harraſs'd, or whether he was afraid of the King of *England*, who, at the Deſire of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, had ſent over conſiderable Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, to ſecure the important Town of *Oſtend*, which now ſeem'd much in Danger. And now the *French* King was pleas'd to make a publick Declaration of the Terms, upon which he was reſolv'd to make a Peace: Which, tho' very different from thoſe agreed between *England* and *Holland*, and more from the Pretenſions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been firſt privately agreed with ſome Leaders of the principal Towns, prov'd indeed the *Plan* of the Peace, both for *Holland*, and all the other Confederates. And here the *French* began that imperious way of Treating, which they afterwards purſued in the whole Negotiation of the enſuing Peace; peremptorily declaring, ſuch and ſuch were the Conditions they wou'd admit, and no other; and to which the King of *France* pretended to be tied no longer than one Month. And about the ſame time his Ambaſſador at *London* began to change his Language, who had ever before pretended, *That his* Britannick *Majeſty ſhou'd always be Arbiter of the Peace*; but now aſſuring himſelf that his Maſter had agreed with *Holland*, he ſeem'd to wonder and expoſtulate *Why the King of* England *ſhou'd pretend to obtain better Terms for the* Spaniards, *than were allow'd by their Allies the* Dutch. *The Progreſs of the* French *in* Flanders.

In the mean time the Commons, under great Apprehenſions, haſtned the Poll-Bill for raiſing of Money, and on the 14th of *March* expreſs'd their Impatiency for a War in theſe Terms: 'Upon ſeveral Motions 'made for conſidering the deplorable Condition of the Nation, reſolv'd 'in a Committee of the whole Houſe, That it is their Opinion, that an *The Houſe of Commons alarm'd.*

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'Addreſs be preſented to the King, humbly to adviſe his Majeſty, that 'his Majeſty, to quiet the Minds of his loyal Subjects, and to encourage 'the Princes and States, Confederates againſt the *French* King, wou'd 'be graciouſly pleas'd to proclaim, and enter into an actual War with 'the *French* King; and to give his Majeſty Aſſurances, That this Houſe 'will conſtantly ſtand by and aid his Majeſty, in the Proſecution thereof, 'with neceſſary and plentiful Supplies and Aſſiſtances; and that his Ma-'jeſty wou'd preſently diſmiſs the *French* Ambaſſador, and recal his from '*France* and *Nimeguen*.' Which Addreſs was the next Day drawn up accordingly, and ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence, but never proceeded further. For the King made haſte to ſecure the Money-Bill, and on the 20th of *March* came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſſed that and another, Intituled, An Act for Continuance of two former Acts, *For preventing of Theft and Rapine upon the Northern Borders of* England. In the Poll-Bill there was one ſtrict appropriating Clauſe for the Money ſo levied, to be apply'd to no uſe but the intended *French* War; and alſo another Clauſe prohibiting the Importation of any *French* Commodities for three Years. Upon paſſing thoſe Bills, by the King's Order, the Parliament was adjourn'd for about three Weeks, 'till the 11th of *April*, and then again for above a Fortnight longer to the 29th of the ſame Month.

A ſhort Receſs.

1678. 4. On *Thurſday* the 11th of *April*, the Parliament met, and adjourn'd to the *Monday* following; at which time, by the King's particular Appointment, they choſe a new Speaker in the Houſe of Commons, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, one of the King's Council Learned, and a great Practicer in the Exchequer; and from thence adjourn'd over to *Monday* the 29th of *April*. But in a few Days Sir *Robert Sawyer* excus'd his Attendance in a Letter, that he cou'd not follow the Service by reaſon of a violent Fit of the Stone, occaſion'd by his long Sitting one Day in the Houſe; whereupon the old Speaker, Mr. *Edward Seymour*, was again choſen, and reinſtated in the Chair. During the Receſs of Parliament, a very ſtrict Faſt was kept on *Wedneſday* the 10th of *April* in the City of *London*, and a Fortnight following throughout all *England*, to implore God's Bleſſing upon his Majeſty and his Kingdoms, and for the averting the particular Judgments of Heaven.

A Faſt.

Both Houſes being met on *Monday* the 29th of *April*, and the King and the Lords in their Robes; the Lord Chancellor *Finch* in a long Speech, 'recited all the Addreſſes that had been made in relation to a 'War with *France*, what the King had already done in purſuance of the 'ſame; and joining in an effectual League with the Confederates to that 'End, and how ready the King was to purſue their Deſires; but that 'now his Majeſty had diſcover'd, that the *Dutch* were entering upon a 'Treaty of Peace with the *French* King, and that without his Conſent or 'Privity; therefore his Majeſty demands the Advices of his two Houſes 'how to proceed.' Upon Conſideration of this, on the 4th of *May*, the Commons directly voted, 'to give their humble Advice to his Majeſty, 'that he wou'd forthwith enter into the preſent Alliance with the Confe-'derates, and an actual War with *France*, &c.' Beſides this Advice, it was voted by a Majority of ſixteen Voices, 'That the late Leagues, 'made with the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, are not purſu-'ant to the Addreſſes of this Houſe, nor conſiſtent with the Good and 'Safety of the Kingdom.' Upon which, two Days after, the King being diſoblig'd, return'd this Anſwer, *His Majeſty having been acquainted with the Votes of the 4th Inſtant, is very much ſurpriz'd both with the Matter and Manner of them; but if his Majeſty had had Exceptions*

The Commons Vote.

The King's Reply.

to

to neither, yet his Majeſty having ask'd the Advice of both the Houſes, doth not think fit to give any Anſwer to any thing of that Nature, 'till he hath the Concurrent Advice of both Houſes.

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In the mean time the Commons appear'd not at all diſcourag'd with this Anſwer, but drew up a new Addreſs, and preſented it to his Majeſty on the 11th of *May*, *Saturday* in the Afternoon, containing, 'Their 'humble Thanks to his Majeſty, for demanding their Advice; that ac- 'cordingly they gave it, and they beſeech him to communicate to them 'his Reſolutions thereupon; and whereas they conceive that the Incon- 'veniencies and Dangers which the Kingdom now lies under, might to- 'tally, or in a great meaſure have been prevented, in caſe his Majeſty 'had accepted of the Advice by them given in their Addreſſes of the '26th of *May* laſt, and the 31ſt of *January*: That therefore he wou'd 'be pleas'd to remove thoſe Counſellors that advis'd him to give thoſe 'Anſwers which he did to the ſaid Addreſſes; that he wou'd pleaſe to 'accept of this Petition in good part, as proceeding from Perſons hear- 'tily devoted to him, *&c.* in fine, that he wou'd be pleas'd to remove 'the Duke of *Lauderdale* from his Preſence and Councils.' This put the King beyond all Patience; and as ſoon as he heard it, he immediately return'd Anſwer in theſe few Words; *That he was much ſurpriz'd at the Extravagancy of their Addreſs, and unwilling at preſent to give it ſuch a due Anſwer as it deſerves.* And now finding the Heats of the Houſe increaſe, he thought nothing ſo proper as a ſhort Prorogation; accordingly, on *Monday* the 13th of *May*, he came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſſing ſome private Bills, he caus'd the Parliament to be Prorogu'd 'till *Thurſday* come Sevennight, being the 23d of this Inſtant *May*. And this put an End to the Sixteenth Seſſion of the ſecond and long Parliament, which Seſſion had continued by ſeveral Adjournments, and ſome Intermiſſions, above fifteen Months. What ſeem'd moſt ſenſibly to touch the King in the Houſe of Commons, was an unlucky peeviſh Vote, as Sir *William Temple* calls it, mov'd by Sir *Thomas Clargis*, in ſpite to the Lord-Treaſurer, and paſs'd the Houſe, *That no Money ſhou'd be given, 'till Satisfaction was given in Matters of Religion.* This left all ſo looſe and ſo lame, that the King, who appear'd reſolv'd to declare War, was in a Rage, and reproach'd Sir *William Temple*, the Promoter of it, with his *Popular Notions*, and ask'd him, *When or how he thought he cou'd truſt the Houſe of Commons to carry him through the War, if he ſhou'd engage in it?* He ſays, no Vote cou'd ever have paſs'd more unhappily, nor in ſuch a Counter Seaſon, nor more croſs to the Humour of the Houſe, which was generally bent upon engaging the King in a War, and the Perſon that mov'd it was probably of the ſame Mind; but having ſince the Loſs of a Place ever acted with great Animoſity againſt the preſent Miniſtry, in whoſe Hands ſoever it was, this private ill Humour carried him contrary to his Publick Intentions, as he did many more in the Houſe, who pretended to be ready to ſupply the King upon occaſion of the War, or even of his Debts, but that they wou'd not do it during the Lord-Treaſurer's Miniſtry.

An Addreſs.

The King provok'd, and the Parliament prorogu'd.

The End of the Sixteenth Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament.

Temple.
Swift.
Rot. Parl.
Wright.
Danby.
Gazettes.

VIII. 1. During this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and ſince the Paſſing of the Poll-Bill, within ſix Weeks time, the King had raiſed an Army of about Twenty Thouſand Men, the moſt compleat, and in all Appearance the braveſt Troops that could be ſeen in any Place; and might have rais'd many more upon ſo great a Concurrence of People's Humour with his Majeſty's ſeeming Deſign of entering into a War againſt *France*; and it was acknowledg'd by all the Foreign Miniſters, That no King in *Chriſtendom* could have made and compleated ſuch a Levy as this appear'd,

An Army rais'd in England.

1678. Car. 30 Ref. 19

Holland *for a Peace.*

appear'd, in ſo ſhort a time. And now his Majeſty's Reſolutions appear'd entirely for War, when, before the Parliament broke up, there came Letters from Mr. *Hyde*, and Mr. *Godolphin*, 'That *Holland* abſolutely 'deſired the Peace, even upon the Terms propos'd by *France*, and had 'reſolv'd to ſend Monſieur *Van Lewen* into *England*, to diſpoſe the 'King to be contented with them'. Upon his Arrival the King immediately ſent Sir *William Temple* to know his Errand. He was the Chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had joyn'd with *Amſterdam*, and ſome other Places, on promoting the Peace; but being a Man of great Honour and Worth, and having come upon Suſpicion that *England*, at the Bottom, was ſtill in with *France*, and that all the reſt was but Amuſement; the Prince of *Orange* had procur'd him to be ſent over purpoſely to ſatisfy himſelf, and his Accomplices for the Peace, that the King's Intentions were really for the War, which his Highneſs thought the only Means to prevent the Peace. He freely told Sir *William Temple*, 'That 'Nothing was more againſt their Inclinations in *Holland*, than to make 'a Peace upon Terms ſo low and unſafe for *Flanders*; and that if the 'King had gone into the War, as was promis'd, upon *France*'s delaying 'to accept the Scheme, they would certainly have continu'd it: But his 'Majeſty's Proceedings look'd ever ſince ſo Uncertain or Unreſolv'd, 'that it had rais'd Jealouſies in *Holland*, of the *Engliſh* Meaſures being, 'at the Bottom, fix'd with *France*; which made moſt of the Towns in '*Holland* think they had nothing left to do, but to go in with them as 'faſt as they could; and the Approach of the *French* Army to *Ant-*'*werpe*, left them no Time to deliberate:' Yet, he profeſſed to Sir *William* in private, *That if the King would immediately declare the War, he believ'd the States would ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their Alliance, and the Terms contain'd in it.*

Sir *William* made this Report to the King, who now was juſt ready to declare the War, if the Parliament wou'd ſupport it; when on a ſudden happen'd the foremention'd croſs Vote in the Houſe of Commons, which ſhew'd there was ſuch a mutual Diſtruſt both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into ſound Meaſures between them. The King at leaſt ſaw, that he had now loſt his Time of entering into the War, and that he ought to have done it with the whole Confederacy, upon the Return of the Lord *Duras* from *France*. But the witty Turn that his Majeſty gave all this, was, *That ſince the* Dutch *wou'd have a Peace upon the* French *Terms, and* France *offer'd Money for his Conſent, to what he cou'd not help, he did not know why he ſhou'd not get the Money*; and thereupon order'd Sir *William* to treat with Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*; but Sir *William* found Means handſomly to decline a Treaty, which he ſaid *belong'd not to his Poſt.* At the ſame time the Heats in the Houſe of Commons much increas'd the ill Opinion the King had conceiv'd of their Intentions in preſſing him to enter upon a War. Yet notwithſtanding all this, he had conceiv'd ſuch Indignation at one Article of the *Private Treaty*, propos'd by the *French* Ambaſſador, that he ſaid, *He wou'd never forget it while he liv'd.* Sir *William*, who tells us he had it from a good Hand, leaves us however in the Dark as to that Secret Article: But the Publiſher of his Letters, Dr. *Swift*, acquaints us with that remarkable Paſſage, namely, That *France*, in order to break the Force of the Confederacy, and elude all juſt Conditions of a General Peace, reſolv'd by any Means, to enter into ſeparate Meaſures with *Holland*; to which End it was abſolutely neceſſary to engage the good Offices of the King of *England*, who was look'd upon as the *Maſter of the Peace*, whenever he pleas'd. The Bargain was ſtruck for either Three or Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds:

A Private Treaty between England *and* France.

But

1678. Car. 30 Ref. 19

But when all was agreed, Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, told the King, That he had Orders from his Maſter, before Payment, to add a private Article, by which his Majeſty ſhould be engag'd, *Never to keep above Eight Thouſand Men of ſtanding Troops in his Three Kingdoms.* This unexpected Propoſal put the King in a Rage, and made him ſay, *Gods Fiſh! does my Brother of* France *think to ſerve me thus? Are all his Promiſes to make me abſolute Maſter of my— come to this? Or does he think That a Thing to be done with Eight Thouſand Men?*

Tho' the King ſaid nothing to Sir *William Temple* of his Reſentment, yet he obſerv'd his Majeſty to be at this Time more reſolv'd to enter into the War, than he had ever before ſeen, or thought him. In the mean time young Monſieur *Ruvigny*, who was diſpatch'd into *France*, to know the laſt Intentions of that Court, being return'd without any clear or poſitive Anſwer; the King proceeded to compleat his Levies, and to prepare for War: But this again was defeated by the Prorogation of the Parliament; and Monſieur *Van Lewen*, the *Dutch* Agent, diſtaſted with theſe Delays, and the Counter-Paces between King and Parliament, began to talk freely of the 'Neceſſity his Maſters found to 'make the Peace as they cou'd, ſince there was no Relying upon any 'Meaſures with *England* for carrying on the War; and the Seaſon was 'too far advanc'd to admit of any longer Delays.' Upon theſe Diſcourſes from him, the King began again to cool his Talk of a War, and to ſay, *The Peace muſt be left to the Courſe which* Holland *had given it.* And tho' at the next Meeting of the Parliament, the Commons ſeem'd in a much better Temper than they parted; yet News coming about the ſame time, that Monſieur *Beverning* was ſent by the *States-General* to the *French* Court at *Ghent*, to propoſe a Ceſſation of Arms for ſix Weeks, in order to negotiate the Terms of the Peace; both the Court and Parliament began to look upon it as a Thing concluded, or at leaſt, as like to receive no other Motion than what ſhou'd be given it by *Holland* and *France.* And indeed the Diſpoſitions were ſo inclin'd to it on both Sides, that the Terms were in no long time adjuſted between them.

The Dutch *reſolve upon a ſeparate Treaty.*

2. In the mean time the Parliament met again according to Prorogation, on *Thurſday* the 23d of *May*, after a ſhort Receſs or Interval of only ten Days. The Parliament had before been continu'd a conſiderable time by Adjournments; but now a Prorogation was thought neceſſary, to ſettle the Minds of the People, or to anſwer the Expectations of the Court; ſo that this Meeting made the Seventeenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament of this Reign. Upon the foremention'd Day, his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and being ſeated on the Throne with his Robes and Crown, the Uſher of the Black-Rod was ſent to the Houſe of Commons to attend his Majeſty in the other Houſe, where he made a ſhort Speech to both Houſes, to this Effect: '*My Lords and* '*Gentlemen*, In the firſt Place, I am reſolv'd, as far as I am able, to ſave '*Flanders*, either by a War or a Peace, which Way I ſee moſt conducing to that End. In either Way, I think it convenient to keep up my 'Army, and Navy at Sea, for ſome time; but I leave it to you to conſider of Supplies for their Continuance or Disbanding; and in either 'Caſe not to diſcourage ſo many worthy and gallant Gentlemen, who 'have offer'd their Lives and Services to their Country, and that in Purſuit of your Advice and Reſolutions. I muſt tell you, That a Branch 'of my Revenues is now expiring, and another Part of it is cut off by a 'Clauſe in the *Poll-Bill*; That I have borrow'd two Hundred Thouſand Pounds upon the *Exciſe* at your Requeſt, of all which you are to 'conſider. That I have no Intentions but of Good to You, and my 'People,

The SEVENTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

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'People, nor ever ſhall; therefore I deſire you will not drive me into 'Extremities, which muſt end ill both for You and Me, and (which is 'worſt of all) for the Nation. I deſire to prevent all Diſorders and Miſ-'chiefs that may befall by our Diſagreement; but in caſe there do, I 'leave it to God-Almighty to judge who is the Occaſion of it. In Con-'cluſion, I muſt tell you, That I will not for the future ſuffer the old 'Courſe and Method of Paſſing of Laws to be chang'd, by *Tacking to-'gether ſeveral Matters in one Bill.* The reſt I leave to the Lord Chan-'cellor.'

The Main of the Lord Chancellor's Speech.

Accordingly his Lordſhip made a long and remarkable Speech, of which the greateſt Part ought not to be omitted. He let them firſt know, 'That with Reference to the preſent State of *Chriſtendom*, and a 'general Peace, the Advances which had been made abroad, tho' 'haſtned by ſome late Occurrences, were long ſince meditated and pre-'pared in *Holland:* For when the *States-General* perceiv'd, that tho' 'they had ſtrain'd themſelves to the utmoſt, and exceeded all the Pro-'portions which by their Treaty they were bound to furniſh, yet the '*Spaniards* fail'd them in every Point, not only in the *Subſidies* they were 'oblig'd to pay, but in the very *Strength* and *Forces* they ſtood engag'd 'to ſet out; inſomuch that all their Towns and Garriſons were ſo far 'from being in any tolerable Poſture to receive any Enemy, that they 'remain'd as perfectly defenceleſs as if they were intended to be aban-'don'd: Hereupon the *States* reſolv'd to ſeek all Occaſions of coming out 'of the War, and to lay hold on the firſt that ſhou'd offer it ſelf; and to 'that End, the laſt Year they ſolicited his Majeſty to endeavour a Peace, 'and they would then have taken ſuch a Peace as they now ſeek: But 'his Majeſty thought he had done great Service to the Chriſtian World, 'when he had gain'd two Points upon them; Firſt, to model and con-'cert with them the Terms and Articles of a better Peace; and then, 'on Proſpect of that Peace, to enter into a *League Offenſive and De-'fenſive* with his Majeſty, to obtain that Peace by Force, if it could not be 'had otherwiſe. Tho' the *Dutch* were ſtill inclin'd to accept of Peace, 'and were hearkning after the *French* Propoſitions at *Nimeguen*; yet 'ſuch were his Majeſty's Reſolutions to hold them to their *League*, and 'ſo conſtant were all his Refuſals to hearken to ſuch a Peace, that they 'muſt of Neceſſity at laſt have been oblig'd to continue on the War 'ſome way or other. But ſince it was heard abroad, that this *League*, 'which was the only Thing by which his Majeſty cou'd oblige the *States*, 'had been ſo ill underſtood at home, as to meet with ſome very unfit-'ting, and very undeſerving Reflections; as ſoon as it had taken Air, 'and underſtood *That there was a Reſolution to give no Money until Sa-'tisfaction was given in matters of Religion*, which in all Countries are 'the longeſt Debates that can be enter'd upon, and at this Time, above 'all others, ſhou'd leaſt have been ſtirr'd; and when at laſt the King had 'receiv'd an Addreſs, which they took to be of ſuch Nature as was ne-'ver ſeen or heard of before in any State or Kingdom of the World, 'and had proceeded ſo far as to expreſs his Reſentment of it: Then 'they concluded with themſelves, *That it was in vain to rely any longer 'upon* England, *for* England *was no longer it ſelf:* Then all Sides began 'to wiſh for Peace, even *Spain*, as well as *Holland*; and if the Ceſſa-'tion, which is endeavour'd to be made in order to it, take effect, as 'in all likelihood it will, we may conclude, That the Peace will ſoon 'follow.'

After this Hiſtorical Account, he proceeded to this Effect: 'What In-'fluence ſuch a Peace will have upon our Affairs, is uncertain; only we 'know we have given no ſmall Provocation to a mighty King, who may

'be

'be at leaſure enough to reſent it when he pleaſes; therefore it imports 1678.
'us to ſecure our ſelves, by preſerving Peace and Unity at Home: He
'that foments Diviſions now, does more Hurt to his Country, than a Car. 30
'Foreign Enemy can do, and diſarms it at a Time when all the Hands
'and Hearts we have are little enough to defend us: No Fears of *Arbi-* Reſ. 19
'*trary Government* can juſtify, no Zeal to *Religion* can ſanctify ſuch a
'Proceeding!' He then reminded them of the late Times, 'When *Reli-*
'*gion* and *Liberty* were truly loſt by being made a Handle and Pretence
'for *Sedition*; when *Prelacy* was call'd *Popery*, and *Monarchy* nam'd
'*Tyranny*, *&c.* and can we now endure to ſee Men break the Act of *Ob-*
'*livion* every Day, by reviving the Memory of forgotten Crimes in new
'Practices? It is worth the Conſideration Whether we do not bring ſome
'Kind of Scandal upon the *Proteſtant Religion*, when we ſeem ſo far to
'diſtruſt the Truth and Power of it, that after ſo many Laws paſt to
'guard it, and ſo many miraculous Deliverances from the Attempts made
'againſt it, we ſhou'd ſtill be afraid of its Continuance? Hath not the
'late Act made it abſolutely impoſſible for the moſt conceal'd Papiſt that
'is, to get into any Kind of Employment? And did ever any Law ſince
'the Reformation give us ſo great a Security as this? As little Reaſon
'there is to be jealous of our *Liberties* and *Properties*. Can there be a
'greater Evidence of the Moderation of a Prince, and his Tenderneſs of
'the Liberty of the Subject, than to ſuffer, as he does every Day, ſo
'much licentious and malicious Talk to paſs unpuniſh'd? If there be not
'a ſingle Inſtance to be found in a whole Reign, of a Man that has ſuf-
'fer'd againſt Law, and very few of thoſe that have ſuffer'd by it, ſhall
'we endure them that dare ſay in all publick Places, *That the Nation is*
'*enſlav'd?* Let them ſhew the Time, if they can, ſince the World began,
'and this Nation was firſt inhabited, wherein there were fewer Grievances,
'or leſs Cauſe of Complaint than at this preſent Time: Nay, let them
'ſearch all Ages and Places, and tell us when and where there was ever
'found a happier People than we are at this Day.

He proceeded then to the Matter of the Revenue, and to the ſame purpoſe with what the King had ſaid before, with ſome Enlargement; but plainly told them, 'That the *Manner* of their Proceedings was as
'conſiderable to his Majeſty, as the *Matter*; and that he wou'd not ac-
'cept a good Bill, how valuable ſoever, unleſs it came to him in the old
'and decent Method of Parliaments: That the late Way of *Tacking* to-
'gether ſeveral Independent and Incoherent Matters in one Bill, ſeem'd
'to alter the whole Frame and Conſtitution of Parliaments, and conſe-
'quently of the Government it ſelf. It took away the King's Negative
'Voice in effect, and forc'd him to take all or none, when one Part of
'the Bill might be as dangerous, as the other was neceſſary for the King-
'dom: It took away the *Negative Voice* of the Houſe of Peers by the
'ſame Conſequence, and diſinherited the Lords of their native Liberty
'of Debating and Judging what is good for the Kingdom: It look'd like
'a Kind of Defamation of the Government, and ſeem'd to ſuppoſe the
'King and Lords to be ſo ill affected to the Publick, that a good Bill
'cou'd not carry it ſelf through by the Strength of its own Reaſon and
'Juſtice, unleſs help'd forwards by being *Tack'd* to another that will be fa-
'vour'd: It did at laſt give up the greateſt Share of the *Legiſlature* to the
'Commons, and by conſequence the chief Power of Judging what Laws
'are beſt for the Kingdom.' In fine he ſhew'd that the ſame Method might be made uſe of by the Lords againſt the Commons; 'and thus
'every good Bill wou'd be dearly bought at laſt, and one chief End of
'Calling Parliaments, the Making of good Laws, be wholly fruſtrated
'and diſappointed, by departing from that Method which the Wiſdom

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'of our Anceſtors purpoſely preſcrib'd to prevent and exclude ſuch In-
'conveniencies. Theſe *Innovations* the King reſolv'd to aboliſh, and had
'commanded him to ſay to them, *State ſuper Vias antiquas.*' Then he
ſaid, 'If this Seſſion do not repair the Misfortunes, and amend the
'Faults of the laſt, it will look like Fatality upon the Nation. He whoſe
'Houſe is deſtroy'd by Fire, wou'd find but little Comfort in ſaying,
'*The Fire did not begin by his Means*; but it will be a Matter of perpe-
'tual Anguiſh and Vexation to remember, *That it was in his Power to*
'*have extinguiſh'd it.* Let the World now ſee that your Zeal to pre-
'ſerve the Government is the ſame as when you were ready to dye for
'its Reſtoration; and know, 'tis an Act as Meritorious, and of as great
'Duty and Loyalty, to ſtand between the King and thoſe Libellers, who
'wou'd create a Miſunderſtanding between Him and his Parliament, as
'tis to fight for him in a Day of Battel. Embelliſh the Hiſtory of this
'Parliament, by ſhewing us the Healing Virtue of this Seſſion: So ſhall
'your Service be acceptable to the King, *who never forgets any Thing*
'*but Injuries:* So ſhall you recommend your Selves to Poſterity, by
'tranſmitting to them the ſame Peace and Happineſs you are truſted
'with. And the God of Peace and Unity proſper all your Conſultations
'to the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Joy and Comfort
'of all his good Subjects.

For the better Conſideration of theſe Speeches, the Houſe of Commons were adjourn'd for three or four Days; and meeting on *Monday* the 27th of *May*, they ſoon came to this Reſolution, 'That the Houſe taking in-
'to Conſideration the State of his Majeſty's Affairs, and the great Charge
'and Burthen that his Majeſty and the Nation lye under by the Army
'now in being, are humbly of Opinion, That if his Majeſty pleaſe to think
'fit to enter into the War againſt the *French* King, this Houſe is, and
'always will be ready to ſupport and aſſiſt him in that War; but if other-
'wiſe, they will proceed to the Conſideration of Providing for the ſpee-
'dy Disbanding of the Army.' The Houſe further order'd, That the Members of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, do acquaint the King with theſe Votes, and pray his Majeſty's ſpeedy Anſwer. To which the King re-turn'd the following Anſwer, which was read the very next Day in the Houſe of Commons; 'That the *French* King hath made ſuch Offers of
'a Ceſſation till the 27th of *July*, as his Majeſty doth not only believe
'will be accepted, but will end in a general Peace; yet ſince that is not
'certain, he does not think it prudent to diſmiſs either Fleet or Army
'before that Time, nor doth he think it will add much to the Charge,
'in regard the raiſing Money, and paying them off, wou'd take up that
'Time, were they to be Disbanded as ſpeedily as poſſible: In the mean Time
'he deſired Money for their Subſiſtance, that as hitherto they have been
'the moſt orderly Army that ever came together, they may be encou-
'rag'd to continue ſo. Then he concluded with reminding them of the
'two Hundred Thouſand Pounds formerly mention'd in his Speech,
'which he wanted for the Subſiſtance of his Houſhold.' Hereupon, on the next Sitting Day, the Commons unanimouſly Voted, 'That all Forces
'rais'd ſince the 29th of *September* laſt (except thoſe tranſported to Fo-
'reign Plantations) be forthwith paid off and Disbanded, and that they
'wou'd conſider of a Supply for that Purpoſe.

The Commons Reſolve.

The King's Anſwer.

In the mean Time there happen'd ſome Alterations in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, not to be forgotten in this Place: On the laſt Day of *May*, being the Firſt of *Trinity* Term, the eminent Sir *William Scroggs*, an active Man at that Time, Prime Judge in the *Common Pleas*, took his Place in the *King's Bench*, as Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, to which Station he was pre-ferr'd by the King's ſpecial Favour, upon the Removal of Sir *Richard Rainsford*,

Sir W. Scroggs *promoted.*

Rainsford, who reſign'd his Place a few Days before. Sir *William* was ſucceeded in the *Common-Pleas* by Baron *Bartie*; and Serjeant *Bramp-ſtone* was promoted to his Place in the *Exchequer*. 1678. Car. 30 Reſ. 19

3. Upon the 4th Day of *June*, the Houſe of Commons, who ſeem'd now in a more giving Humour than in the laſt Seſſion, firſt voted two Hundred Thouſand Pounds to be rais'd by a Monthly Tax, in ſix Months, after the Land Tax, now in being, ſhou'd be expired; but with a Clauſe, *That this be for the Diſbanding the Army, by the End of this preſent* June. The next Day they voted the King two hundred Thouſand Pounds more, towards the Defraying the Expences of the Fleet, and were ready to add another ſuch Sum for the King's extraordinary Occaſions. Soon after which, his Majeſty ſent them a Meſſage by one of the Secretaries of State, importing, 'That his Mind was ſtill the ſame with what he deli-'ver'd in his Speech the 23d of *May* laſt, *viz. That the Army and Fleet* 'ought to be kept up till the expected Peace be concluded: And he fur-'ther recommended to their Conſideration, Whether it were not diſho-'nourable for him to recall his Forces in *Flanders*, from thoſe Towns 'which he had taken into his Protection, before they cou'd provide them-'ſelves of other Succours.' Upon Conſideration of which, the Commons extended the Time, as to the Forces in *Flanders*, to the 27th Day of *July*. But upon *Saturday*, the 15th of *June*, they Reſolv'd, 'That after 'the *Tueſday* following, no Motions ſhou'd be made for any new Sup-'plies of Money, till after the next Receſs; nor any more private Bills 'brought in, till after the ſaid Receſs. *The Commons vote a Supply.*

On the foreſaid *Tueſday*, *June* 18th, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Houſe of Commons, he declar'd to them all in a pathetick Speech, 'That the Seaſon requiring a Receſs by the mid-'dle of the next Month, it was convenient that He and his Parliament 'ſhou'd part fairly, and with a perfect Confidence of one another: 'Therefore he open'd his Heart freely to them in ſome Particulars of 'the neareſt Concern: That what he told them in the Beginning of the 'Seſſion concerning a Peace, ſeem'd ready to be determin'd, at leaſt as 'to *Spain* and *Holland*; in which Peace his Part wou'd be not only that 'of a Mediator, but alſo to give his Warranty in it. That *Spain* writes 'Word, *That unleſs* England *bears the Charge of maintaining* Flanders, '*even after the Peace, they will not be in a Condition to ſupport it long*; 'Therefore to that End, it was neceſſary to keep up the Navy at Sea, 'and not only ſo, but to give the World ſome Aſſurance of being well 'united at home: That tho' the Houſe of Commons might think ſuch a 'Peace as ill a Bargain as a War, becauſe it wou'd coſt them Money; 'yet if they ſeriouſly conſider'd that otherwiſe *Flanders* had been loſt, 'and perhaps by this Time, He believ'd they wou'd give much greater 'Sums than that wou'd coſt, rather than the ſingle Town of *Oſtend* ſhou'd 'be in the *French* Hands, and forty of their Men of War in ſo good a 'Haven over againſt the River's Mouth.' Then he inſinuated to them, 'that they cou'd not but be pleas'd to underſtand, the Reputation *Eng-'land* had gain'd abroad, by having in forty Days rais'd an Army of 'thirty Thouſand Men, and prepar'd a Navy of ninety Men of War; 'Therefore if they deſir'd to keep up the Honour of the Crown at home, 'and look to the Safety of the Balance of Affairs abroad, and purſue the 'Wars of *Algiers*; If they deſir'd he ſhou'd paſs any Part of his Life in 'Quiet, and all the reſt in Confidence and Kindneſs with Them, and 'other future Parliaments; they muſt find a Way, not only to ſettle 'for his Life his Revenue as at *Chriſtmas* laſt, but alſo to add a new 'Fund of three hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, upon which he *The King's Second Speech to both Houſes.*

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'wou'd paſs an Act to ſettle Fifty Thouſand Pounds upon the Navy and 'Ordnance; and ſhou'd be likewiſe always ready to conſent to all ſuch 'Laws as they ſhou'd propoſe for the Good of the Nation.' He laſtly reminded them, 'to enable him to keep his Word with the Prince of '*Orange*, in the Payment of his Neice's Portion, which was forty Thou- 'ſand Pounds; the firſt Payment being now due and demanded by 'Him.

Not comply'd withal.

Upon the Return of the Commons to their Houſe, they immediately took this affecting Speech into Conſideration, and ſoon voted his Majeſty the humble Thanks of the Houſe for his moſt gracious Expreſſions in it. But when they came to debate on the Additional Revenue propos'd, they gave a total Denyal to it; and not only ſo, but when a Motion was made to give a Compenſation for the loſt Part of his Majeſty's Revenues by the late *Prohibiting Act*, concerning *French* Commodities, it paſs'd in the Negative, 202 againſt 145. Not long after, the Lords, having paſs'd the Bill for *Disbanding the Army*, &c. and ſent it down with a Clauſe of Enlargement of the Time prefix'd for one Month longer; the Commons wou'd by no means agree to it, but deſiring a Conference, they gave their Lordſhips their Reaſons why they cou'd not conſent to the Amendment.

Several Bills paſs'd.

After ſome Continuance longer, and ſome conſiderable Bills prepar'd, the King growing more and more uneaſy, on the 15th of *July* he came to the Houſe of Peers, and with the uſual Solemnity paſs'd the following Bills, 1. An Act *for granting a Supply to his Majeſty of ſix hundred nineteen Thouſand Pounds*, &c. *for Disbanding the Army, and other Uſes therein mentioned.* 2. An Act *for granting an Additional Duty to his Majeſty upon Wines for three Years.* 3. An Act *to enable Creditors to recover their Debts of the Executors and Adminiſtrators of Executors in their own Wrong.* 4. An Act *for Burying in Woollen.* 5. An Act *for Admeaſurement of Keels and Boats carrying Coals.* 6. An Act *for Reviving a former Act, intituled,* An Act for avoiding unneceſſary Suits and Delays, *and for Continuance of another Act, intituled,* An Act for the better ſettling Inteſtate Eſtates. 7. An Act *for further Relief and Diſcharge of poor Priſoners for Debt.* 8. An Act *for Repealing certain Words in a Clauſe in a former Act, intituled,* An Act for Enlarging and Repairing Common High-Ways. 9. An Act *for Preſervation of Fiſhing in the River* Severn. After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, acquainted the two Houſes, 'That his Majeſty had thought fit in 'the preſent Juncture of Affairs, to Prorogue them to the firſt of *Auguſt* 'next, and ſo to keep them in Call by ſhort Prorogations; his Majeſty 'not knowing how ſoon he might have need of their further Service 'and Aſſiſtance: But that his Majeſty's Intention was, they ſhou'd not 'meet till towards Winter, unleſs there were Occaſion for their Aſſem- 'bling ſooner, of which he wou'd give them timely Notice by his Pro- 'clamation.' And accordingly the Parliament was Prorogu'd till the firſt Day of *Auguſt*; but they did not really meet till the 21ſt Day of *October*. And thus ended the Seventeenth Seſſion of the Second and long Parliament, after it had ſate this Time about ſeven Weeks; and was the laſt Meeting but one of this famous Aſſembly.

The End of the Seventeenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

Affairs abroad.

4. During this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, the Peace abroad went on variouſly, according to the uncertain Meaſures and Motions in *England*, which was ſo much and nearly concern'd in it. The whole Treaty was manag'd with great Artifice by the *French*, and with too much Remiſſneſs and Negligence by moſt of the Confederates. At length the *Dutch*, quite wearied out with the Charge of the War, having

ving gain'd a ſort of a paſſive Compliance from the *Spaniard*, reaſſum'd their Reſolution of a ſeparate Peace: Accordingly, on the 22d of *June*, the *States* gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, to ſign the Peace with *France* before the End of that Month; and, at the ſame Time, they acquainted the King of *France* with their Intentions. But notwithſtanding this Tendency, both in *Spain* and *Holland*, to give the Treaty the finiſhing Stroke, an unexpected Accident fell out, which went near to overturn the whole Fabrick, and renew the War with greater Vigour, and more equal Forces, by engaging *England* in a Share of it, in Favour of the Allies, which they had long been endeavouring, without any real Succeſs. The Occaſion was: In the Conditions the *States* had made for the *French* reſtoring the ſix Towns of *Ghent*, *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray* and *Limburgh*, there was no particular Mention made of the Time of that Reſtitution; the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* preſuming it was to be upon the Ratification of the Treaty with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any other of the Confederates were included or no. The Negotiation had been manag'd in that manner, till the Day before the Peace was to be ſign'd; when the *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiary either found, or made ſome Occaſion of enquiring more particularly of the *French* Intentions upon this Point. Whereupon the *French* Ambaſſadors made no Difficulty of Declaring, 'That the King, their Maſter, 'being oblig'd to ſee an entire Reſtitution made to their Allies the *Swedes*, 'of all they had loſt in the War, cou'd not evacuate thoſe ſix Towns, 'till thoſe were likewiſe reſtored to the *Swedes*; and that the Detenti-'on of theſe *Spaniſh* Towns was the only Means to induce the Princes 'in the *North* to accept of the Peace.' The *Dutch* Miniſters having receiv'd the *States* Anſwer upon this Affair, declared to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, 'That they cou'd not Sign the Peace without the actual 'Reſtitution of the ſaid Places in *Flanders*, upon the Ratification of the 'Treaty;' on the other Side, the *French* Miniſters were immoveable, and poſitively inſiſted upon the Satisfaction of the *Swedes*. Upon this unexpected Procedure of *France*, the *States-General* order'd Monſieur *Van Lewen* to acquaint his *Britannick* Majeſty with it, and to know his Reſolution upon a Point of ſo great Moment to the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, as well as the Safety of *Flanders*.

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The French *take Advantage in the Treaty.*

The King of *England* cou'd hardly believe a Matter ſo improbable; but ſending to the *French* Ambaſſador at *London* to know the Certainty of it, and finding him own his Maſter's Intention not to evacuate the Towns in *Flanders*, till *Sweden* was ſatisfy'd, he was both ſurpriz'd and inrag'd; and the next Morning ſent for Sir *William Temple* to the Foreign Committee, and there declared his Reſolution of ſending immediately into *Holland*, with full Commiſſion to Sign a Treaty with the *States-General*; by which they ſhou'd be oblig'd to carry on the War, and his Majeſty to enter into it, in caſe *France* ſhou'd not agree to evacuate the Towns within a certain limited Time. Upon this Occaſion, his Brother the Duke of *York* fell into the ſame Counſel with great Warmth, and declar'd in the Committee, *That it was plain by this Step, that* France *was not ſincere in the Buſineſs of the Peace; that they aim'd at the* Univerſal Monarchy; *and that none but his Majeſty cou'd hinder them from it, in the Poſture that* Chriſtendom *then ſtood.* All the Lords of the Committee agreed with ſo general an Approbation, that it was hard to imagine that this cou'd prove any Thing leſs than a ſteddy Reſolution. His Majeſty, to promote it, took the Pains to preſs *Van Lewen* to go over with Sir *William Temple*, to perſuade the *States* of the Sincerity and Conſtancy of his Reſolution to purſue this Meaſure with the utmoſt of his Power; and moreover took upon Himſelf to excuſe to the *States*, his Maſters, the making this Journey without their Conſent.

The King of England *provok'd.*

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A little before the Time of the breaking up of the Parliament, Sir *William Temple* and Monſieur *Van Lewen* went over into *Holland*, and being arriv'd at the *Hague*, the Negotiation was immediately ſet on foot, and in the Space of ſix Days, the famous Treaty of Alliance between *England* and *Holland* was happily concluded on the 26th of *July*, to the general Satisfaction of the *Dutch* Commiſſioners; who, at the firſt Conference, made Sir *William* the Compliment, *That they eſteem'd his coming into* Holland, *like that of the Swallows, which always brought fair Weather with them.* And it is obſerveable, that Mr. *Godolphin*, who had been ſo lately in *Holland*, told Sir *William* before his Departure, *That if he brought the* States *to conclude the Treaty his Majeſty propos'd, he wou'd move the Parliament to have his Statue ſet up.* Among the reſt, the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador with the greateſt Joy imaginable, hoping by the Succeſs of his Errand, either to continue the War, or recover ſuch Conditions of the Peace for the Allies, as had been wreſted out of his Hands by a Faction begun at *Amſterdam*, and ſince diffus'd into the reſt of the Provinces. And it was hardly to be conceiv'd, what a new Life this Alliance gave to the Authority and Fortunes of that Prince; who was now acknowledg'd by the *States* to have made a truer Judgment than themſelves, of the Meaſures they were to expect both from *France* and *England*: the laſt having proceeded ſo reſolutely and unexpectedly to the Offers of entering into the War; and *France*, after raiſing ſo great a Difficulty in the Peace, having purſu'd the War ſo far as to block up *Mons*, one of the beſt remaining Frontiers in *Flanders*, which was expected to fall into their Hands before the Time limited for the Concluſion or Breach of the Peace ſhou'd expire. Hereupon Preparations were made with the greateſt Vigour and Diligence, for his Highneſs's Expedition to relieve that important Place; and about Ten Thouſand brave *Engliſh*, already arriv'd in *Flanders*, were order'd to march that Way, and joyn his Army. The Prince went into the Field with a firm Confidence that the War wou'd certainly go on, and with great Hopes to engage the *French* Army before the Term for ſigning the Peace ſhould expire; and therefore reſolv'd to relieve the City of *Mons*, or dye in the Attempt, whether the Peace ſucceeded or no; ſo that the Continuance of the War now ſeem'd inevitable.

He makes a new Alliance with the Dutch.

Forces ſent into Flanders.

5. After the Treaty concluded between *England* and *Holland* had been ſignify'd to *France*, all the Arts imaginable were practis'd, on that ſide, to elude it; particularly by drawing the Matter into a Negotiation, or at leaſt, a greater length, which before had ſo well ſucceeded in *England*. They offer'd to treat upon it firſt at St. *Quintin*, then at *Ghent*, where the *French* King himſelf propos'd to meet ſuch Ambaſſadors as the *Dutch* ſhou'd ſend to either of thoſe Towns: But the *States* continued reſolv'd not to recede from their laſt Treaty, and were immoveable, 'till about five Days before the Expiration of the limited time; when the Arrival of a certain Perſon in *Holland* gave a new and ſtrange Turn to the whole Affair. This was one *De Croſs*, an inferior and buiſy Agent of *Sweden*, who came from *London*, with Orders from his *Britannick* Majeſty for Sir *William Temple* immediately to repair to *Nimeguen*, and to uſe his utmoſt to perſwade the *Swediſh* Plenipotentiaries, to let the *French* there know, 'That they wou'd, for the Good of *Chriſtendom*, conſent, and even deſire the King of *France* no longer to defer 'the Evacuation of the Towns, and conſequently the Peace; and to aſſure the ſaid *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, that after this Peace the King of 'England wou'd uſe all the moſt effectual Endeavours he cou'd, for the 'Reſtitution of all the Towns and Territories the *Swedes* had loſt in 'the

A ſudden Turn from England.

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'the War.' Sir *William* was extreamly ſurpriz'd at this new Diſpatch; but Penſionary *Fagel* being as it were Thunder-ſtruck, went and told his Excellency the whole Contents of it, before he had mention'd it to any Man; and particularly, 'That *De Croſs* had moſt induſtriouſly gone 'about to the Deputies of the ſeveral Towns, and acquainted them with 'it; and that the Terms of the Peace were abſolutely agreed between 'the two Kings; that he brought Sir *William Temple* Orders to go ſtrait 'to *Nimeguen*, where at his Arrival he ſhou'd meet with Letters from 'the Lord *Sunderland*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, with all the 'Particulars concluded between both their Majeſties.

How this ſtrange Diſpatch by *De Croſs* was gain'd, or by whom, was never certainly known: But upon Sir *William*'s Return to *England*, the Duke of *York* told him, *That he knew nothing of it 'till it was gone, having been a hunting that Morning*: The Lord-Treaſurer ſaid all that cou'd be to excuſe himſelf of it; but the King indeed told him pleaſantly, *That the Rogue* de Croſs *had outwitted them all.* The Truth is, theſe Orders ſeem to be the Reſult of *French* Intrigues and Management; being agreed and diſpatch'd one Morning in the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*'s Chamber, by the Intervention of Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador. Yet by one of the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*'s Letters to Sir *William Temple*, dated *Auguſt* the 12th, it appears that the King was much diſpleas'd at *de Croſs*'s Proceedings; in which are theſe Words: 'You 'will find that Mr. *Hyde* is no leſs impower'd to give Satisfaction about 'Monſieur *de Croſs*, who was ſo far from having any ſort of Commiſſion 'from the King, that if the Penſionary will permit any thing to be prov'd 'againſt him of theſe private Diſcourſes, which you ſay you had from 'the Penſionary, *his Majeſty will make him a publick Example for the Sa-* 'tisfaction of himſelf as well as the reſt of the World. However it was, and what Endeavours ſoever were made immediately after, at the Court of *England*, to retrieve this falſe Step, it never cou'd be done; and this one Incident chang'd the whole Face of *Chriſtendom*, which ſhews that the greateſt Counſels and Revolutions often turn upon the ſmalleſt Motions and Accidents.

Which proves irretrievable.

When Sir *William Temple* arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, which was but three Days before the Expiration of the Term fix'd by the late Treaty between *England* and *Holland*, either for the *French* to evacuate the Towns, or for carrying on the War jointly againſt *France*; there appear'd but little Diſpoſition towards the Signing of the Peace, but rather the contrary, by the Stiffneſs ſhew'd on both ſides, to adhere firmly to their reſpective Demands. And the *Dutch*, contrary to the *French* Propoſals, poſitively maintain'd, 'That there cou'd be no Deputation made 'to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, either at St. *Quintin* or *Ghent*, nor any 'other Expedient for putting a ſtop to the Operations of the War, be- 'ſides the direct Aſſent of *France* to evacuate the ſix Towns.' So that the Peace thereupon ſeem'd deſperate; and the more ſo, becauſe at the ſame time, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* preſs'd *Mons*, and the Mareſchal *Schomberg* threatned *Cologn*; and *Bruſſels* it ſelf grew very uneaſy, upon finding it ſelf almoſt ſurrounded by *French* Troops: So that the Confederate Miniſters thought themſelves ſecure of what they had ſo much and long deſir'd, and aim'd at; which was a War againſt *France*, in Conjunction with *England*. In the midſt of theſe Views and Diſpoſitions at *Nimeguen*, came the critical Day, fix'd by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, which was to determine whether a ſudden Peace, or a long War, were to be reckon'd upon in *Chriſtendom*: In the Morning of which, *Auguſt* 11. *N. S.* the *French* Miniſters, who had lately been wholly upon the Reſerve, thought fit to yield to the Evacuation of the Towns, and apply'd them-

The Peace between France *and* Holland *ſecured.*

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themſelves with ſo much Dexterity, that before twelve that Night they gain'd the great Point for their Maſter's Intereſt and Advantage, and ſecur'd the ſeparate Peace with the *States* of the *United Provinces*.

All this while the important City of *Mons* was ſtrongly block'd up by the *French* Army under the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who was ſo confident of his Security, that he ſent an Account to the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades*, one of the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, 'That he was ſo well 'poſted, that if he had but Ten thouſand Men, and the Prince of *Orange* 'Forty thouſand, yet he was ſure he cou'd not be forc'd; much leſs 'when he knew his Army to be much ſtronger than that of the Prince.' But however, the intrepid Prince reſolv'd to break through all Diſadvantages whatſoever; and having on a *Sunday* decamp'd from *Soignies*, march'd towards *Roches*, and from thence reſolv'd to attack the Enemy, whoſe Right Wing was poſted at the Abbey of St. *Dennis*, and the Left at *Mamoy St. Pierre*, with ſuch Advantage of Situation, that they thought themſelves inacceſſible; for beſides the Woods, there was only a Precipice led to them, and that by narrow Paſſages. About Noon the Cannon play'd furiouſly upon St. *Dennis*, and ſoon after the Confederate Dragoons behav'd themſelves ſo gallantly, that they drove the *French* from their Faſtneſs, and made themſelves Maſters of the Cloyſter; while Adjutant-General *Collier* advanc'd towards the Abby, and paſſing his Battalions in a Defile through the narrow Paſſes, and ſliding down the Precipices with an invincible Reſolution, after a vigorous Reſiſtance, made the *French* to retire within their Lines. The valiant Duke of *Monmouth* was preſent with the Prince at the deſperate Attack upon the Abby; and both highly animated the Soldiers by their Preſence and Example. From hence they both wheel'd off to *Chaſtieau*, which was warmly attack'd by the *Spaniards* in the Right Wing, under the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, aſſiſted by ſome *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments, commanded by the brave Earl of *Offery*, who really did Wonders. Here the Prince of *Orange* advanc'd ſo far, that he was in great Danger of being loſt, had not Monſieur *Overkirk* ſeaſonably come into his Relief, and kill'd a *French* Captain that was juſt ſhooting him in the Head. At laſt, by favour of the Night, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* made his Retreat without any Noiſe, withdrew towards *Mons*, and cover'd himſelf with a Wood on one ſide, and a River on the other, leaving to the Prince, as a Teſtimony of his Victory, the Field of Battle, the greateſt part of the wounded, ſeveral Tents, and ſome Baggage, with a great quantity of Powder and other Warlike Ammunition. This Enterprize was ſo conſiderable, that one of the *French* Officers was heard after the Battle to ſay, *That he eſteem'd this the only Heroick Action that had been done in the whole Courſe or Progreſs of the War.*

The Prince of Orange's *Attempt to relieve* Mons.

The Succeſs of it.

Greater things might have been reaſonably expected; but the very next Morning the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd Advice from the *States* of the ſeparate Peace ſign'd between them and the *French* at *Nimeguen*. The News of which he immediately ſent to the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who with a great Compliment deſir'd an Interview with his Highneſs; which being agreed to, they met in the Field at the Head of their chief Officers, where all things paſs'd with great Civility and Gallantry on both ſides; the *French* crowding about a young Prince that had gain'd ſuch Fame in the World; and the Day before had given Life and Vigour to ſuch a deſperate Action, as all Men eſteem'd this Battle of St. *Dennis*. Yet many Reflections were made upon it by the Prince's Friends as well as his Enemies: Some ſaid that he knew the Peace was ſign'd before the Fight began; and that it was too great a Venture both to himſelf and the *States*, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, ſince it cou'd be to

Reflections upon it.

no

no other Advantage: Others laid the Blame upon the Marquiſs of *Grana*, who they ſaid had intercepted and conceal'd the *States* Packet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the Day before, but after the Battle was reſolv'd on; and that he had hopes by ſuch a Breach of the Peace, even after it was ſign'd, that the Progreſs of it wou'd have been defeated. Whether this were real Fact or no, cou'd never be made appear; but ſo much was true, that the Prince cou'd not have ended the War with greater Glory, nor with greater Reſentment, to ſee ſuch a mighty Occaſion wreſted out of his Hands, by the ſudden and unexpected Signing of the Peace, which he had aſſur'd himſelf the *States* wou'd not have conſented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the News of it, he drew back his Army, return'd to the *Hague*, and left the *States* to purſue their own Steps, in order to finiſhing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; wherein the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* employ'd themſelves with great Zeal and Diligence, and no longer as Parties or Confederates, but as Mediators, while the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries declin'd the Function, as a Matter wherein the *Engliſh* Court wou'd not take any part, or allow themſelves to have had any Hand in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*. 1678. Car. 30 Reſ. 19

And the Peace then concluded.

This particular and ſeparate Peace was ſign'd upon the 11th Day of *Auguſt*, to the great Satisfaction of the *Dutch*, and the no leſs Diſappointment of their Confederates: And it is obſervable, that no Negotiation was ever manag'd with greater Addreſs and Skill, than this had been by the *French* in the whole Courſe of the Affair; eſpecially after the Marriage of the Prince of *Orange*, which was thought to have given them ſo great a Blow, and by Force of Conduct was turn'd ſo much to their Advantage. It is apparent, that they never intended to continue the War, if *England* fell with ſuch Weight into the Scale of the Confederates, as the Force of that Kingdom, and Humour of the People wou'd have given to ſuch a Conjunction; and conſequently, that his *Britannick* Majeſty might have preſcrib'd what Terms he pleas'd of the Peace, during the whole Courſe of his Mediation. But the Peace being thus dexterouſly gain'd with *Holland*, the King of *England* was excluded from any fair Pretence of entring into the War, after the vaſt Expence of raiſing a great Army, and tranſporting them into *Flanders*, and after great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, deluded as well as diſappointed. *Spain* was neceſſitated to accept the Terms that the *Dutch* had negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the Empire wholly at the Mercy and Diſcretion of *France*, and the Reſtitution of *Lorrain* wholly abandon'd and unprovided. Whatever Advantages aroſe to *France* by this Negotiation, in a little time all *Chriſtendom* had the Happineſs of a general Peace and Tranquillity, after the greateſt part of it had been employ'd in a bloody and expenſive War of about ſix Years; with the Concluſion of which ended the famous Treaty of *Nimeguen*, which in a few Months after this ſeparate Treaty, finiſh'd, or laid aſleep all the Wars and Conteſts in the Weſtern World.

The End of the Treaty of Nimeguen.

CHAP. II.

From the End of the War between France *and* Holland, *and the Mediatorship of* England, *to the Dissolution of the Second and Long Parliament.*

Containing the Space of 5 Months, and about 3 Weeks.

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I. 1. AT the time of the Conclusion of this last Treaty, Ease and Plenty increas'd in the Country, Trade and Riches abounded in the City, Luxury and Pleasures triumph'd in the Court, and all enjoy'd the natural Blessings of Peace and Tranquillity: Yet in the midst of all these outward Felicities, a sudden Fire broke out, which, as it increas'd, did not only disturb and inrage, but in effect distracted and confounded the greatest part of the Kingdom; producing a thousand strange and uncommon Effects. And this was the Discovery of a Plot, commonly call'd the POPISH PLOT; *a Plot carried on by the Jesuits, and other Papists, against his Majesty's Life, the Protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom.* It was more particularly distinguish'd by the Name of *Oates*'s Plot, and afterwards *Shaftsbury*'s Plot; the first being accounted the main Discoverer of the Facts, and the latter the grand Promoter of the Belief of them. It is usual with State-Plots, that tho' their Roots be small and almost invisible, yet the Branches are large and conspicuous; especially when a People are ready prepar'd and dispos'd to preserve and cherish those exuberant Plants. This was so well cultivated in its Rise and Growth, that it soon overspread and clouded the Nation: And since it so soon grew very large and monstrous, for the greater Clearness and the Reader's Ease, we shall first represent it in its full Extent and Amplitude, as we have it from *Oates* himself, *H. Care*, and other zealous Favourers of the Belief of it.

Oates. Care. Bedloe. Lestrange. MSS. Medulla. Tongue. Kirkby. Danby.

The POPISH PLOT.

The Extent of it, as represented by the Discoverers.

The Design in general, as they inform us, was by Fire and Sword, when all other Means fail'd, to subvert the Establish'd Government and Religion of these Kingdoms, and to reduce the same to *Popery*, so as no Toleration should be given to any *Protestant*, but all to be extirpated Root and Branch. The chief Conspirators that design'd, and were to carry on this great Work, were thus marshal'd: 1. The present Pope, *Innocent* the Eleventh, who in the Congregation, *de propaganda Fide*, consisting of above three Hundred Persons, held about *December*, 1677, Declared 'all the King of *England*'s Dominions to be part of St *Peter*'s Patrimony, as forfeited to the Holy See for the Heresy of the Prince 'and People, and so to be dispos'd of as he should think fit.' 2. The *English* Cardinal *Howard*, who in pursuance of such a Declaration, was appointed by his Holiness as his *Legate* to take Possession of *England* in his Name: He likewise made him Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with an Augmentation of forty Thousand Crowns a Year, for the Maintenance of his Legantine Authority; and had also constituted Bishops and Dignitaries of all or most of the Sees and Ecclesiastical Promotions in *England*; as *Perrot*, Superior of the secular Priests, to be Archbishop of *York*, *Corker* Bishop of *London*, *Whitebread* of *Winchester*, *Strange* of *Dur-*

Durham, Dr. *Godden* of *Salisbury*, *Napper*, a *Franciſcan* Fryar, of *Norwich*, &c. removing all the Biſhops in Poſſeſſion from their preſent Dignities. 3. *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, Father-General of the Jeſuit's Society, reſiding at *Rome*, who was to give Directions to the *Provincial* of the Jeſuits in *London*, how to proceed in this Affair. 4. *Pedro Jeronymo de Corduba*, Provincial of the Jeſuits in *Spain*, who was to aſſiſt with Counſel and Money, and to miſrepreſent the Actions of his *Britannick* Majeſty to the *Spaniſh* Court; which likewiſe was to be done by a Jeſuit, Confeſſor to the Emperor, in relation to *England* and that Court. 5. Father *Le Cheſe*, a Jeſuit, Confeſſor to the *French* King, with whom *Coleman* held a conſtant Correſpondence, in order to betray his Country. 6. The *Provincial* of the Jeſuits for the time being in *England*, which of late was firſt *Strange*, and then *Whitebread*. 7. The *Benedictine* Monks at the *Savoy* in *London*, where they had erected them a College, to carry on ſuch private Ends. 8. Great Numbers of Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts, now reſiding in *England*, who were generally privy to the main Deſign, tho' perhaps not all acquainted with Particulars. 9. Several Lay Perſons of Quality drawn in, out of Zeal, Ambition, Avarice, *&c.* to join with them, to Command the Forces they were to raiſe, and execute the great Offices in the Realm; as the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, to be Lord-Chancellor of *England*; the Lord *Powis*, Lord-Treaſurer; Sir *William Godolphin*, Lord-Privy-Seal; Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Secretary of State; Lord *Bellaſis*, General of the Army; Sir *Francis Ratcliff*, Major-General; Mr. *John Lambert*, Adjutant-General; Mr. *Langhorn*, Advocate-General, *&c.* who had all Commiſſions ſent them, ready ſeal'd by *Paulus de Oliva*, from the Court of *Rome*. Beſides theſe, and other inferior Conſpirators to be mention'd afterwards, the Queen and the Duke of *York* were ſaid to be concern'd, but not ſo poſitively as the reſt. 1678. Car. 30 Reſ. 19

Next they tell us the Means whereby they reſolv'd to accompliſh this vaſt Undertaking, which were as follows: 1. By Killing the King, finding they cou'd not work him to their Deſigns; and therefore to remove him, they form'd ſeveral diſtinct Plots, and all to be kept unknown to each other: As Firſt, *Grove* and *Pickering* to ſhoot him; Secondly, *Conyers* and *Anderton*, Benedictine Monks, and four *Iriſh* Ruffians, to ſtab him; and Thirdly, Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Phyſician, to Poyſon him; for which Purpoſe five Thouſand Pounds was enter'd in their Books, as paid to him in Part of fifteen Thouſand Pounds Reward, when he had finiſh'd the Work. As for the Duke of *York*, they concluded to make uſe of his Name and Intereſt, if he wou'd comply with theſe Conditions; Firſt, to accept of the three Kingdoms as a Gift from the Pope, and hold them in Fee of him, and confirm their Settlement of the Church and State: Next, if he wou'd exterminate all Proteſtants; and Laſtly, if he wou'd pardon the Murtherers of his Brother, the Murtherers of the People, and thoſe who ſhou'd fire the remaining Part of the City and Suburbs. 2. For that was the ſecond Particular of their Work, to fire *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the adjacent Places; as alſo other the chief Cities and Towns of *England*, immediately on the Killing of his Majeſty; and then lay the whole Load, both of the Murther and Firing, on the *Presbyterians* and *Fanaticks*, thereby provoking the *Epiſcopal* Men to joyn with them to cut them off; that ſo Proteſtants being weakned by their own Fewds, they might have the better Opportunities, and eaſier Task, to ſubdue them all. 3. By a General Maſſacre; to which purpoſe they are ſaid to have form'd an Army, conſiſting of fifty Thouſand Men to be liſted about *London*; the Officers all reſolute Papiſts, and for the moſt part *French* and *Iriſh*. Theſe they gave

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out *were enow to cut the Throats of one Hundred Thouſand Proteſtants*; eſpecially being taken upon a Surprize, when the *Militia* of *London* were unprovided and undiſciplin'd, and the Country generally diſarm'd as aforeſaid. And beſides, the Conſpirators had of the *French*, ten Thouſand Soldiers from *Flanders*, and thirty Thouſand Pilgrims and Lay-Brothers daily expected from *Spain*, to aſſiſt them. 4. In *Ireland*, the Pope had made *Talbot*, the Titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, his Legate, to take Poſſeſſion for him of that Kingdom; whoſe Brother was to be General of all the Forces there, conſiſting of ſeventy Thouſand Papiſts, beſides the *French* Auxiliaries. There it was to be carry'd on by a General Rebellion and Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, as in 1641, which they call'd *Demonſtrating of their Zeal for the Catholick Faith.* Four Jeſuits had undertook firſt to aſſaſſinate the Duke of *Ormond*; and the better to carry on the whole, the Pope was to contribute eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and the *French* had privately ſent over ſome Supplies of Men and Arms, and were to furniſh them with more as ſoon as they ſhou'd be in Action; *Le Cheſe* having a great Influence in promoting all theſe Tranſactions.

Such was the Sum and Subſtance of this formidable Plot, of which all theſe, with many other Particulars, were formally and ſolemnly given in upon Oath; not at once, or all together, but at ſeveral Times, and by ſeveral Parcels, and likewiſe by ſeveral Perſons, who ſeem'd to ſtart up exactly as the Stories met with Credit and Incouragement, and by their *Oaths* and *Narratives* for a while bore down all Oppoſition. And yet, after the ſtricteſt and cooleſt Examinations, and after a full Length of Time, the Government cou'd find very little Foundation to ſupport ſo vaſt a Fabrick, beſides downright Swearing and Aſſurance; not a Gun, Sword, nor Dagger, not a Flaſh of Powder, or a Dark Lanthorn, to effect this ſtrange Villany; and, excepting *Coleman*'s Writings, not one Snip of an Original Letter, or Commiſſion, among thoſe great Numbers alledg'd, to uphold the Reputation of the Diſcoverers. But ſtill the Generality of the Nation, and the Parliament in particular, were at this time more than uſually prepared and diſpos'd to receive and believe ſuch extraordinary Stories: Eſpecially the Houſe of Commons had been much agitated and heated of late by the Jealouſies of the Power of *France*, and the Growth of Popery, of both which they had too much Reaſon to be apprehenſive. The Latter had ſo much Effect upon them, that about three Months before, it diverted their Deſigns with Relation to the Former; and in a Conference with the Lords, they vehemently complain'd of the reſtleſs Endeavours of the Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, and of the great Difficulties they found both in the Conviction, and the Puniſhment of all Popiſh Recuſants. This, and their great Zeal for the King's Perſon, made them ſuſceptible of any new Impreſſions, and ready to take fire more from the Horror, than the Probability of the Fact. And in theſe Matters there wanted not Incendiaries in both Houſes, who knew how to take the greateſt Advantages from the leaſt Diſcoveries. Of whom none was more quick ſighted, or more deſperately diſpos'd than the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, whoſe Reſentments and Reſolutions had been blown up to the Height; and if, as probably, he was not the Original Contriver, he was the grand Refiner and Improver of all the Materials. And ſo much he ſeem'd to acknowledge to a Noble Man of his Acquaintance, when he ſaid, *I will not ſay who* Started *the Game, but I am ſure I had the full* Hunting *of it.*

The Nation prepared for its Reception.

2. But to proceed more gradually to lay open the Beginning and Progreſs of this Myſterious Plot, we are firſt to take Notice of the main Diſcoverers,

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An Account of Titus Oates.

Diſcoverers, or rather Projectors of it, beginning with the famous *Titus Oates*, who was thought ſo meritorious by ſome as to be call'd, *The Saviour of the Nation.* As to his Family, he was the Son of a Ribban-Weaver, who afterwards turning Anabaptiſt-Preacher, and being Chaplain to a Regiment of *Cromwell*'s Forces in *Scotland*, was there clapt up in Priſon upon *Overton*'s Plot againſt that Uſurper; but having the Fortune to eſcape upon the King's Reſtoration, he conform'd to the Church, and got the Living of *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*; where he continu'd till he thought fit to return again to his former Anabaptiſtical Station. This Son of his had his firſt Education in *Merchant-Taylor*'s School in *London*, and next in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Student in two Colledges, *Caius* and St. *John*'s, and where he left no Reputation behind him for his Parts or Learning; tho' he ſeem'd diſtinguiſh'd for a tenacious Memory, a plodding Induſtry, and an unparallel'd Aſſurance, beſides a particular Canting Way that appear'd in his Academical Exerciſes. Removing from thence, he ſlipt into Orders, and for a while officiated as Curate to his Father; after which he enjoy'd a ſmall Vicarage in *Kent*, from whence he remov'd to another in *Suſſex*, and after that for ſome time got into the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Family, when he particularly ſided with the *Socinians* at *London*; ſo that he became very uncertain as to his Principles and Religion, and infamous as to his Morals. In the laſt Year 1677, being abandon'd and deſtitute of common Neceſſaries, he fell into the Acquaintance of Dr. *Ezrael Tongue*, a City Divine, a Man of Letters, and a prolifick Head fill'd with all the *Romiſh* Plots and Conſpiracies ſince the Reformation. This Man was remarkable for his Parts, and great Reading, but of a reſtleſs and humorous Temper, full of variety of Projects, and ſcarce ever without a Pen in his Hand, and a Plot in his Head. At firſt he ſeem'd to entertain *Oates* out of Charity, who then went by the Name of *Ambroſe*; and complaining that he knew not where to get Bread, the Doctor took him to his Houſe, gave him Cloaths, Lodging and Diet, and told him *He wou'd put him in a Way.* After which, finding him a bold Undertaker, he perſwaded him to inſinuate Himſelf among the Papiſts, and get particular Acquaintance with them: Which being effected, he let him underſtand, 'That there had 'been ſeveral *Plots* in *England* to bring in *Popery*, and if he wou'd go 'beyond Sea among the *Jeſuits*, and ſtrictly obſerve their Ways, it was 'poſſible there might be one at preſent; and if he cou'd make that out, '*it wou'd be his Preferment for ever:* But however, if he cou'd get 'their Names, and ſome Informations from the Papiſts, *it wou'd be very 'eaſy to rouſe the People with the Fears of POPERY.*

And Dr. Tongue.

They join.

Thus inſtructed and qualify'd, *Oates* formally reconcil'd himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, and further, as was ſaid, enter'd into the Society of the *Jeſuits*; and in the Month of *April* or *May* 1677, he took ſhipping and went to *Valladolid* in *Spain*, in which Kingdom he continu'd about half a Year, and ſo return'd to *England*. But not having made ſufficient Diſcoveries in this Journey, after a Month's ſtay, he went, or was rather ſent over to St. *Omers*, the famous *Engliſh* Seminary, where, tho' near thirty Years of Age, he was enter'd among the Younger Students, and where he continu'd about ſix or ſeven Months. In the latter End of *June*, this Year, full fraighted with Materials of Names, Places, &c. he return'd to *London*, to his Friend and Aſſiſtant Dr. *Tongue*. After ſome Thought and Conſideration, they reſolv'd to draw up a *Narrative of a Horrid Plot*, &c. and under the Pretence of Secrecy, or perhaps to increaſe the Myſtery, they went over the River and lodg'd at *Fox-Hall* at one *Lambert*'s, a Bell-Founder; which Houſe was afterwards call'd the *Plot-Houſe*. Here *Oates*'s, or rather *Tongue*'s Narrative was written, firſt in

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Greek Characters, and then in *English*, but often varied and chang'd; but at last they agreed upon one that shou'd be Authentick and Immutable, then consisting of forty Three distinct Articles, with great shew of Exactness and Formality. This was about Half of what afterwards was call'd *Oates*'s *Narrative*, and was in the Nature and Form of *Depositions*, but without any Deponent's Name at present. This was to open the whole Scene, and the Substance is as follows:

The Substance of his Narrative.

'That in *April* 1677, the said Deponent was imploy'd by *Strange*, the 'then Provincial, *Fenwick*, *Harcourt*, and other Jesuits in *London*, to 'carry their Letters to one Father *Suinam*, an *Irish* Jesuit, at *Madrid* 'in *Spain*: That in his Journey he broke open the said Letters, and 'found therein an Account given of what Jesuits they had sent into '*Scotland* to encourage the Presbyterians to rebel; and that they fear'd 'not Success in their Designs, by reason of the King's being so addicted 'to his Pleasures, and their Interest in the Duke of *York*, &c. That he 'saw several Students sent out of *England* to *Valladolid*, who were ob'lig'd by the Jesuits of the College, to renounce their Allegiance to his 'Majesty of *Great Britain*; and that one *Armstrong*, in a Sermon to the 'Students there did with most false and black-mouth'd Scandals repre'sent his said Majesty, using such irreverent base Expressions, as no good 'Subject cou'd repeat without Horror; with several other Trayterous 'Words and Correspondencies which he there discover'd. Being return'd 'to *England*, where he made further Discoveries, about the Beginning 'of *December*, the said Deponent was sent with another Treasonable 'Letter, written by *Strange* and several other Jesuits, to St. *Omer's*, 'wherein was expresly mention'd their Design to *Stab*, or otherwise to '*Poyson* the King; and that they had receiv'd Ten Thousand Pounds 'from *Le Chese*, which was in the Hands of one *Worsley* a Goldsmith in '*London*. There was likewise inclosed a Letter of Thanks to *Le Chese*, 'which the Deponent carry'd to him from St. *Omers* to *Paris*. During 'this his Journey, and being abroad, he saw and read many other of their 'Letters, all tending to the same End of Cutting off the King, Subvert'ing the present Government of *England*, and Restoring the *Romish* Re'ligion; and they were so confident as in some of them to say, *That his* '*Majesty of* England *was so possess'd of their Fidelity, that if any Male*'*content amongst them shou'd not prove true, but offer to discover, he* '*wou'd never believe them.*

But one of the principal Things he tells us in this *Narrative* was, 'That in *April* 1678, he came over from St. *Omers*, with other Jesuits, 'to the Grand Consult which was held the 24th of that Month, by about 'fifty Jesuits, at the *White-Horse* Tavern in the *Strand*, where they met 'and plotted their Designs for their Society: From whence they di'spers'd into several little Clubs, five or six in a Company, where they 'sign'd a *Resolve for the Death of the King*, with the Manner how it 'was to be done, which the Deponent, as a Messenger, carry'd from 'one Company to another to be Sign'd. Very shortly after he return'd 'to St. *Omers*, and towards the End of *June* came back to *England*; 'where he soon became privy to the Treaty with *Wakeman* to poyson, 'and Honest *William* and *Pickering*, to shoot the King; and that he 'heard *Keins* a Jesuit preach a Sermon to twelve Persons of Quality in 'Disguise, wherein he asserted, *That Protestants and other Heretical* '*Princes, were* ipso facto *depos'd, because such; and that it was as* '*lawful to destroy them, as an* Oliver Cromwell, *or any other Usur*'*per*, &c.' Besides these new Discoveries, he tells us that he learnt several other remarkable Particulars from them, as 'that the late Wars, 'and many other Mischiefs were brought about by them; but more par-

'ticularly

'ticularly the dreadful Fire in Sixty Six, which was principally manag'd 'by *Strange* the Provincial; in which their Society employ'd Eighty, or 'Eighty Six Men, he cou'd not tell which, and ſpent Seven Hundred 'Fire-Balls, and, over and above all their vaſt Expences, they were four-'teen Thouſand Pounds Gainers by the Plunder, amongſt which was a 'Box of Jewels, conſiſting of a Thouſand Carracts of Diamonds. He 'further learnt that the Fire in *Southwark* in the Year 1676, was brought 'about by the like Means; and tho' in that they were at the Expence of 'a Thouſand Pounds, they made a ſhift to get two Thouſand clear in-'to their own Pockets.' Theſe, and many other ſtrange Particulars are to be found in this tedious *Narrative*, which ſure cou'd never have met with ſuch Credit, and produc'd ſuch Effects in the Nation, had it been broach'd in any other Time, or had it not been kept alive by extraordinary Supporters, and uncommon Accidents. 1678. Car. 30 Ref. 19

3. *Tongue* and *Oates* being thus charg'd and prepared, on the 12th of *Auguſt* they began to put the whole in Execution; and the Former apply'd himſelf with all Secrecy to one Mr. *Chriſtopher Kirkby*, a Perſon who had ſome Intereſt at Court, ſhew'd him the forty three Articles drawn up in Writing; and, after a full Aſſurance of Fidelity, requeſted him that with the utmoſt Caution he wou'd make the ſame known to the King. *Kirkby* freely undertook the Matter, but cou'd not get an Opportunity of ſeeing his Majeſty, but in Company with his Brother, till the next Morning: At which Time, in the Park, he privately acquainted his Majeſty, *That his Enemies had a Deſign againſt his Life*, and humbly deſir'd him to be very careful, *for he did not know but he might be in Danger in that very Walk.* The King, more ſurpriz'd with the Strangeneſs of the News, than any Apprehenſion of the Danger, only ask'd *how that cou'd be?* To which the other anſwer'd, *That it might be by being ſhot at; but to give a particular Account required more Privacy.* Hereupon the King order'd him to attend his Return out of the Park; and then taking him aſide, laid his Commands on him, to tell him what he knew, who acquainted him, *That there were two Men, call'd* Honeſt William *and* Pickering, *that watch'd an opportunity to ſhoot his Majeſty, and that Sir* George Wakeman *was hired to poyſon him, as he had been the Day before acquainted by a Friend, who had a more full Account thereof in Writing, and was near at hand, ready to appear when commanded*; which his Majeſty was pleas'd ſhou'd be about Eight that Evening. Accordingly Mr. *Kirkby* and Dr. *Tongue* did at that Hour attend his Majeſty; and in the *Red Room* at *White-Hall*, deliver'd to him the foreſaid forty three Articles, copy'd out by the Doctor's Hand; and both of them humbly begg'd that thoſe Papers might be kept Safe and Secret, *leſt the full Diſcovery ſhou'd otherwiſe be prevented, and their own Lives indanger'd.* His Majeſty, looking upon them, was pleas'd to anſwer, *That being to go with the Court next Morning to* Windſor, *he wou'd ſafely depoſite the ſaid Papers in the Hands of one he cou'd intruſt, and with whom he wou'd anſwer for their Safety*; and ſo order'd them to wait upon the Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, the next Morning.

Tongue *opens the Scene,*

And delivers the Narrative to the King.

Accordingly, on the 14th of *Auguſt*, they both appear'd before the Lord Treaſurer, who deſir'd Mr. *Kirkby* to withdraw while he ſpoke with the Doctor; who told his Lordſhip *That he had deliver'd ſome Papers of great Concernment to the King: That his Majeſty had look'd ſuperficially over them, but being to go out of Town, had left them with his Lordſhip.* Whereupon the Earl ſhew'd the Papers to the Doctor, and ask'd *Whether they were Originals?* He told him, *They were Copies of his own Writing.* Then he deſir'd to know *Who was the Author, and where*

He is privately examin'd by the Lord Treaſurer,

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where were the Originals? His Anſwer was, *He did not know the Author, for the Originals, then in his Cuſtody, had been thruſt under the Door of his Chamber, but he did not know by whom; only he fancy'd it muſt be one that had ſome Time before held Diſcourſe with him tending to ſuch like Matters.* He laſt of all ask'd *If he knew where to find the Man?* He ſaid *No, but he had ſeen him lately two or three Times in the Streets, and it was likely not to be long before he ſhou'd meet him again*; ſo nicely cautious was the Doctor in all his Steps and Proceedings. About three or four Days after he brought more written Informations to the Earl, and the Doctor told his Lordſhip *That he had ſince met the Man; That he it prov'd to be as he had gueſs'd; That he own'd himſelf to be the Author, and had given him another Paper of the like Kind, number'd into Heads as the Firſt was, but deſir'd not to have his Name known to any Body but the Doctor, becauſe the Papiſts wou'd murther him, if they knew what he was doing.* Upon this the Earl ask'd him directly *Whether he knew thoſe Men, who were call'd* Honeſt William *and* Pickering, *who were nam'd in thoſe Papers as Men deſign'd to aſſaſſinate the King?* He anſwer'd, *That they us'd to walk frequently in St.* James's *Park; and if any Man was appointed to keep him Company, it was two to one but he ſhou'd have an Opportunity of letting that Perſon ſee one or both of them in a little Time.* Laſtly he demanded of the Doctor *If he knew where they liv'd? for it wou'd be neceſſary to ſecure thoſe Men forthwith.* He reply'd, *He knew not at that Time; but he wou'd inform himſelf, and let his Lordſhip know very ſpeedily.*

Who diſcovers the whole Matter to the King.

Hereupon his Lordſhip went immediately to *Windſor*, and acquainted the King, *That Doctor* Tongue *had been with him according to his Majeſty's Directions*; and ſhewing his Majeſty the Additional Paper, he inform'd him of all that was paſs'd, and that he had left a Servant at *London*, to get a ſight of *Honeſt William* and *Pickering*, in order to the Apprehending of them, *if his Majeſty thought fit.* At the ſame Time his Lordſhip deſired the King, *That one of the Secretaries might ſend a Warrant for the Apprehending them; and that the Matter being of ſuch Danger to his Majeſty's Perſon, ſome more of the Council might be acquainted with it.* But the King wou'd neither ſuffer the Men to be apprehended, 'till he were more inform'd of the Deſign, nor wou'd he permit the Earl to ſpeak one Word of it to any Man living; and particularly caution'd him againſt the Duke of *York*'s coming to the Knowledge of it; but only ſaid, *He wou'd be very careful of Himſelf, till he heard more.* Soon after, the Earl went from *Windſor* to his Houſe at *Wimbleton* not far off, leaving direct Orders, 'That if Doctor *Tongue* had any Thing more to 'ſay to him of that Matter, he ſhou'd come to him thither; or elſe ſend 'away that very Gentleman the Earl had left to ſtay with him, to ſee the 'Men, and learn their Lodgings; and to be diligent in bringing any In-'telligence which required Haſte.' Accordingly that Gentleman did go from *London* to *Wimbleton* every Day, and back to the Doctor's Houſe at Night; and did ſometimes bring Additional Papers to the Former, and brought Information of the Dwellings of *Honeſt William* and *Pickering*, and brought Word alſo from the Doctor, *That he ſaid he ſhou'd be able to give his Lordſhip certain Notice before-hand, when any of them were to go to* Windſor: Of all which the Earl gave from Time to Time an exact Account to his Majeſty.

Tongue's *further Diſcoveries.*

Among other Informations, the Doctor went one Night to *Wimbleton* Himſelf, and told the Earl 'That ſome of the intended Aſſaſſinates were 'to go the next Morning to *Windſor*, but that he cou'd order it ſo, that 'the Earl's Gentleman ſhou'd go in the ſame Coach with them, or if the 'Coach ſhou'd be full, he might go on Horſeback in their Company,

'and

'and watch them ſo as to give notice of their Arrival, and take them 'more conveniently that way upon the Place, where they wou'd not be 'able to give an Account what they had to do there.' Upon this particular Information, the Earl order'd his Gentleman to obſerve the Doctor's Directions, and went immediately Himſelf to *Windſor*; where he acquainted his Majeſty with the whole Matter, and Order was taken for ſeizing theſe Men at their Arrival at *Windſor*: But inſtead of that, the Gentleman brought word from Dr. *Tongue*, 'That ſomething had pre-'vented their going that Day; but that they intended their Journey the 'Day following, or within two Days at fartheſt:' but then alſo News was brought that they were again prevented *by one of their Horſes being ſlipt in the Shoulder*, or ſome ſuch Accident. Upon theſe trifling Ways and Pretences, the King, who before wou'd not give credit to it, look'd upon all as meer Sham and Fiction; and notwithſtanding all that the Earl cou'd urge, to get the Buſineſs communicated to Others, beſides Himſelf, the King was more poſitive not to permit it, ſaying, *He ſhould alarm all* England, *and put Thoughts of Killing him into Peoples Heads, who had no ſuch Thoughts before.*

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The King believes nothing of the Matter.

The Matter having for a while reſted here, and the Earl done all that lay in his Power, he got leave of his Majeſty to go Half a Day's Journey into *Oxfordſhire*, upon particular Buſineſs; and left Order at *Wimbleton* to have any Thing diſpatcht to him, that ſhou'd come from Dr. *Tongue*. Accordingly, three Days after, the Earl was diſturb'd with another Letter from the Doctor to Himſelf, giving Account of new Matters, particularly of a Pacquet of Letters from ſome Jeſuits concern'd, which were to go to the Poſt-Houſe in *Windſor*, directed to one Mr. *Bedingfield* a Prieſt. Upon this Notice, the Earl immediately return'd to *Windſor*, and inform'd his Majeſty, ſhewing him the Doctor's Letter. It happen'd that the King was no Stranger to it, who ſaid, That ſuch a Pacquet had been deliver'd ſome few Hours before by the ſaid *Bedingfield* to the Duke of *York*; and that *Bedingfield* had told the Duke *He fear'd ſome Ill was intended him by the ſaid Pacquet, becauſe the Letters therein ſeem'd to be of a dangerous Nature, and that he was ſure they were not the Hand-Writing of the Perſons whoſe Names were ſubſcrib'd to the Letters.* Theſe Letters appear'd with ſuch Marks of Forgery, that they ſtill begot leſs Belief in the King that there was any real Plot; inſomuch, that he ſeem'd reſolv'd not to permit the Earl to produce thoſe Papers, and Intelligence he had receiv'd from Dr. *Tongue*; till his Royal Highneſs the Duke ſhew'd himſelf very earneſt to have the Truth of thoſe Letters examin'd, which Mr. *Bedingfield* had brought to him. By which means the Earl got leave at the ſame Time to produce the ſaid Papers and Letters in the Council; ſo that in a little Time all became publick, which the King was deſirous to have had conceal'd, and totally neglected.

More Diſcoveries, by Letters.

4. But before this was effected, *Tongue* and *Kirkby* had ply'd the King and the Earl with freſh Importunities, and new Circumſtances of Diſcovery, but with ſo cold a Reception, that they made it their Endeavours to keep up the Cauſe by other Means, and ſo transfer it to the Parliament, where it cou'd not fail of a hearty Welcome among ſuch a Variety of Humours and Inclinations. In order to which, on the 6th of *September*, *Tongue* and *Oates* apply'd themſelves to Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, a conſiderable Juſtice of the Peace in St. *Martin*'s Pariſh, who was earneſtly preſs'd, and with Difficulty prevail'd upon to ſwear *Oates* to the foremention'd *Narrative*. This was done without the Juſtice being permitted to read the Particulars; only he was aſſur'd in

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The whole Matter laid before the Privy-Council.

general, *That it contain'd Matter of Treaſon, and other High-Crimes*; and Dr. *Tongue* particularly depos'd upon Oath, *That the ſame had been made known to the King.* Not long after, the King and Court remov'd from *Windſor* to *White-Hall*, where, chiefly by means of the Duke of *York*, the foreſaid Letters and Papers were laid before the Privy-Council: The Strangeneſs of the Stories, and the Fear of the King's Perſon, made no ſmall Impreſſions upon Men ſo Loyal and Affectionate, and therefore they reſolv'd to examine into the Bottom of this myſterious Matter. Accordingly, on the 27th of *September*, above ſix Weeks after the Matter had been open'd to the King and the Treaſurer, Dr. *Tongue* was ſent for to go to the Council, who went thither together with *Kirkby*; but the Council was riſen before they came, and Orders were given them to attend next Day. Whereupon they reſolv'd early in the Morning to get two more Copies of the *Narrative* ſworn to, that each Man might have an Authentick Copy; which accordingly they did before the ſame Juſtice, Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, with freſh and further Informations, which compleated the *Narrative* as it was afterwards publiſh'd in Print. Leaving a Copy there, they attended the Council, who after ſome Examinations of the Depoſitions, ſent for Mr. *Oates*, and preſently order'd both Him and Dr. *Tongue* Lodgings in *White-Hall*, and Guards for their Security, and ſoon after they had a bountiful Weekly Salary for their Subſiſtance.

Oates *and* Tongue *advanc'd.*

And now the Privy-Council ſate twice a Day, from *Saturday* the 28th of *September*, for a Week and more, when all Perſons were gradually allarm'd with a Thouſand dark and confus'd Imaginations. *Oates*, after a long Examination, now appear'd to be the chief Diſcoverer of the Plot, and was the firſt Night employ'd with a Guard to ſearch after ſome Prieſts and Jeſuits, to ſecure their Perſons, and ſeize their Papers; and thus he was buiſily employ'd for two or three Days together, and ſo buiſily employ'd, that the Fatigue afterwards ſerv'd as a plauſible Pretence for the Defects of his Memory, the Alterations of, and the Additions to his Stories he had given in upon Oath before the Privy-Council. By his thorow Swearing he ſoon made himſelf formidable to the whole Body of the *Roman* Catholicks; and by his Means many Perſons were taken up and ſecured, as Sir *George Wakeman*, Phyſician to the Queen, Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Mr. *Richard Langhorn*, *Thomas Whitebread*, *John Gawen*, *Anthony Turner*, *William Ireland*, *William Marſhall*, *William Ramſey*, *James Corker*, and *Thomas Pickering*; of which Number, the Eight laſt were *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, with divers others. What gave the greateſt Credit to *Oates*'s Teſtimony were Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters and Papers, of which we have formerly given an Account, and which, tho' imperfect and intirely remote from the Murther of the King, were now the chief Supporters of the Belief of the Reality of the Plot. Theſe were found to be Authentick, and undeniable, while the five Letters to Mr. *Bedingfield* were by diſcerning Men look'd upon as nothing. But in the midſt of this Heat and Diſturbance, after four Days Examination of Teſtimonies, and ſeveral Perſons accus'd, on the 2d of *October* the King ſuddenly went to *Newmarket*, there to divert himſelf a few Days, while his Privy-Council were earneſtly employ'd in a Matter in which he deſir'd to have little or no Concern.

Many Papiſts taken up.

The King goes to Newmarket.

5. Tho' the Rumour of a helliſh Plot and Conſpiracy, eſpecially againſt the Perſon of the King, had very much inflam'd the Court and the People, yet after a Fortnight's Conſideration of it, with the Nature and Proofs, it began a little to cool, and was ſinking in its Credit, when an extraordinary Accident happen'd that rais'd its Reputation much higher than

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The Murder of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey.

than before, and threw all into a Rage and Fury. And this was the ſurprizing Death of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, the Magiſtrate who had twice ſworn *Oates* to the foremention'd *Narrative*, a Perſon who then lay under great Fears and Apprehenſions, but of what Nature it is hard to ſay expreſly. This melancholy Gentleman went from his Houſe in St. *Martins* on *Saturday* Morning the 12th Day of *October*, and tho' he had been ſeen by ſeveral of his Acquaintance that Day, yet he was miſſing for four whole Days, till on *Thurſday* the 17th, he was found towards the Evening, in a Ditch with his own Sword through his Body, at or near a Place call'd *Primroſe Hill*, in the mid Way between *London* and *Hampſtead*, with Money in his Pockets, and Rings on his Fingers, with his Cane and Gloves by him. The Coroners Inqueſt ſate upon the Body, but meeting with ſome Difficulties, adjourn'd to the Day following, when they gave up their Verdict, 'That he was murder'd by 'certain Perſons unknown to the Jurors, and that his Death proceeded from '*Suffocation* and *Strangling* by a certain piece of Linnen Cloth of no 'Value, *&c.*

Within a Day after this unfortunate Gentleman was miſſing, the Town began to be fill'd with Whiſpers and Conjectures, and little odd Reports; but when the Body was found, and the Nature of the Murder declared by the Jury, the People were in a ſort of Conſternation, and were preſently made to believe, what afterwards was poſitively ſworn, that he was murder'd by the *Papiſts*. Some Paſſages or Preſages were preſently remember'd concerning this Gentleman's Fears, of which two ought here to be mention'd, as being ſoon after given in to the Houſe of Commons by way of Information. The Firſt was that of Mr. *Mulys*, who declar'd, 'That about five or ſix Days before Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* 'was miſſing from his Houſe, I met him in St. *James*'s Park, and in Diſ-'courſe told him, That I underſtood he examin'd Mr. *Oates* about a Plot 'that was much diſcours'd of, and deſir'd to have ſuch an Account from 'his as might be fit to be communicated: Whereupon he gave me ſome 'ſhort Relation, agreeing for the moſt Part with what was the common 'Diſcourſe of the Town.— *But I muſt not talk much*, ſaid He, *for I lye 'under ill Circumſtances: Some Great Men blame me for* not having done 'my Duty, *and I am threatned by others, and very Great Ones too*, for 'having done too much. He then preſs'd to leave me, and without ſay-'ing much we parted.' The next Account was given by one Mr. *Robinſon*, who declar'd, 'That he met Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* at the Seſ-'ſions at *Weſtminſter* on *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday* before he was miſſing; 'and that he ask'd him whether he had any Hand in taking the Infor-'mations touching the Plot; and that he made him anſwer, *That he had 'taken them, tho' very unwillingly:* And deſiring of him that he might 'ſee them, he told him *he cou'd not, for he had left them with my Lord 'Chief Juſtice* Scroggs: And that dining with him on *Wedneſday*, and 'diſcourſing concerning the Plot, and the Examinations touching the 'ſame, He ſaid theſe Words; *I have taken them, and I know not what 'will be the Conſequence of them, but I believe I ſhall be the firſt Mar-'tyr.*' Some have interpreted theſe and the like preſaging Words, as only ſignifying his Fears of being call'd to an Account for a Miſpriſion, or Neglect, by the Parliament that was to ſit within a Fortnight; he being well known to ſome to be a Favourer, rather than a Proſecutor of the Papiſts. But his Expreſſions, tho' not very clear in themſelves, admitting of another Interpretation, and more agreeable to the Humour of the Times, the Murder was immediately charg'd upon the Papiſts, and was made not only a Part, but the grand Supporter of the Credit of the Plot; inſomuch that That common Queſtion, in every Man's Mouth,

His preſaging Fears before.

The Murder is made a part of the Plot.

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of *Who Murder'd Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey? was afterwards look'd upon as a ſufficient Anſwer to all the difficult Objections that cou'd be raiſed againſt the Belief of it. But we cannot fully lay open and clear the Myſtery of this great Matter; but ſhall afterwards take Notice of the Contrivance and Manner of it as it was ſworn in Court.

In the mean Time, the King return'd from *Newmarket*, to meet his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the very Day before the Sitting, *Sunday* the 20th of *October*, he publiſh'd his Proclamation, commanding all his Officers and Subjects to uſe their utmoſt Diligence to diſcover the Murtherers of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and particularly, 'His Majeſty was 'graciouſly pleas'd to promiſe to any Perſon or Perſons, who ſhou'd make 'ſuch Diſcovery, whereby the ſaid Murtherers, or any of them, ſhou'd 'be apprehended, the Sum of five Hundred Pounds, which ſhould be 'immediately paid upon ſufficient Teſtimony, that ſuch Perſonsor Per'ſon were or was guilty of the ſaid Murther: And if any one of the Mur'therers ſhou'd diſcover the reſt, whereby They, or any of Them, ſhou'd 'be apprehended, ſuch Diſcoverer ſhould not only be pardon'd his Of'fence, but ſhould in like Manner receive the like Reward of five Hun'dred Pounds.' This not having any open Effect, upon Suggeſtion that there were People that wou'd come in to diſcover the Murther, if it were not for the Danger of being murther'd themſelves in Revenge, his Majeſty was pleas'd to publiſh a ſecond Proclamation four Days after, in which 'He ſignify'd, and on the Word of a King promis'd, That if 'any Perſons ſhould ſpeedily make ſuch Diſcovery to one of his princi'pal Secretaries of State, he ſhould not only receive the five Hundred 'Pounds, and Pardon promis'd by his late Proclamation, but his Maje'ſty wou'd take ſuch effectual Courſes, for the Security of ſuch Diſ'coverer, as he ſhould in Reaſon propoſe.' This Incouragement did not only produce Diſcoverers of the Murther, but likewiſe new Diſcoveries of the Plot, both which in a little Time fell gradually into a perfect Union and Coalition.

Two Proclamations for the Diſcovery of the Murtherers.

II. The EIGHTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

1. Such was the State of the Nation, when the Parliament met according to Prorogation, on the 21ſt Day of *October*, which was the Eighteenth and laſt Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament in this Reign. The King was very unwilling that the Parliament ſhou'd take any Notice or Cogniſance of the Plot; yet he knew not how to forbear mentioning a Matter that had rais'd ſuch a general Amazement and Abhorrence in the Nation: Therefore he deliver'd himſelf thus to the two Houſes, now fill'd with the higheſt Expectation. *My Lords and Gentlemen*, 'I have thought the time very long ſince we parted laſt, and 'wou'd not have deferr'd your Meeting by ſo many Prorogations, if I 'cou'd well have met you ſooner. The Part which I have had this 'Summer in the Preſervation of our Neighbours, and the well ſecuring 'what was left of *Flanders*, is ſufficiently known, and acknowledg'd by 'all that are Abroad. And tho' for this Cauſe I have been oblig'd to 'keep up my Troops, without which our Neighbours had abſolutely 'deſpair'd, yet both the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation have been 'ſo far improv'd by it, that I am confident no Man here would repine 'at it, or think the Money rais'd for their Disbanding to have been ill 'employ'd in their Continuance; and I do aſſure you, I am ſo much 'more out of Purſe for that Service, that I expect you ſhou'd ſupply it. 'How far it may be neceſſary, conſidering the preſent State of *Chriſtendom*, to reduce the Land and Sea Forces, or to what Degree, is wor'thy of all our ſerious Conſiderations.

Rot. Parl. *Temple. Leeds. MSS. Wright. Care. Leſtrange.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'I

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'I now intend to acquaint you (as I ſhall always do with any thing 'that concerns me) that I have been inform'd of a Deſign againſt my 'Perſon by the *Jeſuits*, of which I ſhall forbear any Opinion, leaſt I may 'ſeem to ſay *too much* or *too little:* But I will leave the Matter to the 'Law, and in the mean time will take as much Care as I can, to prevent 'all manner of Practices by that ſort of Men, and of others too, who 'have been tampering in a high Degree by Foreigners, and contriving 'how to introduce *Popery* amongſt us. I ſhall conclude with recom-'mending to you my other Concerns. I have been under great Diſap-'pointments by the Defect of the Poll-Bill. My Revenue is under great 'Anticipations, and at beſt was never equal to the conſtant and neceſſary 'Expence of the Government, whereof I intend to have the whole State 'laid before you, and require you to look into it, and conſider of it 'with that Duty and Affection which I am ſure I ſhall ever find from you. 'The reſt I leave to the Lord-Chancellor.

The Lord Chancellor Finch's *Speech.*

The Chancellor's Speech conſiſted moſtly of Hiſtorical Matters, with leſs Flights than formerly; but being ſpoke in ſo critical a time, we can omit but very little Part of it. After a ſhort Preamble, he proceeded thus: 'The Cloſe and Period of the laſt Seſſion is very memorable, 'for it may ſeem perhaps to ſome to have ended with very different, if 'not contrary Counſels and Supplies, tending both to War and Peace: 'But yet they who look more nearly into the Matter, ſhall find that this 'Incertainty proceeded not from any Unſteadineſs at home; but from 'the Mutability of Affairs abroad; every Week, almoſt, producing ſeve-'ral and contrary Appearances. The ſame Incertainties of Counſels and 'Events abroad continu'd for the moſt Part of the Summer: One while, 'the Parties exhauſted by the War, ſeem'd to be willing to accept any 'Peace their Enemies wou'd give; and there wanted not thoſe among 'them who made uſe of the Impatience of their People to neceſſitate 'them to it. Another while, the Performance of the Conditions offer'd 'became ſo doubtful, and was at laſt explain'd in a Manner ſo vaſtly dif-'ferent from the firſt Propoſals, that Deſpair begot new Reſolutions of 'continuing the War. In the midſt of theſe miſerable Perplexities and 'Confuſions, his Majeſty was daily ſolicited with the higheſt Importuni-'ties, and the moſt earneſt Supplications that were poſſible, not to Diſ-'band the Troops he had rais'd; and not only ſo, but that he wou'd ſtill 'continue to ſend over more and more of his Troops, and to augment 'the Forces which he had already Abroad. They did as good as tell 'him plainly, *That it was from the Reputation of his Alliance, that 'any Overtures of Peace had been made at all; and that it was from 'the Continuance of his Arms that any further Performance cou'd be ex-'pected.* They pray'd his Majeſty to conſider, *That if he thought it 'expedient to obtain ſome kind of Reſpit or Breathing time for the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *or to ſecure any kind of Frontier or Barrier be-'tween them and their too powerful Neighbours; all this and more, 'very much more, perhaps no leſs than the* Safety of Chriſtendom, *wou'd 'entirely depend upon his Majeſty's preſerving himſelf in that conſidera-'ble Poſture both by Sea and Land, wherein he then was.* There was 'no reſiſting ſuch repeated Interceſſions; and tho' his Majeſty ſaw well 'enough, that his complying with theſe Deſires, wou'd engage him in an 'Expence far beyond what he was then provided for, yet he could not 'poſſibly decline the Charge, nor refuſe to undergo the Difficulties. 'And now, whatever the Coſt of all this may amount to, yet neither his 'People will have any Cauſe to repent it, when they ſhall conſider that it 'hath already produc'd ſuch great and good Effects to his Majeſty's Al-'lies, and ſo much Honour to the whole Nation, that whatever is ſav'd

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'of *Flanders*, is now acknowledg'd by all the World to be wholly due to 'his Majeſty's Interpoſition. And tho' the Peace, which ſince hath fol-'low'd, be very far from ſuch a Peace as his Majeſty cou'd have wiſh'd, yet 'it is ſuch a Peace *as his Neighbours were reſolv'd to have.* No Obliga-'tions they lay under to inſiſt upon a better Peace, no Conjunction 'with his Majeſty, no nor the Offers to declare War on their behalfs, 'if they deſir'd it, cou'd prevail with them, or keep them from being 'wrought upon by the Arts of thoſe who firſt rais'd unreaſonable Jea-'louſies amongſt them, and then caus'd them to precipitate themſelves 'into a Peace. Thus you ſee at once, not only the *Neceſſity* which his 'Majeſty had to continue his Troops in Pay, but likewiſe the *Benefits* 'and *Advantages* which have come of it.

Then, inſiſting upon the Neceſſity of a Supply in the ſame manner that the King had in his Speech, he proceeded in theſe Words: 'Thus you 'have in ſhort an Account of what hath been doing Abroad, and the 'Charge of it; 'tis now high time to look a little nearer Home: And 'ſurely in that ſtate of things to which they are now reduc'd, 'tis viſible 'and plain enough what muſt be our Buſineſs for the time to come. 'Firſt, We muſt look to our ſelves, and provide for our own Safety: 'For that which the Confederates acknowledge with Thanks, we may 'be ſure hath a quite different Reſentment in other Places. And in order 'to this, care muſt be taken ſo to ſtrengthen our ſelves both at Home 'and Abroad, that they who ſee us in a firm and well ſettled Eſtate, may 'have no Hopes to ſurprize, nor any Temptation to make any Attempt 'upon us. And herein it will be neceſſary to take Notice of what his 'Majeſty hath recommended to you, and to weigh very well the *Impor-'tance* of reducing the Sea and Land Forces, and the *Conſequences* which 'may attend ſuch a Reducement: For this be aſſur'd, that nothing in the 'World wou'd more gratify our Enemies, than to ſee us afraid of main-'taining our ſelves in a Poſture of Defence, which is the only Poſture 'they are afraid to find us in. And that the *Fears of Popery* may not 'too much diſquiet you, be pleas'd to conſider that you have one *Secu-'rity* more, ſince that which was always the Intereſt of his Majeſty's '*Honour* and *Conſcience*, is now become the Intereſt of his *Perſon* too, 'to protect the *Proteſtant* Religion, and to prevent the ſwarming of Se-'minary Prieſts. For his Majeſty hath told you, *That he hath lately re-'ceiv'd Information of Deſigns againſt his own Life by the Jeſuits.* 'And tho' he doth in no ſort Prejudge the Perſons accus'd, yet the 'ſtrict Enquiry into this Matter hath been a Means to diſcover ſo many '*other unwarrantable Practices* of theirs, *that his Majeſty hath reaſon 'to look to them.* Nor are theſe Men the only Factors for *Rome*; but 'there are found amongſt the *Laity* alſo ſome who have made them-'ſelves *Agitators* to promote the Intereſts of a Foreign Religion, who 'meddle with Matters of State and Parliament [*Coleman*] and carry on 'their pernicious Deſigns by a moſt dangerous Correſpondence with Fo-'reign Nations. What kind of Proceſs the Proof will bear, and to how 'high a Degree the Extent and Nature of theſe Crimes will riſe, is under 'Conſideration, and will be fully left to the Courſe of Law.

'In the next place, let us carefully avoid all Differences amongſt our 'ſelves, all manner of Claſhing about *Juriſdictions*, and all Diſputes of 'ſuch Nature, as can never end in any Accommodation. For this is ſtill 'what our Enemies wou'd wiſh, who wou'd be glad to ſee us ruin'd, 'without their being at the Charge of it. And therefore we muſt now, 'above all other times, labour to ſhew the World the moſt effectual Signi-'fications of our Loyalty and Duty that we are able to expreſs; for 'nothing in the World can more diſcourage our Enemies: as on the con-

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'trary nothing does or can ſo ripen a Nation for Deſtruction, as to be obſerv'd to diſtruſt their own Government. Be pleas'd then now to take Occaſion to manifeſt ſuch a Zeal for the Government, as to look into the State of that *Revenue* which ſhou'd ſupport the conſtant and neceſſary Charge of it, and to ſee that it be made equal to it. There are many Motives to oblige us to this Inſpection: Firſt, you ſee the King expects it; and then again you cannot but ſee, that nothing is or can be of a more publick Conſideration, than to ſupport the Dignity of the Crown, which is in truth the Dignity of the Nation. Beſides, 'tis Unſafe, as well as Diſhonourable, that the King's Revenue ſhou'd fall ſhort of his moſt neceſſary, and moſt unavoidable Expences. And if upon a due Examination it ſhall be made appear to you, that tho' there had been no Diminution of the Cuſtoms, yet no Thrift or Conduct in the World cou'd ever make the Revenue able to anſwer the certain Charge of the Government, much leſs to diſcharge thoſe Anticipations which lie heavy upon it; how can it be poſſible for it to ſupply thoſe Contingencies which happen even in times of Peace, and which can never be brought under any Regulation or Eſtabliſhment? You may be ſure a great and generous Prince wou'd be glad, by good Managery, to have wherewithal to exerciſe his Royal Bounty. But our Neighbours have found a way to prevent that: For their vaſt Preparations put his Majeſty upon a vaſt Expence, to preſerve himſelf and us.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, You now find the King involv'd in Difficulties as great, and without your Aſſiſtance, as inſuperable, as ever any Government did labour under. And yet his Majeſty doth not think that there need many Words to beſpeak your Zeal and Induſtry in his Service: For the things themſelves now ſpeak, and ſpeak aloud. The Publick and Private Intereſt do both perſwade the ſame things, and are, and ought to be mighty in Perſwaſion. If the Honour and Safety of your Country; and, which is next to that, the Concerns of your own Families and Poſterities, cannot awaken your utmoſt Care to preſerve that Government which only can ſupport you and yours, all other Diſcourſes will be to no purpoſe. There can be no Difficulties at all to them who take delight in ſerving of the King and their Country, and love the Occaſions of ſhewing it. Such are all here! But tho' the King hath had for many Years a large and full Experience of your *Duty*, yet there never was a time like this to try your *Affections*. There is ſo ſtrange a Concurrence of ill Accidents at this time, that 'tis not to be wonder'd at, if ſome very honeſt and good Men begin to have troubled and thoughtful Hearts. Yet that which is infinitely to be lamented, is, that malicious Men too begin to work upon this *Occaſion*, and are in no ſmall Hopes to raiſe a Storm that nothing ſhall be able to allay. If you can reſcue the King's Affairs from ſuch a Tempeſt as this; if you can weather this Storm, and ſteer the Veſſel into the Harbour; if you can find a way to quiet the Apprehenſions of thoſe who mean well, without being carried away by the Paſſions of others who mean ill; if you can prevent the Deſigns of thoſe without Doors, who ſtudy nothing elſe but how to diſtract your Counſels, and to diſturb all your Proceedings; then you will have perform'd as great and as ſeaſonable a Piece a Service to the King, as ever yet he ſtood in need of. And when the World ſhall ſee, that nothing hath been able to diſappoint the King of the Aſſiſtance he had reaſon to hope from this Seſſion; but that there is a *Right Underſtanding* between the King and his Parliament, and that again ſtrengthen'd and increas'd by the Evidences of your Duty and Affection, and rais'd above all Poſſibility of being interrupted; then ſhall the King be poſſeſs'd of that *true Glory*

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'which others vainly purſue, the Glory of *Reigning in the Hearts of his* 'People. Then ſhall the People be poſſeſs'd of as much Felicity as this 'World is capable of: And you ſhall have the perpetual Honour and 'Satisfaction of having been the means to procure ſo much ſolid and laſt-'ing Good to your Country, as the *Eſtabliſhment of the Peace and Tran-'quillity of this Kingdom, and conſequently of all his Majeſty's Domi-'nions.*

The King uneaſy about the Plot.

The King was under conſiderable Difficulties and Perplexities upon the Account of the Plot, which he had reaſon to fear wou'd much increaſe the former Heats in his Parliament, and retard his Buſineſs; and therefore he had in vain endeavour'd to divert the Miſchief by ſending over more Troops into *Flanders*, to join with *Holland*, and continue the War againſt *France*. And now he took care that what related to that matter in his own, and the Chancellor's Speech, ſhou'd be deliver'd with the utmoſt Caution, and with a plain Intimation that the Laws, and not the Houſe of Parliament, were to decide it; and further to prevent their meddling, he gave expreſs Commands to his prime Miniſter, the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*, not to make any Diſcoveries to the Parliament. But that Lord, perhaps expecting that the Horror of the thing might rouſe the Affection of the Commons, and make them in a more giving Temper, or perhaps to ingratiate himſelf where he had many deſperate Enemies, thought fit the firſt Day to bring *Oates's* Informations before their Houſe. Upon this the King was very much provok'd, and told him plainly, *That tho' you do not believe it, you ſhall find that you have given the Parliament a handle to ruin your ſelf, as well as to diſturb all my Affairs; and that you will live to repent it.* This he found to be true, and made him afterwards acknowledge, *That he had liv'd to find Kings to be true Prophets, as well as Kings; having ſeen many villainous Deſigns acted under the Cover of the Popiſh Plot.* To finiſh and make an end of the envy'd State of this great Miniſter, ſoon after the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and Earl of *Sunderland*, join'd with the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and the Duke of *Monmouth*, in the Deſign of his Ruin. And tho' the King thought fit afterwards to protect him by a Pardon from the Commons Impeachment; yet this appear'd more to skreen his own, than to preſerve his Miniſter's Reputation; and he ſeem'd never after to have any great Favour or Affection for this active Stateſman.

The Treaſurer brings it into Parliament, againſt his Conſent.

The King, whoſe Inclinations were more to Popery than any other Religion, had almoſt from the Beginning look'd upon the Plot-Diſcoverers as little better than Impoſtors; but ſoon after the Beginning of this Seſſion of Parliament, he was more fully confirm'd in it by an Accident and Paſſage not hitherto publiſh'd; but was related by the King Himſelf to a Perſon of full Credit, who communicated it to the Author of this Hiſtory. The Subſtance of the Story was, That as ſoon as *Oates* was by the Parliament eſteem'd the prime Diſcoverer of this Plot, his Reputation in the Height, and all Perſons inflam'd with the Horror of it, about Twenty eminent rich Citizens, entire Believers of the whole, met at a great Supper in the City, to which they invited Dr. *Tongue*, Mr. *Oates*, and another noted Divine, who had been often favour'd with the King's private Converſation. Theſe three were handſomly entertain'd, and particularly careſs'd by the reſt of the Company; but their higheſt and diſtinguiſhing Compliments were paid to Mr. *Oates*, and with ſuch a ſeeming Derogation to the Honour of Dr. *Tongue*, who valu'd himſelf and his Abilities as much as any Man, that there aroſe a verbal Quarrel between theſe two Confederates; which came to that Height, that the Doctor plainly told *Oates*, *That he knew nothing of the Plot, but what he learnt from Him.* Theſe dangerous Words diſturb'd and confounded the whole Company;

The King confirm'd in the Diſbelief of it by an Accident.

pany; and had ſuch an Effect upon one of them, who was thought to be a Spy, that the very next Morning he went to the King, and told him the whole Paſſage and Tranſaction. Upon which, his Majeſty immediately ſent for the foremention'd Divine, in whom he had a good Confidence, and opening the Matter to him, he let him know *That he expected to hear the Particulars from Him.* But he made ſome Excuſes, and particularly alledg'd the *Badneſs of his Memory*; at which the King ſaid in a Paſſion, *If you are good for any Thing, it is for your Memory*; and then let him know, *that he had heard ſufficient of the Matter already, but expected it all from Him.* But ſtill he pretended not to remember it, or elſe gave ſo imperfect an Account of it, that the King incens'd, at laſt ſpoke to this effect to him; *I find there is like to be a great deal of Bloodſhed about this Plot; and the Times are ſo troubleſome and dangerous to Me, that I durſt not venture to pardon any that is condemn'd: Therefore their Blood be upon your Head, and not upon Mine! And I deſire to ſee you no more.* And ſo he finally diſmiſs'd him his Preſence. But to return to the Parliament. 1678. Car. 30 Reſ. 19

2. The Houſe of Commons having receiv'd *Oates*'s Informations, they fell into a Flame, and were ſo aſſiduouſly employ'd, that in the Beginning of this Seſſion they ſate whole Days, from Morning till late at Night; chiefly enquiring into the Plot and the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and with ſo much Secrecy, that the Minutes and Votes of the Houſe were forbid to be divulg'd. The Upper Houſe ſeem'd no leſs diligent; and the Firſt Buſineſs of both was to agree in the following Addreſs to his Majeſty, *viz.* 'That Information had been given of a horrible Deſign 'againſt his Sacred Life, and being very ſenſible of the fatal Conſequences 'of ſuch an Attempt, and of the Dangers of the Subverſion of the *Proteſtant* Religion and Government of this Realm, They humbly beſeech his 'Majeſty, That a ſolemn Day of Faſting and Humiliation may be appointed to implore the Mercy and Protection of Almighty God to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and in Him to all his Loyal Subjects, and to pray 'that God will bring to Light more and more all ſecret Machinations 'againſt his Majeſty and the whole Kingdom.' All which was accordingly done by Proclamation, dated the 25th of *October*, requiring that *Wedneſday* the 13th of *November* ſhou'd be kept for a General Faſt. Soon after, both Houſes again agreed in another Addreſs, 'That having taken 'into their ſerious Conſideration the bloody and trayterous Deſigns of '*Popiſh* Recuſants againſt his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Government, 'and the *Proteſtant* Religion, they do for Prevention thereof moſt humbly beſeech his Majeſty to iſſue forth his Royal Proclamation, commanding all Perſons, being *Popiſh* Recuſants, or ſo reputed, to depart 'from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and all other Places within 'Ten Miles of the ſame, on or before the 7th of *November* next enſuing, 'under Pain of his Majeſty's higheſt Diſpleaſure, and of the ſevereſt Execution of the Laws againſt them.' To which his Majeſty comply'd, and ſent out a Proclamation to that Effect, dated *October* 30. This being not thought ſufficient, they proceeded to another in theſe Words, 'Whereas the Safety and Preſervation of your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, 'is of ſo great a Conſequence and Concernment to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and to all your Subjects; We do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to command the Lord Chamberlain, and all other the Officers of 'your Majeſty's Houſhold, to take a ſtrict Care that no Unknown, or 'Suſpicious Perſons may have Acceſs near your Majeſty's Perſon; and 'that your Majeſty will likewiſe pleaſe to command the Lord Mayor, 'and Lieutenancy of *London*, to appoint ſufficient *Guards* of the Train'd

The Diligence of the Commons.

Addreſs of both Houſes.

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'Bands, during this Seſſion of Parliament; and likewiſe the Lords Lieu-
'tenants of *Middleſex* and *Surry*, to appoint the like *Guards* of the
'Train'd Bands, in *Middleſex*, *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and other Places
'adjacent, as ſhall be thought neceſſary.

Oates examined by the Commons.

On the ſame Day, *October* 24th, Mr. *Oates*, now call'd Dr. *Oates*, was examin'd in the Houſe of Commons ſix or ſeven Hours; at the End of which he was ſeveral Times, and with great Strictneſs Interrogated *Whether he knew any Thing more of the Plot, or any other Perſons concern'd in it, than what he had already mention'd?* He ſolemnly anſwer'd *He did not*; and about Nine at Night, the Houſe ſent for the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, who took his Examination upon Oath, and in the Houſe ſeal'd twenty ſix Warrants againſt ſeveral Lords and Others that he had ſworn againſt. Whereupon the five Lords, namely, the Lord *Powis*, the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Petre*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, and Sir *Henry Tichburn* Baronet, were taken into Cuſtody, and ſhortly after committed to the *Tower*; and ſeveral others were ſent Priſoners to *Newgate*. But notwithſtanding *Oates*'s ſolemn Aſſeverations of his not knowing any more, he ſoon began ſo much to abound with new Diſcoveries, that ſome began to ſuſpect his Veracity: Therefore to put an end to all ſuch Doubtings, on the 31ſt of *October*, the Commons Reſolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, 'That upon the Evidence that has already

The Commons grand Reſolve.

'appear'd to this Houſe, this Houſe is of Opinion, *That there is, and*
'*hath been a Damnable and Helliſh* PLOT *contrived and carry'd on by*
'Popiſh *Recuſants, for Aſſaſſinating and Murdering the King, for Sub-*
'*verting the Government, and Rooting out and Deſtroying the* Proteſtant
'*Religion.*' After which they Order'd, 'That this Vote be communi-
'cated to the Lords at a Conference, and that the Lords be deſired to join
'with this Houſe in providing Remedies for the Preſervation of his Ma-
'jeſty's Perſon and Government, and the *Proteſtant* Religion.' This remarkable Vote had a great Effect in all Places; and the very ſame Day the People were ſtrangely affected with the Sight of the Funeral of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*: The Solemnity proceeded from *Bridewell* to St. *Martins* in the Fields; and the Body was attended by ſeventy two *London* Divines, who went in Proceſſion before it, and above a Thouſand Perſons of Quality and conſiderable Citizens, who follow'd after in the ſame Order, all being compleated by a memorable Funeral Sermon preach'd by Dr. *Lloyd* Miniſter of the Pariſh.

Sir E. Godfrey's Funeral.

The next Day there was a Conference between the two Houſes, upon the Subject of the laſt Vote of the Commons; and this Report was made.

The Lords Report.

'The Lords have conſider'd the Vote of the Houſe of Commons com-
'municated to them at the Conference, and have moſt readily and una-
'nimouſly concurr'd with them in it, *Nemine Contradicente*; and their
'Lordſhips are very glad to ſee that Zeal which the Commons have
'ſhew'd upon this Occaſion, and do fully concurr with them, *That the*
'*moſt ſpeedy and ſerious Conſiderations of both Houſes are neceſſary for*
'*Prevention of the Imminent Dangers*; In Order whereunto, their Lord-
'ſhips have Reſolv'd to Sit *de Die in Diem*, Forenoon and Afternoon,
'and deſire that the Houſe of Commons will do the ſame, *&c.*' At the ſame Time the King, finding the Unanimity of both Houſes, and receiving a new Addreſs againſt the *Papiſts*, acted as tho' he equally believ'd the Danger, and iſſu'd out his Proclamation, Beginning with the

A Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

'Lords and Commons having taken into their ſerious Conſideration the
'*Bloody* and *Traiterous* Deſigns of *Popiſh* Recuſants againſt his Majeſty's
'Sacred *Perſon* and *Government*, and the *Proteſtant* Religion; therefore
'he commanded them all, except ſettled Houſe-keepers that wou'd take
'the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, to depart the Cities of *London*

'and

'and *Weſtminſter*, and all Places within Ten Miles diſtant from the ſame. In purſuance of this Proclamation, many *Papiſts*, refuſing thoſe Oaths, went out of Town with great Lamentations, leaving their Trades and Habitations; but within a Week or two, they generally return'd again, and, being better ſatisfy'd by their Leaders, ventur'd to take the foreſaid Oaths. 1678. Car. 30 Ref. 19

One great Danger of *Popery* at this Time was the Number of Papiſts, and even of new Converts, retain'd in his Majeſty's Guards; and therefore to remove the Apprehenſion of the Parliament, on the 2d of *November*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare in Council, 'That whoſoever 'ſhall make Diſcovery of any Officer or Soldier of his Majeſty's Horſe 'or Foot Guards, who, having formerly taken the Oaths of *Allegiance* 'and *Supremacy*, and the *Teſt*, enjoyn'd by a late Act of Parliament, '*For Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*, 'hath ſince been perverted to the *Romiſh* Religion, or hears Maſs, ſuch 'Diſcoverer, upon Information thereof given to his Grace the Duke of '*Monmouth*, Lord General of his Majeſty's Forces, ſhall have a Reward 'of Twenty Pounds for every Soldier or Officer ſo diſcover'd as afore-'ſaid. And to the End his Majeſty's Pleaſure herein may be fully known, 'his Majeſty doth command that this Order be forthwith printed and 'publiſh'd.' A Second Danger was from the Intereſt of *Popiſh* Members of Parliament, but eſpecially in the Houſe of Peers; and therefore the Commons prepar'd a Bill, *For the more effectual Preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling Papiſts from Sitting in either Houſe of Parliament.* But a Third, which now moſt threatned the Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion, was the Proſpect of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor; and therefore the Popular Members of both Houſes began to form the Deſign of a *Bill of Excluſion*, as the only Means to extinguiſh the Hopes and Expectation of the *Romiſh* Party. The Commons began gently on this Occaſion, and on the 4th of *November* ſuffer'd a Debate to ariſe in their Houſe, for an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, *That his Royal Highneſs may withdraw Himſelf from his Majeſty's Perſon and Counſels.* But then they adjourn'd this Debate till *Friday November* 8, and then again adjourn'd it to the *Tueſday* following.

Another.

Deſigns againſt the Duke of York.

The King, who had conſented to all they had ask'd this Seſſion, now reſolv'd to give them a handſome Check, as well underſtanding the Tendency of this Addreſs; and therefore on the *Saturday* before, *November* 9, he came to the Houſe of Peers, and made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am ſo very ſenſible of the 'great and extraordinary Care you have already taken, and ſtill continue 'to ſhew for the Safety and Preſervation of my Perſon in theſe Times of 'Danger, that I cou'd not ſatisfy my ſelf without coming hither on pur-'poſe to give you all my moſt hearty Thanks for it. Nor do I think it 'enough to give you my Thanks only, but I hold my ſelf oblig'd to let 'you ſee withal, That I do as much ſtudy your Preſervation too, as I can 'poſſibly; and that I am as ready to joyn with you in all the Ways and 'Means that may eſtabliſh a Firm Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion, as 'your own Hearts can wiſh: And this not only during my Time, of 'which I am ſure you have no Fear, but in Future Ages, even to the 'End of the World. And therefore I am come to aſſure you, That 'whatſoever reaſonable Bills you ſhall preſent to be paſſed into Laws, 'to make you ſafe in the Reign of my Succeſſor, (ſo they tend not to 'Impeach the *Right of Succeſſion*, nor the *Deſcent of the Crown in the 'true Line*, and ſo as they *Reſtrain not my Power*, nor the *Juſt Rights of 'any Proteſtant Succeſſor)* ſhall find from Me a ready Concurrence. And 'I deſire you withal, to think of ſome more Effectual Means for the

The King's Second Speech to both Houſes.

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'Conviction of *Popiſh* Recuſants, and to expedite your Counſels as faſt 'as you can, That the World may ſee Our Unanimity, and that I may 'have the Opportunity of ſhewing you how ready I am to do any Thing '*that may give Comfort and Satisfaction to ſuch Dutiful and Loyal Sub-*'*jects.*' In the Afternoon, the Houſe of Commons went to the *Banquetting-Houſe* of *White-Hall*, and by their Speaker return'd his Majeſty their humble and hearty Thanks, for his moſt gracious Speech this Day made to both Houſes of Parliament. To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to give this obliging Anſwer, *Gentlemen, it ſhall always be my Study to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and to advance and ſupport the Intereſt of my People.*

The Appearance and Character of Bedloe.

3. In the mean Time, while the Credit of the Plot began to ſink a ſecond Time, and to become a little too unwieldy for one Evidence, there ſuddenly appear'd another Supporter, one *William Bedloe*, or *Beddoe*, according to his reputed Father's Name; a Fellow who took upon him the Title of Captain *Bedloe*, being a proper Collegue and Aſſiſtant to Dr. *Oates*, and having undergone greater Variety of Fortunes. He was one of a baſe Birth and worſe Manners, who from a poor Foot-Boy and Runner of Errands, for a while got into a Livery in the Lord *Bellaſis*'s Family; and having for his Villanies ſuffer'd Hardſhip and Want in many Priſons in *England*, he afterwards turn'd a kind of a Poſt or Letter-Carrier, for thoſe who thought fit to employ him, beyond Sea. By theſe means he got the Names and Habitations of Men of Quality, their Relations, Correſpondents and Intereſt; and upon this Bottom, with a daring Boldneſs, and a dextrous turn of Fancy and Addreſs, he put himſelf into the World. He was skilful in all the Arts and Methods of Cheating; but his Maſter-Piece was his perſonating Men of Quality, getting Credit for Watches, Coats, Horſes, borrowing Money upon Recommendations, bilking of Vintners and Tradeſmen; Lying and Romancing, to the Degree of Impoſing upon any Man that had any Remainders of Humanity or good Nature. He liv'd like a Wild *Arab*, upon the Prey and Ramble; and where-ever he was in *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain* or *England*, he never fail'd of leaving the Name of a notorious Cheat and Impoſtor. In ſum, he was an admirable Second to help out *Oates* in his Evidences, had more Wit and Humour, but ſtill he was better at a Sham off-hand, than a Conſpiracy by Book.

He firſt pretended only to diſcover the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and ſeem'd to have a ſpecial Eye to the five Hundred Pounds Reward, which had not ſufficient Effect till it was back'd by a ſecond Proclamation, which offer'd Protection as well as Reward to any Perſon that ſhould make the Diſcovery. In order to make the more Noiſe, within a Day or two after the laſt Proclamation, *Bedloe* took a ſudden Journey from *London* to *Briſtol*, having but lately got out of Priſon, where he was fed out of the common Alms-Basket. In this Journey, he wrote a Letter from *Newberry* to Secretary *Coventry*, a little myſteriouſly worded, but implying a Deſire to have him give Orders to the Mayor of *Briſtol*, to have him taken up and ſent to Him. This took Effect, and he was accordingly taken up in the moſt publick Place and Manner at *Briſtol*, and with all the Noiſe and Affectation of being taken Notice of as a grand Diſcoverer. On the 5th of *November* he left *Briſtol*, and return'd to *London*, where he was immediately dubb'd a Captain, and a *King's Evidence*; and, as *Oates* before him, was honour'd with Guards for his Security, and Subſiſtance at his Majeſty's Charges at *White-Hall*.

He is examined before the King,

He was immediately examin'd by the two principal Secretaries of State, in the Preſence of the King Himſelf, touching the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury*

bury Godfrey, and other Matters. He declar'd he had been bred up in the Church of *England* till within theſe two Years, when by the Perſuaſion and Promiſes of the *Jeſuits*, he was drawn over to them, but he was not one of their Order. As to Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* he ſaid *He knew that he was Murther'd in* Somerſet-Houſe; but at the ſame Time he ſolemnly declar'd upon his Oath, *That he could ſay nothing at all to the* Plot *that was then in Queſtion.* The next Day, *Novemb.* 8th, he was examin'd by the Houſe of Lords; where, upon new Incouragement, he thought fit to be more open, and launch out into the Depths of the Plot, with a new and Supplemental Evidence; wherein he declar'd, that *Walſh* and *Le Phaire*, two Jeſuits concern'd in the horrid Murther, inform'd him, 'That the Lord *Bellaſis* had a Commiſſion to command 'Forces in the *North*, the Earl of *Powis* in *South-Wales*, and the Lord 'Arundel of *Warder* had a Commiſſion from the Pope to grant Com-'miſſions to whom he pleas'd; That *Coleman* had been a great Agitator 'in the Deſign againſt the King, and that he ask'd the Jeſuits, *why they 'had not formerly told him what they had deſign'd concerning the King's 'Death*, they anſwer'd, *That none but whom my Lord* Bellaſis *gave Di-'rections for, were to know it.*' Then he deſir'd he might have Time to put the whole *Narrative* into Writing, which he ſaid he had begun. They particularly ask'd him, whether he knew *Titus Oates*, and he poſitively deny'd it; tho' afterwards he came off with a *Salvo*, that he knew him by the Name of *Ambroſe*.

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And by the Lords.

This firſt Diſcovery ſoon took place, and preſently produc'd an Order to make a ſtrict Search for *Charles Walſh*, *Le Phaire*, and other ſuſpicious Perſons, and an Addreſs the Day following for a Proclamation againſt *Conyers*, *Simmonds*, *Walſh*, *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard* and *Caſtaway*, as Perſons guilty of the *Damnable and Helliſh Plot*, &c. On the 12th of the ſame Month, upon a further Examination in the Houſe of Lords, *Bedloe*'s Eyes were more open'd, and his Knowledge much enlarged, both as to the Plot and the Murder. The Subſtance of what he ſaid concerning the *Plot* was: 'That the Monks of *Doway* firſt told him the Deſign; 'and after four Sacraments of Secrecy, they ſent him to *Harcourt*, a *Je-'ſuit* in *Duke-ſtreet*, *London*; who provided for him, and ſent him to 'Paris, &c. That *Le Phaire*, *Walſh*, *Pritchard* and *Lewis* told him 'what Lords were to govern, what Men were to be rais'd; particularly 'forty Thouſand to be ready in *London*; what Succours were to be ex-'pected, namely Ten Thouſand from *Flanders*, Twenty or Thirty Thou-'ſand Religious Men and Pilgrims from St. *Jago* in *Spain*; that *Hull* 'was to be ſurpriz'd; and that juſt in the critical Time the Plot was diſ-'cover'd; that *Le Phaire* gave him a Sacrament of Secrecy; and they 'told him who and who were to be kill'd, and the Men that were to do 'the Work. *Le Phaire* ſaid further, That *Conyers* was my Lord *Bel-'laſis*'s Confeſſor, and communicated his Orders; and that they were 'reſolv'd, *if any Plotters were taken, to diſpatch them before they cou'd 'be brought to Tryal, or to burn the Priſon.* He moreover depos'd, That '*Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, *Lewis*, *Keines* and *Walſh*, and others, had often 'told him, *That there was not a* Roman-*Catholick in* England, *of any 'Quality or Credit, but was acquainted with this Deſign of the* Papiſts, '*and had receiv'd the Sacrament from their Father Confeſſors, to be ſe-'cret and aſſiſtant in the carrying of it on.* He further added, That the 'Part that was aſſign'd him, was to bring and carry Orders and 'Counſels, and all other Intelligences from one Army to another, upon 'all Occaſions; he knowing every Part and Road of *England* and *Wales*.' In this long Examination, the Lords were for the moſt part very ſtrict and particular, and they eſpecially conjur'd him to ſpeak nothing but Truth;

His Diſcoveries.

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Truth; and he did *in the Preſence of God, as he ſhould anſwer it at the Day of Judgment, aſſure all to be true he had Depoſed.*

4. As the Credit of the Plot increas'd, ſo did the Labour and Diligence of the two Houſes of Parliament, and the King ſeem'd all along to keep the ſame Pace with them: Particularly, on the 12th of *November*, he iſſu'd out a new Proclamation, 'whereby all *Romiſh* Recuſants, and 'ſuch reputed, were enjoyn'd under the Penalty of the Laws, to repair 'to their own Houſes, and not to remove more than five Miles from 'thence without Licenſe; excepting out of this Proclamation the Inha-'bitants of *London* and *Weſtminſter*.' On the ſame Day, the Houſe of Commons, to whom the King was moſt attentive, Reſolv'd, 'That there 'being an Accuſation of High-Treaſon againſt Sir *William Godolphin*, 'his Majeſty's Ambaſſador in *Spain*, a humble Addreſs be preſen-'ted to his Majeſty, to deſire him to call home Sir *William Godolphin* 'to anſwer the Accuſation.' To which his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer, *That he had already order'd his Letters of Revocation; and that he had a Perſon in his Eye, who he deſign'd ſhould ſucceed him in that Service.* And on the ſame Day the Commons preſented another Addreſs to his Majeſty, praying, 'That a ſpecial Commiſſion may be iſſu'd forth, 'for tendering the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to all the Servants 'of his Majeſty and Royal Highneſs, and to all other Perſons (except 'his Majeſty's *Portugal* Servants) reſiding within the Palaces of *White-'Hall*, St. *James*'s, and *Somerſet-Houſe*, and all other his Majeſty's Hou-'ſes; and that there may be likewiſe ſpecial Commiſſions iſſu'd forth, 'for tendering the ſaid Oaths to all Perſons reſiding within the two *Ser-'jeant*'s *Inns*, all the *Inns of Court*, and *Inns of Chancery*.' To which his Majeſty return'd an Anſwer in Writing, two Days after, *That as to all his Majeſty's own Servants, all the Servants of his Royal Highneſs, all other Perſons reſiding in* White-Hall, *St.* James's, Somerſet-Houſe, *or any other of his Majeſty's Houſes, except the* menial Servants *of the Queen and Dutcheſs; as alſo all Perſons within either of the* Serjeant's Inns, *or any of the* Inns of Court, *or* Chancery, *his Majeſty willingly grants it. But as to the Queen's* Menial Servants, *who are ſo very inconſiderable in their Number, and within the Articles of Marriage, his Majeſty does not think it fit. And his Majeſty cannot but take Notice, That in a late Addreſs from the Houſe of Peers, the* Menial Servants *of the Queen and Dutcheſs are excepted; and his Majeſty hopes this Houſe will proceed with the ſame Moderation as to that Particular.*

A new Proclamation.

The Commons Addreſs.

The King's Anſwer.

But the Commons were ſo heated with new Examinations and Diſcoveries, that they cou'd not be ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer; therefore in another Addreſs, they humbly advis'd his Majeſty, and renew their Deſires, That the Perſons excepted in his Majeſty's Meſſage, may be comprehended in the ſame Commiſſion; for which they do in all Duty lay before his Majeſty the Reaſons following: 'I. For the Quieting of the 'Minds of your Majeſty's good *Proteſtant* Subjects, who have more 'than ordinary Care and Solicitude for the Safety of your Majeſty's Per-'ſon, by reaſon of the notorious Conſpiracy of the *Popiſh* Party at this 'Time, even againſt the Life of your ſacred Majeſty. 2. By your Maje-'ſty's Proclamation, ſet forth upon the Addreſs of both Houſes, *for Ba-'niſhing Popiſh Recuſants Ten Miles from* London, there is no ſuch Re-'ſtriction. 3. The Diſcouragement it wou'd be to this Kingdom, to ſee 'ſo great a Neglect; and the Occaſions that *Papiſts* would take to ſay 'from thence, *That all our Fears were groundleſs.* 4. It is too great a 'Countenance to the Dangerous Factions, which are already come to 'that Height, that it renders all manner of Diſcouragement on that ſide 'neceſſary.

Another Addreſs.

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'neceſſary. 5. It is againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; which, 'as they are preſerv'd and maintain'd by your Majeſty's Authority, ſo 'We aſſure our ſelves, You will not ſuffer them to be thus violated by 'your Family and Royal Preſence, upon the Account of *Popiſh* Recu-'ſants.

This was not very pleaſing to his Majeſty, but before he cou'd well return any Anſwer, there happen'd an Accident that made him more uneaſy: For, on the 18th of *November*, the Commons being inform'd, That there were ſeveral Commiſſions granted to Popiſh Recuſants, and Warrants alſo that they ſhou'd be Muſter'd, notwithſtanding they had not taken the Oaths, and ſubſcrib'd the *Declaration*, according to the Act of Parliament, and that they were counter-ſign'd by Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Secretary of State: The Notice of this rais'd ſuch a Heat in the Houſe, that they immediately ſent Sir *Joſeph*, as a Member of their Houſe, to the *Tower*. This much offended the King, who the next Day ſent for the Houſe of Commons to attend him in the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *White-Hall*, where in a Speech to them he told them plainly, *That tho' they had committed his Servant, without acquainting Him; yet he intended to deal more freely with Them, and acquaint them with his Intentions, to Releaſe his Secretary*; which accordingly he did that very Day.

The Commons ſend Secretary Williamſon *to the* Tower.

The King releaſes him.

Upon which immediately, the ſame Day, the Commons drew up an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to preſent to him theſe Reaſons of their Proceedings in the Commitment of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, as a Member of their Houſe, *viz.* 1. 'That divers *Commiſſions* were granted to *Popiſh* 'Officers, and counter-ſign'd by the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, and de-'liver'd out in *October* laſt, ſince the Meeting of this Houſe, and the 'Diſcovery of the preſent *Popiſh Conſpiracy*. 2. Divers *Warrants* have 'alſo been produc'd before Us, of *Diſpenſations*, contrary to Law, for '*Popiſh* Officers to continue in their Commands, and to be paſs'd in 'Muſter, notwithſtanding they have not taken the Oaths of *Allegiance* 'and *Supremacy*, and receiv'd the Bleſſed *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Sup-'per*, according to the late Act of Parliament in that Behalf: All which 'ſaid *Warrants* were likewiſe counter-ſign'd by the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Wil-'liamſon*; which being complain'd of to us, and confeſs'd by the ſaid Sir '*Joſeph Williamſon*, We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful Subjects, having the 'immediate Conſideration before us, of the imminent Danger of your Ma-'jeſty's Perſon, the Safety whereof is above all things moſt dear, and like-'wiſe the Dangers from *Popiſh Plots* ſo nearly threatning the Peace and 'Safety of your Majeſty's Government, and the *Proteſtant* Religion, 'were humbly of Opinion, we cou'd not diſcharge our Duty to your 'Majeſty and the whole Kingdom, without the committing the ſaid Sir '*Joſeph Williamſon*; and therefore moſt humbly deſire, *That he may not 'be diſtharg'd by your Majeſty*. And we do further moſt humbly de-'ſire your Majeſty, to recall all Commiſſions granted to all *Papiſts* with-'in the Kingdom of *England*, and *Ireland*, or any other of your Maje-'ſty's Dominions and Territories.

They Addreſs the King.

This Adherence of the Commons made the King not a little weary of their Proceedings; but however, in two Days time he return'd this Anſwer in Writing, which was deliver'd to the Houſe by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*. *His Majeſty having receiv'd an Addreſs the 19th Inſtant from this Houſe, is pleas'd to return this Anſwer: That he releas'd Mr. Secretary* Williamſon *before your Addreſs came, as he told you in the* Banquetting-Houſe *he wou'd do. As to the Returns of granting thoſe* Commiſſions, *his Majeſty acquainted you at large with them, in his Speech, when you laſt attended him: But in Anſwer to your preſent Addreſs, his Majeſty promiſes*

The King's Anſwer.

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promiſes to recal all his Commiſſions *whatſoever given to* Papiſts *or* reputed Papiſts, *either in* England *or* Ireland, *immediately*; *and for his remoter Dominions, they ſhall likewiſe be recall'd with all the Expedition the Safety of thoſe Places will permit.*

About this time the Bill formerly mention'd *for Diſabling all Papiſts from Sitting in either Houſe of Parliament*, having been ſent up from the Commons to the Lords, it there paſs'd with ſome little Amendments, and a particular Clauſe in Favour of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*. The ſaid Bill being ſent back to the Commons on the 21ſt of *November*, it paſſed there alſo with the ſeveral Alterations, but not without ſome conſiderable Difficulty: For Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* and one Mr. *Aſh*, being violently heated in the Debate, and opprobrious Words paſſing between them, Sir *Jonathan*, unable to bear them, ſtruck the other a Cuff on the Ear; which being return'd by Mr. *Aſh* over the Face, they both began to draw their Swords. But this Diſturbance being at laſt quieted by the Speaker, Sir *Jonathan* was preſently ſent to the *Tower*, and Mr. *Aſh* was publickly Reprimanded by the Speaker. About the ſame time there came out an Order of Council, explaining the late Proclamation, whereby all Papiſts were baniſh'd ten Miles from *London*, 'Declaring it not to extend to Merchant Strangers, and ſuch Outlandiſh 'Perſons, who repaired thither on the Account of Travel.' And on the ſame Day came out a Proclamation, 'Offering a Reward of Twenty 'Pounds to any one who ſhou'd diſcover or apprehend a *Romiſh* Prieſt 'or *Jeſuit*.

A Diſturbance in the Houſe of Commons.

5. The King finding the Delays of the Commons, and himſelf under Wants and Difficulties, on the 25th of *November* he came to the Houſe of Lords, and made this third Speech to both Houſes. 'My Lords and 'Gentlemen, I told you in the beginning of this Seſſion, how much I 'had been oblig'd to keep up my Forces in *Flanders: That without it, 'our Neighbours had abſolutely deſpair'd; and by this means, whatever 'has been ſav'd of* Flanders, *is acknowledg'd to be wholly due to my Interpoſition:* And I ſhew'd you withal, *That I had been forc'd to employ 'that Money which had been rais'd for the Diſbanding thoſe Troops, in 'the Continuance of them together*; and not only ſo, *but that I had been 'much more out of Purſe for that Service; a Service by which the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation hath been ſo far improv'd, that as I am 'confident no Man wou'd repine at it*, ſo I did not doubt *but you wou'd 'all be willing to ſupply it.* I have now undergone this Expence ſo long, 'that I find it abſolutely impoſſible to ſupport the Charge any longer; 'and did therefore think of putting an End to that Charge, by Recalling 'my Troops with all poſſible Speed, who are already expos'd to the utmoſt Want and Miſery, being without any Proſpect of further Pay or 'Subſiſtance. But whilſt I was about to do this, I have been importun'd by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters to continue them a little longer, until 'the Ratifications of the Peace be exchang'd: Without which, all that 'hath been hitherto ſav'd in *Flanders*, will inevitably fall into the Hands 'of their Enemies. And now, between this Importunity to keep up 'thoſe Troops, and my own Inability to pay them any longer, I find my 'ſelf in great Difficulties what to reſolve. If you do not think that the 'Publick Safety may require the Continuance, I do wiſh as heartily as 'any Man, that, for the Publick Eaſe, they may be ſpeedily Disbanded, 'and paid off. I have thought fit thus to lay the Matter before you; 'and having acquitted my ſelf to all the World, by asking your Advice 'and Aſſiſtance, I deſire it may be ſpeedy, and without any Manner of 'Delay.

The King's Third Speech to both Houſes.

The

The Commons apprehending ſome Danger from the *Engliſh* Army in *Flanders*, which, upon the late Juncture of a Separate Peace, had now nothing to do; they therefore preſently Reſolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, 'That it is neceſſary for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, and 'Preſervation of the Peace of the Government, that all the Forces that 'have been rais'd ſince the 29th of *September* 1677, and all others that 'ſince that Time have been brought over from beyond Seas from Foreign 'Service, be forthwith Disbanded: And reſolv'd, *It be the humble Opi-'nion and Deſire of the Houſe, That the Forces which are now in* Flan-'ders, *may be immediately call'd over, in Order to their Disbanding*;' to which purpoſe they preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty. At the ſame time the Houſe of Commons had before them a Bill, *For Raiſing a Third Part of the Militia, to be in conſtant Arms for a time*; which, with Amendments, was Ingroſs'd immediately after the King's Speech, and ſent up to the Lords, where it likewiſe paſs'd that Houſe. 1678. Car. 30 Reſ. 19

The Commons reſolve to Diſband the Army.

Upon the 30th of *November*, it was preſented to the King on the Throne; together with that Other deſirable Bill, *For Diſabling Papiſts from Sitting in either Houſe of Parliament*. This laſt Bill he readily paſs'd, to the great Satisfaction of the People; and ſhew'd himſelf very willing to Recall his Forces from *Flanders*, in Order to their Disbanding; but the *Militia Bill* he totally rejected, alledging, *That it was to put the* Militia *out of his Power, which Thing he wou'd not do*, NO NOT FOR ONE HOUR; *but if the Commons would aſſiſt him with Money for that purpoſe, He wou'd take care to raiſe ſuch a Part of the* Militia, *as ſhou'd ſecure the Peace of the Government, and his own Perſon.* And to the ſame Effect, he ſhortly after ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, declaring, *It was to prevent all Miſunderſtandings that might ariſe from his not paſſing that Bill.*

A Bill paſs'd againſt the Papiſts.

Another rejected.

III. 1. All this time, while theſe Things were tranſacting in the Parliament, the King proceeded in the ſame manner with relation to the Plot, as tho' he believ'd the whole Truth of it. He ſeem'd now to have Occaſion to exerciſe his Talent of Diſſimulation; and the *French* Hiſtorian *Orleans* ſays, *He counterfeited a Credulity, which was made uſe of to the committing of much Injuſtice.* However, according to his firſt Speech, he wholly left the accus'd Perſons to the Law, and the common Courts of Judicature, and the Appointment, Management and Proſecution of their Tryals to his Judges and proper Officers. The firſt Man deſign'd for Tryal was Mr. *Edward Coleman*, as the moſt ſignal and obnoxious Offender. But there unexpectedly happen'd a Caſe ſo eaſy, and free from Difficulties, tho' no part of the grand Plot, that it was thought fit to begin with a much later Criminal; one Mr. *William Staley*, a Goldſmith in *Covent-Garden*, a ſtrict and zealous *Romaniſt*, bred in one of the *Engliſh* Seminaries beyond the Seas, and intended for a Prieſt; but afterwards, for a more profitable Proſpect, he return'd home, and became an Aſſiſtant to his Father in the Shop, who had a great Trade, being entruſted with the Caſh of many of the *Popiſh* Nobility and Gentry. Theſe, upon the Noiſe of the Plot, ſuddenly began to call in their Money; and He, as it is ſaid, being unable readily to make up his Accounts with his Father, and finding their Trade in a bad Condition, grew ſo far diſturb'd, that on the 4th of *November*, being in Company with one *Fromante*, a Foreigner, in a Cook's Shop, diſcourſing together about the Plot, *&c.* the Foreigner ſaid in *French, That the King of* England *was a great Tormenter of the People of God:* To which the ſaid *Staley* anſwer'd, *The King of* England! furiouſly repeating the Words, *is a grand Heretick, and the greateſt Rogue in the World:*

Tryals. *Leſtrange. Orleans. Care.* Rot. Parl.

Mr. Staley's Treaſon.

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His Tryal,

Here's the Heart, ſtriking his Hand upon his Breaſt, *and here's the Hand that will kill him, my ſelf.* He was heard to ſpeak theſe Words by three *Scotch* Gentlemen, who were in the next Room, with the Door open juſt over againſt him.

This Man being inform'd againſt, was immediately taken up, arraign'd on the 20th of *November*, and the next Day try'd at the *King*'s *Bench*-Bar before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*. The Witneſſes, *William Corſtairs*, and *Alexander Sutherland*, did both poſitively ſwear the Words before cited, for they both underſtood *French* very well; and the third Witneſs, tho' he did not underſtand *French*, ſwore he heard the Priſoner ſpeak ſomething with great Earneſtneſs, and that Captain *Corſtairs*, at that Inſtant, told him it was in *Engliſh, That he would kill the King*. The Priſoner own'd, 'That he was at that time with *Fromante* at the 'Cook's Shop, but deny'd that he ſpoke the Words, and ſaid they only 'ſpoke of the *French* King, and the Words ſworn by the Witneſſes in 'French, muſt ſignify, *I will kill my ſelf*, rather than *I will kill him* 'my ſelf.' But to this the Court obſerv'd, 'Firſt, that the Witneſſes 'ſwore directly that it was the King of *England* he ſpoke of, and nam'd 'him twice; nor did he count the *French* King a Heretick: And as to 'the ſecond, they obſerv'd, that after he had given the King ſuch ſcur-'rilous Names, it cou'd not be Senſe to ſay, *He wou'd kill Himſelf.*' The Priſoner had little more to ſay for himſelf, beſides general Proteſtations of his Loyal Intentions. And therefore the Lord Chief-Juſtice, having repreſented the Proof to the Jury, without going from the Bar they brought him in guilty of Treaſon; and Sentence was pronounc'd on him to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd.

And Execution.

Accordingly, about five Days after, he was Executed at *Tyburn*, behaving himſelf in his Paſſage after a very ſober and penitent Manner: Yet he deny'd the Words for which he was condemn'd; or if he did ſay them, *They were the Effect of a raſh Paſſion, without any Deſign againſt the King's Perſon.* His Quarters, upon the Petition of his Relations, were deliver'd to them privately to be Bury'd, and not to be ſet upon the Gates of the City. But to the Abuſe of his Majeſty's Mercy, his Friends caus'd ſeveral *Maſſes* to be ſaid over thoſe Quarters, and us'd other *Popiſh* Ceremonies, and ſolemnly appointed a Time for his Interment, from his Father's Houſe in *Covent-Garden*; at which time a pompous Funeral was made, and many People follow'd the Corps to the Pariſh Church, where it was bury'd. The King hearing of this, was juſtly diſpleas'd, and commanded the Coroner of *Weſtminſter* to take up the Body, and deliver it to the Sheriff of *Middleſex* to be ſet upon the Gates of the City; all which was preſently done according to the uſual Form and Method.

2. The Condemnation and Execution of Mr. *Staley*, tho' of a Nature remote, was of conſiderable Uſe to the Plot-Diſcoverers, and open'd a Paſſage to the Tryal of a more Important Perſon, who was likely to be the chief Foundation; and this was Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Secretary to the Dutcheſs of *York*, a zealous and active *Romaniſt*, whom we have particularly taken notice of in the Years 1674, and 1675. Upon the firſt Diſcovery of the Plot, *September* the 30th, his Houſe was ſearch'd, and his Papers ſeiz'd; tho' it is believ'd that he had Time enough to convey away all the Papers of the two laſt Years, with the Book of Entries of them. The next Day he ſurrender'd Himſelf to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*; and being under Examination, he, as Sir *George Wakeman*, ſeem'd to hear the wicked Things charg'd upon him, with Scorn and Indignation; inſomuch, that tho' Warrants were drawn up to ſend him to *Newgate*,

The Tryal of Coleman.

gate, he was only for the time preſent committed to a Meſſenger to ſecure him againſt the firſt Order. But afterwards he was cloſely confin'd, and now on the 27th of *November*, the very Day after Mr. *Staley*'s Execution, he was brought to his Tryal at the *King*'s *Bench*-Bar, before the ſame Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, having a Jury of very conſiderable Men in *Middleſex*, who were not ſo much as challeng'd by the Priſoner. The General Heads of the Charge were, *The Conſpiring the Death of the King*; *The Endeavour of Subverting the Government of* England, *and the* Proteſtant *Religion*. Which Treaſonable Deſigns were to be made out, partly by Witneſſes, *vivâ voce*, and partly by Letters and Negotiations under his own Hand, proving a Correſpondence with ſeveral Agents for the Accompliſhing thoſe Ends. The living Witneſſes were the celebrated *Duumvirate*, Dr. *Oates*, and Captain *Bedloe*, who were now approaching to the Height of their Glory, and ſeem'd under the Neceſſity of exerting their utmoſt Powers. 1678. Car. 30 Reſ. 19

Oates's *Evidence.*

The Subſtance of *Oates*'s Evidence was, 1. 'That in *November* 1677, 'being brought acquainted with the Priſoner by Mr. *Keins*, then the 'Deponent's Confeſſor, who lodg'd at the Priſoner's Houſe, he carry'd 'ſome Letters from him to St. *Omers*, in which were Treaſonable Ex'preſſions againſt the King, calling him *Tyrant*, &c. and a Letter in *La'tin* enclos'd to Father *Le Cheſe*, to whom *Oates* carry'd it from St. 'Omers to *Paris*; in which there were Thanks return'd for the Ten 'thouſand Pounds by him remitted into *England*, for the Propagation 'of the *Catholick* Religion, and promiſing it ſhould be employ'd for no 'other Purpoſe, but for what it was ſent, *viz. To cut off the King of* 'England, as appear'd by the Letter of *Le Cheſe*, to which this was an An'ſwer, and which *Oates* ſaw and read. 2. That *Coleman* was concern'd 'in the Deſign of killing the King; for when, at the *Jeſuits* great Con'ſult, on the 24th of *April*, which afterwards divided into ſeveral Clubs, 'it was reſolv'd, that *Pickering* and *Grove* ſhould take off his Majeſty 'by Shooting, or other Means; this Reſolve was communicated to *Cole'man*, in *Oates*'s hearing, at *Wild-Houſe*, who did approve thereof, and 'ſaid *it was well contriv'd.* 3. That in *Auguſt*, 78, *Coleman* was preſent 'at a Conſult with the *Jeſuits* and *Benedictine* Monks in the *Savoy*, for 'raiſing a Rebellion in *Ireland*, for which Forty thouſand Black Bills, 'as Arms, were provided; and was very forward to have Dr. *Fogarthy* 'ſent over to poyſon the Duke of *Ormond:* And at another Time, being 'in *Fenwick*'s Chamber, *Coleman* ſaid to him in *Oates*'s hearing, *That he* 'had found out a way to tranſmit Two Hundred thouſand Pounds to carry 'on the Rebellion in Ireland. 4. Thatin the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, *Cole'man* knew of the four *Iriſh* Ruffians ſent to kill the King at *Windſor*; 'and in *Oates*'s hearing, ask'd Father *Harcourt* at *Wild-Houſe*, *what Care* 'was taken for thoſe four Gentlemen that went laſt Night to Windſor? 'who reply'd, *That Eighty Pounds was order'd them*, which he ſaw there 'on the Table, moſt of it in Guineas; and that *Coleman* was ſo zealous, 'that he gave a Guinea to the Meſſenger who was to carry the Money, 'to expedite the Buſineſs. 5. That in *July*, 78, *Coleman* was privy to 'the Inſtructions brought by *Aſhby*, Rector of St. *Omers*, from Father '*Whitebread*, to impower the Conſulters to propoſe Ten thouſand Pounds 'to Sir *George Wakeman* to Poyſon the King, provided *Pickering* and '*Grove* fail'd to do the Work: That *Oates* had read and copy'd thoſe 'Inſtructions, and tranſmitted them to ſeveral others of the Conſpirators, 'who were gathering Contributions about the Kingdom, who wou'd be 'the more incourag'd to give largely, both becauſe they were aſſur'd the 'Buſineſs wou'd ſoon be diſpatched, and that they might ſee they had 'Aſſiſtance from beyond the Seas; and that *Coleman* was ſo far from

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'disappointing this Treaſon, that he ſaid, *It was too little, and that it 'were well to give Five thouſand Pounds more, to make the Buſineſs ſure.* '6. That in *April*, 78, *Oates* ſaw *Coleman*'s Patent, or Commiſſion to be 'Secretary of State, from *Paulus de Oliva*, General of the Society of *Je-'ſus*, by vertue of a Brief from the Pope, and he knew the Hand per-'fectly well; and that in *Fenwick*'s Chamber, he ſaw *Coleman* open it, 'and heard him ſay, *It was a good Exchange.* Laſt of all, *Oates* being ask'd how many came over in *April* to the grand Conſult, and how many Prieſts and Jeſuits had been in *England* at one Time? he ſaid, *he could not exactly remember their Numbers, but to his Knowledge there had been in* England, *at the ſame Time, a Hundred and ſixty* Secular *Prieſts, Eighty* Jeſuits, *and by Names upon a Liſt above Three Hundred.*

2. Bedloe's Evidence.

The Second Witneſs againſt the Priſoner was *Bedloe*, who teſtify'd to this Effect. 1. 'That he knew not of any Commiſſion to Mr. *Coleman*; 'but that Sir *Henry Tichbourn* had told him, that he brought a Com-'miſſion for him to be Principal Secretary of State, when he brought 'over the reſt of the Commiſſions for the Lords and others, from the 'principal *Jeſuits* at *Rome*, by Order of the Pope. 2. That in *April*, 75, 'he carry'd over a large Pacquet of Letters from *Coleman* to Father *le 'Cheſe*, about carrying on the Plot, and brought back an Anſwer: And 'on *May* 24th, or 25th, 77, he receiv'd another Pacquet of *Coleman*'s, to 'carry to *Paris* to the *Engliſh* Monks; and that he had receiv'd Mo-'ney to carry on the Deſign to ſubvert the Government of *England*, '*to free* England *from Damnation and Ignorance, and free all Catholicks 'from the hard Tyranny and Oppreſſion of Hereticks.* 3. That upon *Bed-'loe*'s Return with Anſwers to the laſt Letters, which were deliver'd to '*Coleman* by *Harcourt*, he heard the Priſoner, at his Houſe behind *Weſt-'minſter-Abby*, at the Foot of the Stair-Caſe, ſay, *If he had a hundred 'Lives, and a Sea of Blood to carry on the Cauſe, he wou'd ſpend it all 'to eſtabliſh the Church of* Rome *in* England; *and if there were a Hun-'dred Heretical Kings to be depoſed, he would ſee them all deſtroy'd.*' Upon this ſtrange Saying, Mr. *Coleman* ask'd him this Queſtion; *Did I ever ſee you in my Life? Yes*, ſaid the other, *in the Stone Gallery in* Somerſet-Houſe, *when you came from a Conſult, where were great Perſons, which I am not to name here; that wou'd make the bottom of your Plot to tremble: You ſaw me then.*

3. The Priſoners own Papers.

The Third Evidence againſt Mr. *Coleman* was his own Papers and Letters, which were undoubtedly real, and of that Moment, that we have already taken Notice of the chief of them, according to their proper Dates, 1674, and 1675. Theſe were moſtly written to Father *le Cheſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, and ſhew him to be very bold and pragmatical, working hard for Money, as well as the Advancement of his Religion, promiſing by the Power of that to diſſolve and make Parliaments, and to do many other great Things improper for his Station. Altho' the Subſtance of theſe Letters hath been formerly mention'd, yet here we ought not to omit two or three Paſſages which prov'd ſo ſtartling and ſhocking at this Time. Towards the end of this long Letter to the Confeſſor, he ſays, *Our prevailing in theſe Things, wou'd give the greateſt Blow to the Proteſtant Religion that ever it receiv'd ſince its Birth.* Afterwards, in another Letter he has theſe Words: *We have a mighty Work upon our Hands, no leſs than the Converſion of three Kingdoms; and by that, perhaps the utter ſubduing a* Peſtilent Hereſy, *which has domineer'd over a great part of the Northern World a long Time: There never were ſuch Hopes of Succeſs ſince the Death of our Queen* Mary, *as now in our Days.* And again he ſays, *The Oppoſition we are ſure to meet with, is alſo like to be great, ſo that it imports us to get all the*

Aid

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Aid and Aſſiſtance we can, for the Harveſt is great, and the Labourers but few. Theſe were dangerous Paſſages that had great Effect at this critical Juncture; tho' in all the Letters, there was nothing found that look'd like taking off the King, or making uſe of any Foreign Power, beſides that of Money, of which the largeſt Sum that ever was propos'd to the Confeſſor, was Three hundred thouſand Pounds, and at other Times much leſs Sums. In ſhort, the criminal Part of the Letters, excepting the promoting his Religion, bore no ſort of Reſemblance or Compariſon with thoſe Matters charg'd upon the Writer by *Oates* and *Bedloe*.

His Defence.

The Priſoner's Defence he made for himſelf, conſiſted of theſe Particulars. ‘ 1. That *Oates*, who now pretended ſuch *Acquaintance* with him, de- ‘ clared before the King and Council, *That he never ſaw him before*, or ‘ *did not know him.*' To which the other anſwer'd, ‘ That it being by ‘ Candle-Light, and his Sight weak, and *Coleman* alter'd in Habit and ‘ Wig, he did at firſt ſay *he cou'd not ſwear that was the Man*, or that ‘ *he had ever ſeen him before*; but as ſoon as he heard him ſpeak, he knew ‘ him well, and cou'd have then ſworn it, had it been demanded. 2. That ‘ had the Things now alledg'd by *Oates* been true, he wou'd have charg'd ‘ the ſame before the Council: But then he only charg'd him with a Let- ‘ ter, and ſuch ſlender Matters, that the Council was ready to let him go ‘ at large; and therefore all the reſt muſt be invented ſince. To this ‘ *Oates* reply'd, That he was then ſo weak and weary, he cou'd not well ‘ tell what he ſaid; beſides his Deſign was then to lay no more to his ‘ Charge than might ſerve for Information, *&c.* 3. Whereas *Oates* charg- ‘ ed him with conſenting to *Wakeman*'s Poyſoning of the King, and that ‘ it was conſulted by him in *Auguſt*, and as he remember'd about the ‘ 21ſt Day, *Coleman* alledg'd, that he was then in *Warwickſhire*, and one ‘ of his Men and He were there all *Auguſt*, as he thought, but was not ‘ ſure of it, and after Conviction, he offer'd a Book that would ſhew he ‘ was out of Town from the 18th, to the 31ſt of *Auguſt:* But this was no Evidence in it ſelf, and offer'd too late, ſo it did not contradict *Oates*, who was not poſitive to the Day, but only to the Month. As to what was ſworn by *Bedloe*, he made no other Anſwer than a Solemn Aſſeve- ration *that he never ſaw the Man in his Life.* But as to his Papers, which he did not deny, he alledg'd, ‘ There was no *Treaſon* in them, ‘ tho' very *Extravagant Expreſſions*; and that it would plainly appear ‘ from them, that his Deſign was ſo far from killing the King, that it was ‘ only *to make the King and Duke as Great as cou'd be.*' In the Conclu- ſion of his Defence, he us'd theſe Words, as he had in effect before; *I poſitively ſay, and upon my Salvation, I never ſaw theſe Witneſſes,* Oates *but once, and* Bedloe *never before.*

He is Caſt.

Then the Jury went out, and after ſome Time return'd, and brought him in Guilty of Treaſon; and the next Day he was again brought to the Bar, and there receiv'd Sentence: Before which paſs'd, the Lord Chief Juſtice made a ſolemn and affecting Speech to him; in which he warmly urg'd him, as the only Satisfaction he cou'd make to the Nation, publick- ly to confeſs all that he knew; and further ſaid, *Were I in your Caſe, there ſhould be nothing at the bottom of my Heart that I wou'd not diſ- cloſe; as your Offence is Publick, ſo ought your Confeſſion to be. Per- chance you may be deluded with the fond Hopes of having your Sentence reſpited: Truſt not to it Mr.* Coleman; *you may be flatter'd to ſtop your Mouth, till they have ſtopt your Breath, and I doubt you will find that to be the Event.* After a further Diſcourſe, he ſaid thus, *We are at this Time in ſuch Diſorders, and the People ſo continually allarm'd either with ſecret Murthers, or ſome Outrages and Violences that are at this*

The Lord C. Juſtice's Diſ- courſe with him.

Day

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Day on foot, that tho' the King, who is merciful almoſt to a Fault, ſhou'd be inclin'd that Way, I verily believe both Houſes of Parliament would interpoſe between That and You. In Anſwer to this and much more, the Priſoner made a very moving Oration to his Lordſhip, in which he particularly ſaid, *Your Lordſhip moſt Chriſtian-like, hath obſerv'd, That* Confeſſion *is extream neceſſary to a dying Man, and I do ſo too; but that Confeſſion your Lordſhip I ſuppoſe means, is of a* Guilty Evil Conſcience *in any of thoſe Points I am condemn'd for,* of maliciouſly contriving, &c. *If I thought I had any ſuch Guilt, I ſhould aſſuredly think my ſelf damn'd, now I am going out of the World, by* Concealing *them in ſpite, of all* Pardons *or* Indulgences, *or any* Act *that the* Pope, *or the Church of* Rome *cou'd do for me, as I believe any one Article of Faith. Therefore pray hear the Words of a Dying Man! I have made a Reſolution, I thank God, not to tell a Lye, no not a ſingle Lye, not to ſave my Life. I hope God will not ſo far leave me as to let me do it; and I do renounce all manner of Mercy that God can ſhew me, if I have not told the Houſe of Commons, all that I know in my whole Heart towards this Buſineſs; and I never in all my Life either made any Propoſition towards the Supplanting and Invading the King's Life, Crown, or Dignity, or to make any Invaſion or Diſturbance to introduce any new Government, or to bring in Popery by any Violence or Force in the World.— I do confeſs I am guilty of many common Crimes; but in matters of this Nature that I now ſtand condemn'd for, tho' I do not at all complain of the Court; for I do confeſs I have had all the fair Play imaginable; but I ſay as to any Act of mine. ſo far as Acts require Intention to make them Acts, as all Human Acts do, I am as innocent of any Crime that I now ſtand charg'd as guilty of, as when I was firſt born.* Upon this the Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, *That is not poſſible!* The Priſoner anſwer'd, *With Submiſſion, I do not ſay* Innocent *as to any Crime in going againſt any Act of Parliament, then it is a Crime to hear* Maſs, *or to do any Act that they prohibit, but for intending and endeavouring to bring in that Religion by the Aid and Aſſiſtance of the King of* France, *I never intended or meant by that Aid and Aſſiſtance, any Force in the World, but ſuch Aid and Aſſiſtance as might procure us* LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

After this the Lord Chief Juſtice ſolemnly urg'd him to declare Whether his Correſpondence and Negotiations did continue longer than the Letters that were found, that is after 1675, *not having diſcover'd one Paper, but what was found unknown to him, and againſt his Will.* He anſwer'd, *Upon the Words of a dying Man, and upon the Expectation I have of Salvation, I tell your Lordſhip, that there is not a Book nor Paper in the World, that I have laid aſide voluntarily. No?* ſaid his Lordſhip, *Perhaps you have burnt them.* The other vehemently reply'd, *Not, by the* LIVING GOD! And ſo he perſiſted againſt all Examinations to the Day of his Death, which was upon the 3d of *December*, when he was drawn upon a Sledge from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; and being come thither, he declared, *That he had been a* Roman Catholick *for many Years; and that he thank'd God, he dy'd in that Religion:* And he further declar'd, *He did not think that Religion at all prejudicial to the King and Government.* The Sheriff told him, *if he had any Thing to ſay by Way of Confeſſion or Contrition, he might proceed; otherwiſe it was not reaſonable for him to go on with ſuch like Expreſſions.* And being ask'd if he knew any Thing of the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, he declar'd, *upon the Words of a Dying Man, he knew not any Thing of it; and he was a Priſoner at that Time.* Then after ſome private Prayers and Ejaculations to himſelf, he was hang'd and quarter'd, but his Quarters were granted to his Friends to be bury'd. It was the Opinion of ſome that beheld him

His Execution.

him as he was drawn along, or while he was ſpeaking or praying at *Tyburn*, that he was ſomewhat diſturb'd in his Thoughts, or under ſome Expectations of a Reprieve: And it was confidently reported, that he ſhou'd ſay that Day, with great Paſſion, *There is no Faith in Man!* But as to the laſt, *H. Care* tells us that Enquiry was made, and no credible Perſons appear'd to teſtify that they heard the Words ſpoken; ſo that it ought to paſs only as a common Rumour, deſign'd for a particular Reflection upon the Duke of *York*. 1678. Car. 30 Ref. 19

3. When the two great Diſcoverers, *Oates* and *Bedloe*, had once drawn Blood, they aſſum'd new Courage, and became more formidable to the *Romiſh* Party, and more eſtimable to the Other. They were all along ſupported by great Numbers of both Houſes of Parliament, with different Intentions; and particularly the Lords, to ſhew their Zeal, by an Addreſs obtain'd a new Proclamation from the King, which was iſſu'd out the ſame Day that Mr. *Coleman* was try'd, which in theſe Words did Declare, 'Upon the humble Requeſt of the Lords Spiritual and Tempo-
'ral, That if any Perſon or Perſons ſhall before the twenty fifth Day of
'*December* next, make any further Diſcovery of the late *Horrid Deſign*
'*againſt his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Government*, to one of his Ma-
'jeſty's Principal Secretaries of State; He or They, making ſuch Diſ-
'covery, ſhall not only receive from his Majeſty, for every ſuch Diſco
'very, the Reward of Two Hundred Pounds, to be immediately paid
'upon due Proof of the Truth thereof; but if He or They were a Prin-
'cipal, or Principals in the ſaid Deſign, or guilty of the former Conceal-
'ment thereof, He or They ſhall have his Majeſty's Gracious Pardon for
'ſuch His or Their reſpective Offence.

A Proclamation to encourage further Diſcoveries.

This gave new Incouragement to every bold Diſcoverer; and the ſame Evening, *Oates* and *Bedloe*, having juſt before overthrown *Coleman*, proceeded ſo far as to accuſe the Queen her Self, before the Privy Council. *Bedloe* ſwore 'That about the latter End of *April* was a Twelve-month,
'about Six in the Afternoon, there was a Conſult held in the *Chappel*
'*Gallery* at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where were preſent the Lord *Bellaſis*,
'Mr. *Coleman*, *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, *Latham* and *Sheldon*, and two
'*French* Men in Orders, whom he took for *Abbots*, and two other Per-
'ſons of Quality, but did not ſee their Faces, and Others: Amongſt
'them, the Queen: And further that *Coleman* and *Pritchard* told him,
'That after the Conſult the Queen wept at what was propos'd there, but
'was over-perſwaded to Conſent, by the Strength of the two *French* Mens
'Arguments. That he was below walking in the Chappel in the Time
'of the Conſult, with others, *&c.* The Queen came through the Room
'where the Prieſts dreſs'd themſelves, and that he then obſerv'd ſome
'Alteration in her Majeſty's Countenance.' *Oates* back'd this with another Story, which he Swore before the Council, namely, 'In the Month
'of *July*, this preſent Year, Sir *George Wakeman*, in a Letter to *Aſhby*
'the Jeſuit, did write, *That the Queen wou'd aſſiſt him to Poyſon the*
'*King*. That a few Days after, Father *Harcourt*, and four other Jeſuits
'did go to attend the Queen at *Somerſet-Houſe*, being ſent for, and He
'himſelf waited upon them; and they went into a Chamber, and while
'he waited without, he heard a Woman's Voice, which did ſay, *That*
'*ſhe wou'd not endure the Violations of her Bed, and that ſhe wou'd aſſiſt*
'*Sir* George Wakeman *in Poyſoning the King*; and that he was after-
'wards admitted in, and that he ſaw no other Woman there but her
'Majeſty; and he heard, while he was within, the ſame Voice ask Fa-
'ther *Harcourt*, *If he had receiv'd the laſt Thouſand Pound?*

Bedloe *and* Oates *accuſe the Queen.*

This

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The House of Commons enraged.

This surprizing Evidence threw the Parliament into a new Flame, and the very next Day the House of Commons drew up the following Address to the King; 'We your Majesty's most Dutiful Subjects, *&c.* having receiv'd Information by several Witnesses [*Oates* and *Bedloe*] of a most Desperate and Trayterous *Design* and *Conspiracy* against the Life of your Sacred Majesty, wherein, to our great Astonishment, the QUEEN is particularly charg'd and accus'd: In Discharge of our Allegiance, and out of our Affections and Care for the Preservation of your Majesty's Sacred Person, and consequently, of the whole Kingdom, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, That the *Queen*, and all her *Family*, and all *Papists* and *Reputed Papists*, be forthwith remov'd from your Majesty's Court at *White-Hall*.' Immediately after, they came to this grand Resolve, *That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, That all* Papists *and* Suspected Papists, *within the several Counties of* England *and* Wales, *and the Town of* Berwick *upon* Tweed, *may be Apprehended and Secured.* But the King himself was so disoblig'd at *Oates*'s insolent Behaviour, that he immediately order'd a stricter Guard upon him than ever; which occasion'd the Commons, the Day after, to order an Address to his Majesty, 'That the said *Oates* be freed from his 'Restraint, attended by his own Servants, and that a competent Allowance be appointed for his Maintenance.' And thus there appear'd a struggle between the King and the Commons; but the Latter, resolving to make sure of the Offenders of the highest Rank, who were appointed to be try'd the common Way, came to this Determination on the 5th of *December*, 'That the House do proceed by Way of Impeachment of 'High-Treason, *&c.* against the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, Lord *Powis*, 'Lord *Petre*, Lord *Bellasis*, and Viscount *Stafford*.' Accordingly, the next Day they did Impeach the said Lords, at the Bar of the House of Peers; but the Articles were not exhibited against them this Parliament, and the Matter was reassum'd by another House of Commons.

They impeach several Lords.

The Tryals of Ireland, Pickering, *and* Grove.

4. In the mean Time *Oates* and *Bedloe* fell into further Business, by means of the Tryal of Three Persons at one Time, *William Ireland*, and *Thomas Pickering*, both Priests, and *John Grove*, a Lay Brother. These were arraign'd on the 17th of *December* at the *Old Bayly*, together with *Thomas Whitebread* and *John Fenwick*, two Jesuits; but in the Course of the Evidence, there not appearing sufficient Proof against the two last, the Jury was discharg'd of them, and they reserv'd for another Time. The Three first were Indicted for High Treason, and that of the most odious Nature, as being actively concern'd in Carrying on the General Plot for Subversion of the Government, but more especially for the Horrid Design *to Murther his Majesty's Person*; *Ireland*, for contriving and consenting to it; and *Pickering* and *Grove*, for having undertaken, and actually attempted to effect it.

Oates's Evidence.

The Sum of *Oates*'s Evidence against the Prisoners, waving some Generals already mention'd, was 1. 'That at the Grand Consult of *April* 24. 'at the *White-Horse* in the *Strand*, whereof *Ireland* was one; It was re'solv'd that *Pickering* and *Grove*, as having been formerly engag'd, shou'd 'go on in their Design and Attempt to Murther the King; and that *Grove* 'being a Lay-man, shou'd have fifteen Hundred Pound for his Reward; 'and *Pickering*, being a Priest, Thirty Thousand Masses, which at twelve 'Pence a Mass amounted to that Sum. 2. That this Resolve was the 'same Day drawn up in Writing by one *Mico*, that was Secretary to the 'Society, and Companion to Provincial *Whitebread*, at the said *White*'bread*'s Chamber, who having sign'd it, it was carry'd by the Deponent

'*Oates*,

'*Oates*, as being a Meſſenger to the Conſult, to be ſign'd by the reſt of 1678.
'the Colloquies; and that *Ireland* in his own Chamber did ſign it in his Car. 30
'Preſence. 3. *Pickering* and *Grove* conſented to ſuch Reſolve, ac- Reſ. 19
'cepted the Terms, and alſo ſign'd it the ſame Day, at the ſaid *White-*
'*bread*'s Chamber, at Mrs. *Sanders*'s at *Wild-Houſe*, where in a little
'Chappel, they and about forty or fifty of the Conſulters heard Maſs,
'and receiv'd the Sacrament, adminiſter'd by one *Barton*, a Jeſuit; and
'thereupon took an Oath of Secrecy upon a Maſs Book which *Mico*
'held, while *Whitebread* pronounc'd the Words. 4. That in purſuance
'of this Reſolve, the Deponent did ſeveral Times ſee *Pickering* and *Grove*
'walk in the Park together, with Screw'd Piſtols, longer than ordinary Piſtols,
'and ſhorter than ſome Carbines: That they had Silver Bullets to ſhoot
'with; and that *Grove* wou'd have had the Bullets champt, to render
'the Wound incurable; and that he ſaw *Grove*'s Bullets in *May*, and
'*Pickering*'s in *Auguſt*. Moreover, 5. That, before the Conſult, in the
'Month of *March*, *Pickering* had a fair Opportunity to ſhoot the King,
'but the Flint of his Piſtol happen'd to be looſe, and he durſt not venture
'to give Fire; and becauſe by their Negligence this Opportunity was
'miſs'd, *Pickering* underwent *Penance*, and had twenty or thirty Strokes
'of *Diſcipline*, and *Grove* was chidden for his Careleſneſs, as the Depo-
'nent had ſeen in *Whitebread*'s Letters. 6. That *Grove* did go about
'with one *Smith* to gather *Peter-Pence*, either to carry on the Deſign,
'or to ſend to *Rome:* That he ſaw the Book wherein it was enter'd, and
'heard the ſaid *Grove* ſay *he had been gathering it.*

2. Bedloe's Evidence.

Bedloe was the ſecond Evidence, who *now* ſwore, '1. That he was
'imploy'd for the Space of five Years as a Meſſenger, by the Conſpira-
'tors, for Carrying their Letters to their Confederates beyond the Seas,
'and bringing others back, all or moſt of them relating to the *Plot*; for
'he had a Way to open and read them, by which he fully inform'd him-
'ſelf of thoſe Matters: And for the *Nature* of the *Plot*, he heard ſome
'of the Conſpirators ſay, *That they wou'd not leave any Member of a*
'Heretick *in* England, *that ſhou'd ſurvive to tell hereafter, That there*
'*ever was any ſuch Religion as the* Proteſtant. And to confirm his In-
'timacy with them, he ſwore the Manner of his coming firſt to be im-
'ploy'd by them; by means of the Lady Abbeſs of the *Engliſh* Nunnery
'at *Dunkirk*, who, having kept him ſix Weeks in her Convent, recom-
'mended him to Sir *John Warner*, as a proper Inſtrument, who after-
'wards ſent him to Father *Harcourt* to be inſtructed.' And as a further
Confirmation, he brought his Brother *James Bedloe*, who ſwore he knew
nothing of the *Plot*, but did teſtify, 'That he had heard the Priſoners
'often named, as being of his Brother's Acquaintance; and that he had
'on his Brother's Behalf, receiv'd ſeveral Sums of Money from Prieſts
'and Jeſuits, as fifty or ſixty Pounds at a Time. 2. That about the lat-
'ter End of *Auguſt*, this Year, at Mr. *Harcourt*'s Chamber, he met the
'Priſoners, *Ireland*, *Pickering* and *Grove*, with ſome others, where he
'heard them diſcourſe, That ſince the four *Iriſh* Ruffians had miſs'd of
'Killing the King at *Windſor*, *Pickering* and *Grove* ſhou'd go on in their
'Deſign, and that one *Conyers*, a *Benedictine* Monk, was to be joyn'd
'with them; and that they ſhou'd endeavour to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty
'in his Morning Walk at *New-Market:* That they were zealous in the
'Matter; and Mr. *Grove*, more forward than the reſt, ſaid, *Since it cou'd*
'*not be done Clandeſtinely, it ſhou'd be attempted Openly, and that thoſe*
'*that ſhou'd fall in the Attempt, had the Glory to dye in a good Cauſe;*
'*but if it were diſcover'd, the Diſcovery wou'd never reach ſo far, but*
'*their Party wou'd be ſtrong enough to accompliſh their Work.* 3. He
'ſwore that *Harcourt* told him, *Grove* was to have fifteen Hundred

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Pounds, and *Pickering* as many Maſſes, as at twelve Pence a Maſs, came to the like Sum. 4. That at the ſame Time, when the Diſcourſe about Killing the King was at *Harcourt*'s Chamber, there was likewiſe a Deſign concerted amongſt them of Killing ſeveral Noble Perſons, and the particular Parts aſſign'd to every one; as *Knight*, to kill the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; *Prichard*, the Duke of *Buckingham*; *Oneile*, the Earl of *Oſſory*; *Obrian*, the Duke of *Ormond*, &c.

The Defence of the Priſoners.

The Priſoners Defence againſt all this, was, 1. 'A peremptory Denial of the whole: *Grove* particularly ſaid, *as I have a Soul to be ſav'd, I know nothing of this Matter charg'd upon me.* *Pickering* affirm'd, *That he never ſhot off a Piſtol in his Life.* And *Whitebread*, who was there during the Tryal, declar'd *before Almighty God, That* Oates *had not ſpoken three Words of Truth.* 2. A particular Denyal of their Knowledge of, or Acquaintance with the Witneſſes: *Ireland* deny'd, That he ever ſaw *Bedloe* before that Time in the Court, and challeng'd him to produce one Witneſs that he had ever ſpoken to him. *Pickering* affirm'd that he never ſaw *Oates* before; and offer'd to ſwear, that he never was in *Bedloe*'s Company. And *Grove* deny'd that he had ſcarce any Acquaintance with *Oates*.' Whereupon *Oates* gave him a remarkable Token, *viz.* 'That in *December* laſt, when he was with him, he own'd, *that he and three* Iriſhmen *had fired* Southwark; *and that they had a Thouſand Pounds given them for it*; *whereof he had Four Hundred Pounds, and the reſt Two Hundred Pounds a-piece.* 3. *Ireland*, againſt *Bedloe*'s Evidence, affirm'd, He was not in *London* the whole Month of *Auguſt*, and part of *September*; and offer'd to prove by twenty Witneſſes, that he was in *Staffordſhire* and *Cheſhire* all that Time; and urg'd *Bedloe* to name the Place and the Company whereever they were together. But not only *Bedloe* ſwore the contrary, but likewiſe *Oates* himſelf; but what ſeem'd more important, one *Sarah Pain*, formerly a Servant to *Grove*, ſwore, that ſhe ſaw Mr. *Ireland* at a Scrivener's Door in *Fetter-Lane*, about the 12th or 13th of *Auguſt*. 4. *Ireland*, as well as *Whitebread*, objected againſt the Grand Conſult of *April* 24th, that Hundreds could prove that *Oates* was at St. *Omers* all the Months of *April* and *May*; and offer'd to produce a Certificate from thence, under the Seal of the College.' But ſuch Certificate was not allow'd as Evidence by the Law of *England*. Laſtly, They endeavour'd to blaſt the Reputation of Dr. *Oates*, to prove him Perjur'd, *&c.* but their Witneſſes at this Time were ſo tender and fearful, that they were of little Service.

The Lord Chief Juſtice's Speech.

After this, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs* proceeded to Sum up the Evidence; and in his Speech to the Jury, among many others, ſpeaking of the Popiſh Prieſts and their Religion, had theſe remarkable Expreſſions; *If they had not murther'd Kings, I would not ſay they wou'd have done Ours: But when it hath been their* Practice *ſo to do*; *when they have debauch'd Men's* Underſtandings, *over-turn'd all* Morals, *and deſtroy'd all* Divinity; *what ſhall I ſay of Them? When their* Humility *is ſuch, that they tread upon the Necks of Emperors*; *their* Charity *ſuch, as to kill Princes*; *and their Vows of* Poverty *ſuch, as to covet Kingdoms*; *what ſhall I judge of them? When they have* Licenſes *to Lye, and* Indulgences *for Falſhood*; *nay, when they can make him a* Saint *that dies in One, and then Pray to him*; *as the Carpenter firſt makes an* Image, *and then worſhips it*; *and can then think to bring in that* Wooden Religion *of theirs amongſt us in this Nation*; *What ſhall I think of them? what ſhall I ſay to them? what ſhall I do with them? They eat their* God; *they kill their* King, *and Saint the* Murderer: *They indulge all ſorts of Sins, and no Human Bonds can hold them.* And not to be defective in this ſort of Rhetorick, the Recorder, Sir

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Sir George Jeffery's Speech

Sir *George Jefferys*, in a long Speech when he paſſed Sentence upon the Priſoners, had theſe Expreſſions; *You muſt e'er long appear before a Great Tribunal, where your Maſſes will not ſignify ſo many Groats to you; no, not one Farthing: I muſt ſay it for the ſake of thoſe ſilly People whom you have impos'd upon with ſuch Fallacies, that the Maſſes can no more ſave you from a future Damnation, than they do from a preſent Condemnation.* In another Place, he adviſ'd them *not to rely upon their Maſſes, Tricks, or Trumperys*; and afterwards proceeded thus: *I am ſorry with all my Soul to hear a Layman ſhould with ſo much Malice declare,* That a Bullet, if round and ſmooth, was not ſafe enough to execute his Villanies by: *But he muſt be ſure, not only to ſet his poiſonous Invention on work about it, but he muſt add thereto his poiſonous Teeth; for fear if the Bullet were ſmooth, it might light in ſome Part where the Wound might be cured. But ſuch is the Height of ſome Men's Malice, that they will put all the Venome and Malice they can into their Actions. I am ſure this was ſo horrid a Deſign, that nothing but a Conclave of Devils in Hell, or a College of ſuch Jeſuits as yours on Earth, could have thought upon.* In Concluſion, he Sentenc'd them to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd.

But there being a Delay of their Execution, on the 26th of *December*, the Houſe of Commons order'd the ſaid Recorder to attend, and give the Houſe an Account why he did not iſſue out his Warrant to execute them. And being call'd on again the next Day, he inform'd the Houſe, that he had not yet receiv'd any Orders from the King for their Execution; which Anſwer ſeem'd very unſatisfactory to ſome Members, but the Debate of that Matter was adjourn'd. They were reſpited till the 24th of *January*, the Day that the Parliament was diſſolv'd, when *William Ireland* and *John Grove* ſuffer'd according to Sentence, at the common Place of Execution. But the latter, *Thomas Pickering*, whether to induce him to a Confeſſion, or for what other Reaſons, it appears not, was kept a conſiderable Time afterwards; but at laſt he was likewiſe executed on the 9th of *May*. It is obſervable, that He, and the other two before him, perpetually deny'd their Crimes, and inſiſted upon their Innocence to the laſt Moment of their Lives. And it is further to be remember'd, that it was chiefly upon the Tryal of theſe Three, that *Oates* was afterwards convicted of Perjury: In which, two and twenty Witneſſes prov'd that *Oates* was actually at St. *Omers* during the grand Conſult he ſwore to; and above Forty teſtify'd, that *Ireland* was in *Staffordſhire*, when *Oates* ſwore he was at *London*.

The Priſoners executed.

Leeds. Mountagu. Temple. Rot. Parl. Wright. Wood. Langbain.

IV. 1. While the two Houſes of Parliament were buſily employ'd, and warmly upon the Scent of the *Popiſh Plot*, they were of a ſudden diverted, and thrown into a new Flame by an unexpected Event that appear'd at this Time. The Cauſe of it was from a long Deſign laid to overthrow the prime Miniſter of State, the Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, whoſe Endeavours to bring the King out of thoſe deſtructive Methods he had been led into by the *Cabal*, and the *French* Intereſt, and his rejecting many Offers of *France* with a generous Indignation, had given ſuch a Diſtaſte to that Court, that it became a Maxim amongſt them, *That he muſt be ruin'd before they could do any good in* England. To effect this, Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, found it the beſt way to joyn with one Party in the Parliament; and young *Ruvigny* was ſent over from *France* purpoſely to manage with the Lord *Ruſſel*, and other Malecontents in the Houſe of Commons; while the Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *Eſſex*, and others of the ſame Party, joyn'd with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, to leſſen his Reputation with the King;

Deſigns againſt the Lord Treaſurer Danby.

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who had already been diſpleas'd with him for giving ſo much Countenance to the Plot. Theſe ſeeming ſeparate Intereſts being thus combin'd, and devoted to his Deſtruction, there wanted only a fair Opportunity to accompliſh it; and this was effected by means of the honourable *Ralph Mountagu*, formerly mention'd, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in the *French* Court, a Perſon of great Parts and Subtlety, who had been for ſome time projecting and obtaining *French* Money for his *Britannick* Majeſty. But that part of his Employment being, or ſeeming to be at an end by the approaching Peace, he was deſirous to come over, and be one of the Secretaries of State; in which he was civilly oppos'd by his old Friend the Lord Treaſurer, who had been particularly engag'd to bring in Sir *William Temple*. Whereupon he came privately over into *England*, without the King's Conſent or Knowledge; and not only got himſelf choſen into the Houſe of Commons, for *Northampton*, but ſecretly joyn'd himſelf with *Barillon*, and the diſcontented Members, and ſeem'd to wait for the firſt Occaſion to expoſe his Maſter's Secrets, and to defeat his Prime Miniſter; which thus preſented it ſelf.

The King, who began highly to diſlike his Proceedings, receiv'd ſuch kind of Intelligence from Mr. *Olivecrans*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, that on the 19th of *December*, he ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, 'That upon Information, That Mr. *Mountagu*, a Member of that Houſe, 'and late Ambaſſador in *France*, had held ſeveral Conferences with the 'Pope's *Nuncio* there, without any Directions or Inſtructions from his Maje-'ſty; His Majeſty, to the end that he might know the Truth of that Matter, 'had given Orders for the ſeizing Mr. *Mountagu*'s Papers.' The Houſe now looking upon this Gentleman as a Proſelyte, ſeem'd ſullen at the Meſſage, and particularly deſired to know *Whether the Information was upon Oath, and of what Nature the Offence was?* Upon which Mr. *Mountagu* ſtanding up, took the Opportunity to acquaint the Houſe, 'That 'he had in his Cuſtody ſeveral Papers, which he conceiv'd might tend 'very much to the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Preſervation 'of the Kingdom.' A Committee was immediately appointed to bring the Writings to the Houſe; which being accordingly done, and Mr. *Mountagu* order'd to ſelect ſuch of them as he thought for the Service of the Houſe, and diſpoſe of the reſt as he pleas'd, he produc'd two Letters out of many others, both ſubſcrib'd *Danby*, and both written to him when he was Ambaſſador at *Paris*.

Mr. Mountagu *acc ſes him to the Commons.*

The firſt was dated at *London*, *January* 17, 167⅞, in which they took Notice of theſe Words: *Yeſterday young* Ruvigny *came to me with Monſieur* Barillon, *(having given me his Father's Letters the Day before) and diſcours'd much upon the Confidence the* French *King hath of the Firmneſs of Ours to Him; of the good Opinion his Maſter hath of Me; of his King's Reſolution to condeſcend to any Thing that is not infamous to him, for the Satisfaction of our King; How certainly our King may depend upon all Aſſiſtances and Supplies from his Maſter, in caſe the Friendſhip be preſerv'd.— The main of their Drift was, to engage me to prevail with the Prince of* Orange, *as to the Town of* Tournay.—*The King muſt come to ſome Declaration of his Mind to the Parliament when it meets. That which makes the Hopes of Peace leſs probable, is, That the Duke grows every Day leſs inclin'd to it, and has created a greater Indifferency in the King than I cou'd have imagin'd; which being added to the* French *King's Reſolutions, not to part with* Tournay, *does, I confeſs, make me deſpair of any Accommodation: Nevertheleſs, I am aſſured, That one principal Cauſe of this Adjournment for Thirteen Days, has been to ſee if any Expedient for the Peace cou'd have been found in that Time; and the Effect of the Adjournment hath hitherto been, That no Body will now believe*

Two of his Letters produc'd.

believe other than that the Peace is already concluded between Us and France. 1678.
The Second Letter produc'd by Mr. *Mountagu*, was dated, *London, March* 25, 1678, in which were mark'd out theſe Words: *In caſe the Conditions of the Peace ſhall be accepted, the King expects to have Six Millions of* Livres *a Year, for Three Years, from the Time that this Agreement ſhall be ſign'd betwixt his Majeſty and the King of* France; *becauſe it will probably be two or three Years before the Parliament will be in Humour to give him any Supplies after the making any Peace with* France; *and the Ambaſſador here has always agreed to that Sum, but not for ſo long a Time. If you find the Peace will not be accepted, you are not to mention the Money at all; and all poſſible Care muſt be taken to have this whole Negotiation as private as is poſſible, for fear of giving Offence at Home; where, for the moſt Part, we hear in ten Days after of any Thing that is communicated to the* French *Miniſter.* At the bottom of this Letter are theſe Words: THIS LETTER IS WRIT BY MY ORDER. C. R. Car. 30 Reſ. 19.

Upon reading of theſe Letters, the Houſe was all in a Flame, which was no ways allay'd by the King's own Hand that appear'd at the Bottom; and now having gain'd the deſir'd Opportunity, they immediately Reſolv'd, 'That there was ſufficient Matter of Impeachment againſt '*Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*;' and within two Days, by the Help of Mr. *Mountagu* and Mr. *Harbord*, Articles of Impeachment were fully drawn up, and agreed on, as following: 'I. That 'he hath traiterouſly incroach'd to himſelf Regal Power, by treating in 'Matters of Peace and War with Foreign Princes and Ambaſſadors, and 'giving Inſtructions to his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors abroad, without com-'municating the ſame to the Secretaries of State, and the reſt of his Ma-'jeſty's Council, *&c.* II. That he hath traiterouſly endeavour'd to ſub-'vert the ancient and well-eſtabliſh'd Form of Government; and inſtead 'thereof, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Way of Government; 'and the better to effect this his Purpoſe, he did deſign the Raiſing of 'an Army under Pretence of a War againſt the *French* King, and then 'to continue the ſame, as a Standing Army within this Kingdom: And 'an Army being ſo raiſed, and no War enſuing, an Act being paſs'd to Pay 'and Disband the ſame, he did continue the Army contrary to the ſaid 'Act, and miſapply'd the Money to the Continuance thereof, and wil-'fully neglected to take Security of the Paymaſters of the Army, as 'the ſaid Act required, *&c.* III. That he trayterouſly Intending and De-'ſigning to alienate the Hearts and Affections of his Majeſty's good Sub-'jects from his Royal Perſon and Government, and to hinder the Meet-'ings of Parliaments, and to deprive his Majeſty of their ſafe and whole-'ſom Counſel, did propoſe and negotiate a Peace for the *French* King, 'upon Terms diſadvantagious to the Intereſt of his Majeſty, and his 'Kingdoms; for the doing whereof, he endeavour'd to procure a great 'Sum of Money from the *French* King, for enabling him to maintain 'and carry on his ſaid traiterous Deſigns and Purpoſes. IV. That he is *Po-'piſhly* affected, and hath traiterouſly concealed (after he had notice) the 'late horrid and bloody Plot and Conſpiracy, contrived by the Papiſts, 'againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; and hath ſuppreſs'd the 'Evidence, and reproachfully diſcountenanc'd the King's Witneſſes in the 'Diſcovery of it, in favour of *Popery*, &c. V. That he hath waſted 'the King's Treaſure, by iſſuing out of his Majeſty's Exchequer ſeveral 'Branches of his Revenue for unneceſſary Penſions and ſecret Services, 'to the Value of 231602 Pounds, within two Years, *&c.* and he hath 'remov'd two of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners of that Part of the Re-'venue, for refuſing to conſent to ſuch his unwarrantable Actings there-in,

The Commons draw up Articles of Impeachment againſt him.

1678. Car. 30 Ref. 19 ‘ in, and to advance Money upon that Branch of the Revenue for pri-
‘ vate Uſes. VI. That he hath by indirect Means procur'd from his
‘ Majeſty to himſelf divers conſiderable Gifts and Grants of Inhe-
‘ ritance, of the ancient Revenue of the Crown, even contrary to Acts
‘ of Parliament.

2. The Lord-Treaſurer finding ſo great a Storm ready to fall upon him, and chiefly by the means of Mr. *Mountagu*, thought once to divert it by expoſing all that Gentleman's Letters, which, eſpecially in the Caſe of the *French* Money, muſt have render'd him much more obnoxious than himſelf. All this he found neceſſary in his own Defence, without he was ſufficiently protected by the King his Maſter; who, upon conſulting with him, thereupon offer'd him his Pardon, if Occaſion requir'd, to plead againſt the Impeachment; and he was particularly told by his Majeſty, *That he ow'd him more Duty than to expoſe his and his Ambaſſador's Letters of private Negotiations betwixt him and the King of* France; *and he was ſure he wou'd not be guilty of ſuch perfidious Baſeneſs to him, as* Mountagu *had been.* However, whether by Permiſſion or otherwiſe, the Treaſurer ſent two of Mr. *Mountagu*'s Letters to the Houſe of Commons, expecting they might turn to his Advantage. The firſt was dated *Paris, January* 11, 167⅞, in which were theſe Words, *I give you the beſt Light I can into the Reaſon of Monſieur* Ruvigny's *Son's Journey into* England, *who will be there perhaps as ſoon as this Letter. If his Father's Age wou'd have permitted it, I believe they wou'd have ſent him; for they have choſen the Son, who is to make uſe of Lights his Father will give him; and by the near Relation he has to my Lady* Vaughan, *who is his Couſin-German, and the particular Friendſhip which Father and Son have with Mr.* William Ruſſell, *he is to be introduc'd into a great Commerce with the Malecontented Members of Parliament, and inſinuate what they ſhall think fit, to croſs your Meaſures at Court, if they ſhall prove diſagreeable to them here, whilſt Monſieur* Barillon *goes on in his ſmooth Civil way.* The ſecond Letter, dated *Paris, January* 18, 167⅞, has theſe Words, after ſpeaking of young *Ruvigny*'s Journey: *His chief Errand is to let the King know,* ‘ *That the King of*
‘ France *did hope he was ſo firm to him, as not to be led away by the*
‘ *Grand-Treaſurer*; [Danby] *who was an ambitious Man, and, to keep*
‘ *himſelf with the People, wou'd gratify their Inclinations, by leading*
‘ *his Maſter into an unreaſonable War againſt* France.' *That as for Money,* ‘ *if he wanted that, he ſhou'd have what he wou'd from hence.*' *His Inſtructions are, if this does not take, by the means of* William Ruſſell, *and other diſcontented People, to give a great deal of Money, and croſs all your Meaſures at Court.*-----*Old* Ruvigny, *that values himſelf for knowing of* England, *has given it them for a Maxim,* ‘ *That they muſt*
‘ *diminiſh your Credit, before they can do any good*;' *But ſince their chief Quarrel to you is, the being ſo juſt to your Maſter's Intereſt, I am ſure he is too juſt to let them do you any hurt. If the King is for a War, you know what to do; if he hearkens to their Money, be pleas'd to let me know what they offer, and I dare anſwer to get our Maſter as much again; for* Barillon's *Orders are to make the Market as low as he can.*

Two of Mr. Mountagu's *Letters ſent to the Commons.*

The Lord-Treaſurer Impeached.

Theſe, when offer'd in the Earl's Vindication, were not ſuffer'd to be read; and the Commons purſu'd him with greater Eagerneſs than the five *Popiſh* Lords accus'd of the Plot. Inſomuch, that in two Days they both impeach'd him at the Bar of the Houſe of Peers, and ſent up the Articles by Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*, under the Title of *Articles of Impeachment of High-Treaſon, and other High Crimes, Miſdemeanors*, &c. Upon the reading of theſe, the Earl ſtood up

up in his own Juſtification, and made a formal Speech, of which the greateſt part is worthy to be preſerv'd. After a handſom Introduction he proceeded thus: ‘ *My Lords*, I know this is not the time for me to ‘ enter regularly upon my Defence, becauſe I know your Lordſhips will ‘ firſt order me a Copy of my Charge, and appoint me a time for my ‘ Vindication; when I doubt not to do it to the full Satisfaction of your ‘ Lordſhips and all the World. In the mean time I will only beg leave ‘ to obſerve to your Lordſhips, that thoſe Articles in this Charge which ‘ ſeem to have any thing of Treaſon in them, have their Anſwer ſo obvi- ‘ ous, that there is very little in them which may not be anſwer'd by ‘ many others, as well as my ſelf, and ſome of them by every Man in ‘ the Kingdom. The *Firſt*, which is the *Aſſuming of Regal Power*, I ‘ confeſs I do not underſtand; having never in my Life done any thing ‘ of great Moment, either at Home, or relating to Foreign Matters, for ‘ which I have not always had his Majeſty's Command. And tho' I am ‘ far from having been the moſt cautious Man in taking care of my own ‘ Security (which perhaps my great Innocence hath been the Cauſe of) ‘ yet I have not been ſo wanting of common Prudence, as in the moſt ‘ Material things not to have had his Majeſty's Orders and Directions ‘ under his own Hand, and particularly for the Letters now made uſe of ‘ againſt me. The *Second*, I think doth ſcarce need my giving any An- ‘ ſwer to; it being obvious, that the Army was no more rais'd by me, ‘ than by every Lord in this Houſe: And whoever is in that Station ‘ which I hold, muſt certainly be a Fool, to deſire any thing which ‘ creates a want of Money, eſpecially ſo great a one, as the Charge of ‘ an Army muſt neceſſarily and immediately produce. And for one part ‘ of the Article concerning the Pay-Maſter of the Army, it is in Fact o- ‘ therwiſe; for Security from the Pay-Maſter has been taken in Sum of ‘ Four hundred thouſand Pounds. The *Third* is of the ſame Nature with ‘ the Firſt, and comes from the ſame Foundation, which is, What a ‘ Gentleman hath thought to produce to the Houſe of Commons. I ‘ will not now cenſure his Actions, I think it will do enough for its ſelf; ‘ I will only ſay, that tho' I take it for one of the greateſt Misfortunes ‘ which can befall a Man, to lie under ſuch a Charge of the Houſe of ‘ Commons, yet I wou'd much ſooner chuſe to be under that Unhappi- ‘ neſs, than under his Circumſtances.

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His vindicat. & Speech to the Lords.

1.

2.

3.

‘ The *Fourth Article* is not only falſe in every Part of it, but it is not ‘ poſſible to believe it true, without my being the greateſt Fool on ‘ Earth, as well as the blackeſt Villain. For were I capable of ſuch ‘ Wickedneſs, yet the more wicked any Man is, the more he is car- ‘ ry'd to his own Intereſt; and is it poſſible any thing under Heaven ‘ can agree leſs with my Intereſt, than the Deſtruction of this King? ‘ Can I poſſibly hope to be better than I am? And is it not apparent, ‘ that there is not one Man living, whoſe Happineſs depends ſo much ‘ as mine upon the Preſervation of his Perſon? *My Lords*, I know ‘ there is not one Man in the World, that can in his Heart think ‘ me guilty of that part of the Article, if I ſhou'd ſay nothing to it. But ‘ beſides, I was ſo far from concealing this Helliſh Plot, that it is noto- ‘ rioufly known, his Majeſty ſent me the firſt Notice of it, together with ‘ forty three Heads of the *Information*, before I knew a Syllable of it ‘ from any body elſe: And it hath been own'd at the Bar of the Houſe ‘ of Commons by him, from whom only I had the Intelligence, *That he ‘ had all the Encouragement and Diſpatch from me, that I cou'd give ‘ him.* Beſides, when it was diſclos'd to the Council-Board, he told ‘ ſome of the Clerks of the Council, as he had done me divers times ‘ before, *That it wou'd have been much better, and more wou'd have been*

4.

‘ *diſ-*

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'*diſcover'd, if it had been longer kept private.* Beſides this, I had the 'Fortune to be particularly Inſtrumental in ſeizing Mr. *Coleman*'s Papers, 'without which Care, there had not one of them appear'd, and conſe-'quently, the beſt and moſt material *Evidence* which is yet of the Plot, 'had been wholly wanting. And certainly this is the firſt time that any 'Man was accus'd to be the *Concealer* of that Plot, whereof he hath 'been a principal Means of procuring the *Diſcovery*. For that part of 'the Article that ſays, I am *Popiſhly affected*, I thank God, that the 'contrary is ſo known to all the World, that even ſome of thoſe that 'voted againſt me, did own their Knowledge of the Falſity of that Al-'legation; and I hope I have through my whole Life given ſo good Te-'ſtimony of my Religion, both in my own Family, and by my Services 'to the Church, whenever it hath lain in my Power, that I ſhall not 'need much Vindication in that Particular: And I hope your Lordſhips 'will forgive me my Weakneſs, in telling you, that I have a younger 'Son in the Houſe of Commons, whom I ſhall love the better as long 'as I live, for moving to have that part of the Article to ſtand againſt 'me, *That by that Pattern it might appear, with what ſort of Zeal the 'Whole hath been carried to my Prejudice.*

5. 'The *Fifth Article* will, upon Examination, appear to be as ill-'grounded as any of the reſt; and I am ſorry I am able to give one Rea-'ſon, which is, That I have known no Treaſure in my time to waſte, 'having enter'd upon an empty Treaſury, and never ſeen one Farthing 'given to his Majeſty, in almoſt ſix Years, that hath not been appro-'priated to particular Uſes, and ſtrictly ſo apply'd by me, as the Acts 'have directed. And there hath not been one of thoſe Aids, which, 'inſtead of giving the King Money, hath not coſt him more out of 'his own Purſe to the ſame Uſes, as doth appear by the larger Dimen-'ſions of the new Ships, and ſo in other things: Inſomuch, that I take 'upon me the Vanity to ſay, that by the Payments I have made to the 'Navy and Seamen beyond former Times; the Paying off the greateſt 'part of the Debt which was ſtopt in the Exchequer before my Time; 'by my Punctuality in the Courſe of Payments, and by other things 'which I am able to ſhew, I doubt not to appear Meritorious, inſtead of 'being Criminal upon that Article. As to the *Sixth Article*, which men-6. 'tions my *Great Gettings*, I cannot deny but that I ſerve a Maſter, 'whoſe Goodneſs and Bounty hath been a great deal more to me than I 'have deſerv'd, and to whom I can never pay Gratitude enough by all the 'Services of my Life. But when the Particulars of thoſe Gettings ſhall 'appear, it will be found very contrary to what is ſuggeſted Abroad; 'and that in near ſix Years time in this great Place, I have not got half 'that, which many others have got in leſſer Places in half that time. And 'from the Examination of this, which I deſire may be ſeen, there will 'ariſe Matter to accuſe my Prudence, in not having done for my Family 'what juſtly I might, but nothing to arraign my Honour, my Conſci-'ence, or my faithful Service to the Crown.

'*My Lords*, if my Obedience to the King ſhall not be my Crime, I 'think nothing elſe will ſtick upon me from theſe *Articles:* For my own 'Heart flatters me to believe, That I have done Nothing but as a true '*Proteſtant*, and a faithful Servant both to my King and Country. Nay, 'I am as confident, as that now I ſpeak, that had I been either a *Papiſt*, 'or Friend to the *French*, I had not been now accus'd. For I have 'Reaſon to believe, That the principal Informer of the Houſe of Com-'mons hath been aſſiſted by *French* Advice to this Accuſation; and if 'that Gentleman were as Juſt to produce all he knows for me, as he hath 'been Malicious to ſhew what may be liable to Miſconſtruction againſt

'me,

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‘ me, or rather againſt the King, as indeed it is, no Man cou'd vindicate
‘ me more than Himſelf: Under whoſe Hand I have to ſhew, *how great an*
‘ *Enemy to* France *I am thought*; *how much I might have had to have been*
‘ *otherwiſe*; *and what he himſelf might have had for getting me to take it.*
‘ But I do not wonder this Gentleman will do me no Right, when he does
‘ not think fit to do it to his Majeſty, upon whom chiefly this Matter muſt
‘ reflect: Tho' he knows, as will appear under his Hand, *That the great-*
‘ *eſt Invitations to his Majeſty for having Money from* France, *have been*
‘ *made by Himſelf*; *That if his Majeſty wou'd have been tempted for*
‘ *Money, he might have ſold Towns for as much as if they had been his*
‘ *own, and the Money have been convey'd as privately as he pleaſed*; *That*
‘ *his Majeſty might have made Matches with* France, *if he wou'd have*
‘ *conſented to have given them Towns*; and yet, that the King hath al-
‘ ways ſcorn'd to yield the meaneſt Village, that was not agreed to by
‘ the *Spaniard* and *Hollander*. That Gentleman hath often pretended
‘ *how much his own Intereſt in* France *was diminiſh'd, only by being*
‘ *thought my Friend*. And beſides divers other Inſtances I have under
‘ his Hand to ſhew the Malice of the *French* Court againſt me, I ſent
‘ two of his Letters to the Houſe of Commons, which ſhew how Mon-
‘ ſieur *Ruvigny* was ſent hither on purpoſe to ruin Me; which I am well
‘ aſſur'd at this Time they wou'd rather ſee, than of any one Man in
‘ *England*. Beſides what that Gentleman cou'd ſay of this Kind, if he
‘ pleas'd, I hope his Majeſty will give me leave, in my Defence, to ſay in
‘ his Preſence, and in the Hearing of divers Lords, with whom I have
‘ the Honour to ſit in the Committee of Foreign Affairs, that, which
‘ were it not true, his Majeſty muſt think me the impudenteſt and worſt
‘ of Men to affirm before him, That ever ſince I had the Honour to
‘ ſerve his Majeſty to this Day, I have deliver'd it as my conſtant Opinion,
‘ *That* France *was the worſt Intereſt his Majeſty cou'd embrace*; *and that*
‘ *they were the Nation in the World from whom I did believe, he ought*
‘ *to apprehend the greateſt Danger*; *and who have both his* PERSON
‘ *and* GOVERNMENT *under the laſt Degree of Contempt. For*
‘ *which Reaſon alone, were there no other, I wou'd never adviſe his Ma-*
‘ *jeſty to truſt to their Friendſhip.*——

Upon the Debate of this grand Affair, we are told of a very peculiar Speech pronounc'd by the Earl of *Carnarvon*, a Lord, who is ſaid never to have ſpoken before in that Houſe; who having been heated with Wine, and more excited to diſplay his Abilities by the Duke of *Buckingham* (who meant no Favour to the Treaſurer, but only Ridicule) was reſolv'd before he went up, to ſpeak upon any Subject that ſhould offer it ſelf. Accordingly he ſtood up, and deliver'd himſelf to this Effect:

The Earl of Carnarvon's Speech.

‘ *My Lords*, I underſtand but little of *Latin*, but a good deal of *Eng-*
‘ *liſh*, and not a little of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory; from which I have learnt
‘ the Miſchiefs of ſuch Kind of Proſecutions as theſe, and the ill Fate of
‘ the Proſecutors. I cou'd bring many Inſtances, and thoſe very ancient;
‘ but, *my Lords*, I ſhall go no further back than the latter End of Queen
‘ *Elizabeth*'s Reign: At which Time the Earl of *Eſſex* was run down
‘ by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and your Lordſhips very well know what be-
‘ came of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. My Lord *Bacon*, he ran down Sir *Wal-*
‘ *ter Rawleigh*, and your Lordſhips know what became of my Lord *Ba-*
‘ *con*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, he ran down my Lord *Bacon*, and
‘ your Lordſhips know what happen'd to the Duke of *Buckingham*.
‘ Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, ran down the
‘ Duke of *Buckingham*, and you all know what became of Him. Sir
‘ *Harry Vane*, he ran down the Earl of *Strafford*, and your Lordſhips

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'know what became of Sir *Harry Vane*. Chancellor *Hyde*, he ran 'down Sir *Harry Vane*, and your Lordships know what became of the 'Chancellor. Sir *Thomas Osborn*, now Earl of *Danby*, ran down Chan- 'cellor *Hyde*; but what will become of the Earl of *Danby*, your Lord- 'ships best can tell. But let me see that Man that dare run the Earl of '*Danby* down, and we shall soon see what will become of Him.' This being pronounc'd with a remarkable Humour and Tone, the Duke of *Buckingham*, both surpriz'd and disappointed, after his Way, cry'd out *The Man is Inspir'd! and Claret has done the Business.*

However it was, the House cou'd not come to an Agreement to imprison the Earl, whose Cause was now the Discourse and Noise of the whole Town, and seem'd to labour under great Difficulties. The King himself was so disturb'd and perplex'd with these Proceedings, which confounded the Minds of all Men, that he resolv'd, as usually in such Cases, to put an End to the Session, before he had pass'd one Bill, besides that killing Act against the *Roman* Catholicks before-mention'd. Accordingly, on *Monday* the 30th of *December*, he came to the House of Lords, and declared in a Speech, *That it was with great Unwillingness that he came to tell them, that he intended to Prorogue them; that all of them were Witnesses, he had not been well us'd, the Particulars of which he wou'd acquaint them with at a more seasonable Time: In the mean time he wou'd immediately enter upon the* Disbanding the Army, *and do what Good he cou'd for the Kingdom, and Safety of Religion; and that he wou'd prosecute the Discovery of the* Popish Plot, *to find out the Instruments of it, and to take all the Care that was in his Power to secure the* Protestant Religion, *as was now by Law Establish'd.* And accordingly his Majesty was pleas'd to Prorogue the Parliament till the 4th Day of *February* next. And thus ended the Eighteenth and Last Session of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd the Space of two Months and nine Days. This was the most warm and busy Session of any that preceded it, both Houses were work'd into a Flame, and no Money was given to the King: The Commons indeed had prepar'd a Money Bill *For the Disbanding of the Army*, but had inserted a Clause for the Money to be paid into the Chamber of *London*; for which Reason the Lords totally rejected it; so that the Soldiers came over in Depth of Winter, and many of those brave Men, who had gain'd so much Glory at *Mons*, and other Places, against the *French*, miserably perish'd thro' Sickness, Want and Cold.

The King's Speech.

The End of Eighteenth Session of the Second Parliament.

3. For a Conclusion of the old Year, we are to take Notice of some Promotions, and Deaths, and some Matters of an inferior Nature. As to Honours and Preferments conferr'd this Year, on *July* 17, the Right Honourable *George* Lord *Berkely*, of *Berkely-Castle*, was sworn of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council: On *October* 18, the Earl of *Ailesbury* was admitted to the same Board; as was *James* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*, about two Months after. The Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Arran*, Son to his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*, was about the same time sworn one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber in Ordinary; 'Which Mark of his special 'Favour his Majesty was graciously pleas'd to confer upon him, in Con- 'sideration of the great and loyal Services of that Ancient and Noble Fa- 'mily.' Mr. Secretary *Williamson* having fallen into the high Displeasure of the House of Commons, not only for the Reason of his Commitment, but, as they thought, of his irregular Discharge, thought fit to resign his Place, and immediately after the Prorogation, his Majesty was pleas'd to constitute the Right Honourable *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland*, one of

Honours and Preferments.

The Earl of Sunderland *made Secretary.*

one of his principal Secretaries of State in the Room of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, who reſigning the Seals into his Majeſty's Hands, retir'd, and marry'd the Lord *O Brian*'s Widow, a rich Lady, in the Country. Sir *William Temple* was call'd over from *Holland* by the King, in order to take upon him this Office; who acquainted the Prince of *Orange*, and the *States*, with his Journey, and the Deſign of it. They made him Compliments upon that Occaſion, and intimated to him, That his Secretary's Place was to make amends for his being Ambaſſador; but Sir *William* ſaid to the Prince, *That tho' He muſt go, yet if he found the Scene to be what it appear'd at that Diſtance, he won'd not charge himſelf with that Employment, upon any Terms that cou'd be offer'd.* Whether Sir *William* did refuſe it, or whether it was never earneſtly offer'd to him, it is certain it was diſpos'd of before Sir *William*'s Return into *England*: And it was not long a Secret, that the Earl of *Sunderland* paid to Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* ſix Thouſand Pounds, and five Hundred Guineas, in Conſideration of his Surrender of the ſaid Place. The Earl of *Danby*, lying under the Weight of an Impeachment, tho' not Impriſonment, his Majeſty thought fit to diſmiſs him from the Office of Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*; and the Lord *Latimer*, his Son, having deliver'd the White-Staff into his Majeſty's Hands, the King was pleas'd to appoint the Right Honourable the Earl of *Eſſex*, *Lawrence Hyde*, Brother to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Sir *John Ernle*, Sir *Edward Deering*, and *Sidney Godolphin* Eſquire, to be Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury.

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The Earl of Danby *out, and the Treaſury in Commiſſion.*

In this Year we are to take Notice of ſome remarkable Crimes committed both by a Lay-Lord, and a Clergy-man. In the Beginning of it, the Earl of *Pembroke* was by the King's Command committed to the *Tower*, for Blaſphemy, Abuſe of the Celebration of the Sacrament, and other Miſdemeanors unfit to be nam'd, towards the Lord *North*'s Chaplain, and others: But not long after he was releas'd from his Impriſonment, upon the Hearing of his Caſe in the Houſe of Lords, who upon the ſame Declared and Adjudg'd, 'That the ſingle Teſtimony of a Commoner, altho' upon *Oath*, was not a ſufficient Evidence againſt a Peer, 'who deny'd the Fact upon *Honour*.' His Lordſhip not long after fell under the Accuſation of Murther, for which he abſconded for ſome Time; but in *April* he ſurrender'd himſelf to Sir *George Carteret*, Gentleman-Uſher of the Black-Rod, who immediately convey'd him to the *Tower*, in Order to bring him to his Tryal before the Houſe of Peers; and ſoon after he was brought thither by Sir *John Robinſon*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*; and after Eight Hours ſpent in the Formality of the Tryal, his Lordſhip was by the Votes of the major Part of the Peers then preſent declar'd, *Not Guilty of Murther*, but *Guilty of Man-Slaughter*; and had the Benefit of his Peerage allow'd him for the ſame by the Lord-Chancellor, who was High-Steward *pro hac Vice*, purſuant to the Priviledge granted to the Nobility in this Behalf, for their firſt Offence, made in the firſt Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth. The Clergy-man was Mr. *Robert Foulkes*, Miniſter of *Sumton-Lacy*, in the County of *Salop*; who having been convicted and ſentenc'd at the Seſſions in the *Old-Bayley, London*, for the Murther of a Baſtard-Child, begotten by himſelf, was ſoon after executed at *Tyburn*; leaving behind a very ſolemn Declaration of Repentance, which was publiſh'd in Print; and by the Strains of Devotion in it, did, in a great Meaſure, wipe away the Scandal he had given to his Holy Function.

The Earl of Pembroke *obnoxious.*

Mr. Foulkes *ſuffers Death.*

It likewiſe ſeems proper to be remember'd, as an extraordinary Event, that ſoon after the Prorogation of the Parliament, on *Sunday, January* the 12th, for above a Quarter of an Hour, between Ten and Eleven in the Morning, was ſo great and ſudden a Darkneſs, in and about the Cities

A ſtrange Darkneſs.

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of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, that the People within the Churches cou'd not ſee to read in their Bibles, and were not able in the Streets to diſtinguiſh one Perſon from another. It was for a time a deeper Blackneſs than that of an Eclipſe, which did not now happen; and was thought to equal, if not exceed the great Solar Eclipſe, which in the late Times left the Name of *Black-Munday*.

The Deaths of Biſhop Henſhaw,

As to the Deaths of conſiderable Men, in this Year, we ſhall begin with three Divines, very different in their Characters, Qualifications and Stations: The Firſt a Reverend Prelate, Dr. *Joſeph Henſhaw*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, a Perſon educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and much in Renown for his admirable Way of Preaching in *London* and other Places, before the great Confuſions in the Nation; during which he was a great Sufferer in the general Calamity: After which, he was rewarded with the Deanery of *Chicheſter*, and at laſt with the forementiond Biſhoprick, where he ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd himſelf both by his great Learning and good Preaching, but did not ſo well approve himſelf as to Hoſpitality and Humility. The Second was Mr. *Francis Potter*, a Batchelor of Divinity, and Rector of *Kilmington* in *Somerſetſhire*, where for about Fifty-eight Years he led a retired, ſingle and Monaſtick Life, without the Converſation of ingenious Men. Yet he was choſen a Member of the *Royal-Society*, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by many ingenious Inventions, both Mechanical and Medical, as in Water Engines, and the Transfuſion of the Blood; beſides his extraordinary Diſcourſes upon the *Revelations*, which were admired by ſome of the greateſt Men in the Nation; and laſt of all, he dy'd very aged and blind; and without a Soleciſm or Reflection, he may be term'd the *Apocalyptick Vertuoſo*. The laſt was Mr. *Abraham Woodhead*, a celebrated Divine of the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion, who had taken Orders according to the Church of *England*, and had been ſeveral Years Fellow of *Univerſity* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he was Tutor to the fam'd *Obadiah Walker*. But being driven from the Univerſity, in his Travels beyond Sea, he chang'd his Religion, and returning to his Colledge after the Reſtauration, and deſiring to conceal his Religion, he retired to a little Cell in *Hogſden* near *London*, in which great Obſcurity he liv'd 18 Years, and wrote many notable Tracts, ſeveral of which were publiſh'd after his Death, by his Pupil *Walker*, and had a great Influence in the following Reign; he being accounted the moſt modeſt, and likewiſe the moſt ingenious and ſolid Writer of the whole *Romiſh* Party.

Mr. Potter,

Mr. Woodhead,

The Three next were as various in their Genius and Characters as the other; the Firſt of whom was Dr. *John Godolphin*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, and a celebrated Man in his Profeſſion, who in the Time of the *Engliſh* Republick, was made one of the Judges of the Admiralty, and after the Reſtoration, one of the King's Advocates; being eſteem'd a very learned Man, and as well read in Divinity as in his own Faculty; yet diſtinguiſh'd by his noted *Abridgment of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm*. The next was Mr. *Thomas Stanley*, a learned and ingenious Gentleman, of *Cumberlow* in *Hertfordſhire*, who made himſelf ſufficiently known to the learned World by his Skill in Philoſophy, Hiſtory and Poetry, in which he ſhew'd great Reading, exquiſite Fancy, and admirable Judgment: He was noted, not only for his *Hiſtory of Philoſophy*, and his own Productions, but likewiſe for his various Tranſlations of the ancient *Greek* and *Latin*, as alſo of the modern *Italian*, *French* and *Spaniſh* Poets; in which he ſhew'd himſelf Maſter of Languages, as well as other ſorts of Knowledge. The laſt was a learned Foreigner, call'd *Henry Oldenburg*, ſometimes call'd *Grubendole*; a Perſon who had been Conſul for his own Country-men in the Dutchy of *Breme* in the *Lower-Saxony*,

Dr. Godolphin,

Mr. Stanley,

Mr. Oldenburg,

Saxony, and came to reſide in *London*, in the time of the Long Parliament and *Cromwell*'s Power: At length quitting his Employment, upon the Founding the *Royal-Society*, he became Fellow and Secretary to that noble Eſtabliſhment; in which Poſt, he publiſh'd the famous *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, from the Year 1664, to 1677; by which Work he render'd himſelf a wonderful Benefactor to Mankind, by his affectionate Care, and indefatigable Diligence and Endeavours, in maintaining the moſt extenſive Intelligence, and promoting the Deſigns and Intereſt of the moſt profitable and general Philoſophy, Mathematicks, *&c.* 1678. Car. 30 Reſ. 19

After all theſe, we ſhall mention two fam'd Writers that made much Noiſe in the World, *Andrew Marvel*, and *Marchamont Nedham*, both peſtilent Wits, and noted Incendiaries. But Mr. *Marvel*, having an Appearance of more Honeſty and Steadineſs, is firſt mention'd. He was Son to *Andrew Marvel*, the facetious *Calviniſtical* Miniſter of *Hull*, who gave him an Academical Education in *Cambridge*; where gaining the Maſterſhip of the *Latin* Tongue, he became Aſſiſtant to *John Milton*, when he was *Latin* Secretary to *Cromwell*, and very intimate and converſant with him. After the Reſtoration, he was choſen into this preſent long Parliament by the Burghers of *Hull*, who gave him an honourable Penſion for his Maintenance; in which Poſt he continu'd to his Death. He was of a reſerv'd Converſation, and a thoughtful keen Wit, which he employ'd with great Severity, not only againſt particular Perſons, but againſt the Church and Crown; and he made himſelf very remarkable by his *Rehearſal tranſpros'd*, and his *Growth of Popery*, the latter of which brought him into Danger from the State; but Death put an end to all a little before the Diſcovery of the preſent Plot. As to *Nedham*, it is hard to give a full Account of him, who was one of the moſt various Writers, and moſt mutable Men in the Age; a Perſon, who with a fluent Pen, and a pregnant Fancy, wrote through thick and thin, with the utmoſt Boldneſs and Sharpneſs imaginable. He wrote both for and againſt the late King and his Friends, for and againſt Monarchy, *&c.* according as he was hired and incourag'd; ſo that, without ſaying any more, he is juſtly accounted an accompliſh'd mercenary Writer, and a ſignal Inſtance of the Miſchiefs that may ariſe from the Uſe of Pen, Ink, and Paper.

Mr. Marvel.

And M. Nedham.

Leſtrange. Prance. Care. Tryals. Wright. Gazette. Leeds. &c.

V. I. After the ſudden Prorogation of the Parliament, the Month of *January* was buſily employ'd in Court Conſultations, and Proclamations, and very much diſturb'd by new Diſcoverers of the grand Plot, and the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, ſuch as *Prance*, *Dugdale*, *Everard*, &c. who out of Dread of Puniſhment, or Hopes of Reward, appear'd upon this Occaſion. The firſt prov'd a material and ſeaſonable Evidence at this Time; eſpecially when it was found ſo exceeding uſeful to tack the Murder to the Plot, and to make one a Part, or rather a Support, of the other. But to ſhew how he was brought in and induc'd to make ſuch important Diſcoveries, it is neceſſary to look a little back, and take Notice of ſome previous Matters, reſerv'd, for Method and Regularity, to this Place. In order to which, it is to be remember'd, that upon the miſſing of Juſtice *Godfrey*, the Town was fill'd with various Rumours and Surmiſes of Fancy and Conjecture, about him. Sometimes it was ſaid, he was murther'd in *Arundel-Houſe*; othertimes, in the Lord *Bellaſis*'s Cellar; and then again, That the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Coach was ſeen to come from *Primroſe-Hill* the *Saturday* that he went away: But at laſt, they pitch'd upon *Somerſet-Houſe*, and adher'd to that Place, as a *Popiſh* Palace, tho' two Miles from that where the Body was found. And of this, *Bedloe*, as before mention'd, was the firſt publick Diſ-

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Enquiries into the Death of Sir E. Godfrey.

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Diſcoverer. The Noiſe of this Murder, ſoon after that of the Plot, had ſuch a terrible Effect, that the chief Promoters of the Diſcovery, took the greateſt Advantages from it; more eſpecially that Head of them the penetrating Earl of *Shaftsbury*, whoſe indefatigable and indirect Endeavours in this Matter, we are to take Notice of here in ſome Inſtances, afterwards given in upon Oath.

The Earl of Shaftsbury's *Management,*

The Firſt was the Treatment of the two Perſons, who firſt diſcover'd Sir *Edmund-bury*'s Cane and Gloves, which occaſion'd the finding of the Body immediately after, *viz. William Brumwell* and *John Walters*, two ordinary Perſons, the latter a Blackſmith, who came that Way by accident. Within leſs than a Fortnight after, they were both taken up, and brought before the Lords Committees at *Wallingford* Houſe, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* being in the Chair, where they were examin'd; and *Brumwell* was ſeverely threatned by the ſaid Earl, and committed to *Newgate*. *Walters* was more ſtrictly examin'd and threatned, and *Titus Oates* was there ready *to ſee if he knew him*; after which he was ſent to the *Gate-Houſe*, where he was Fetter'd, and Hand-Cuffed, and kept in a Dungeon for three Days and Nights together. About ten Days after, when *Bedloe* was opening his Diſcoveries, *Brumwell* was ſent for again, when the Lord *Shaftsbury* declared, *This Man was ſet on by ſome Great Roman Catholick to find out the Body of Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey; *and if any Man ever was hang'd, he ſhou'd be hang'd if he did not diſcover it.* After which Menaces, Major *Wildman* took him into a private Place, and there ask'd him, *Why he wou'd not diſcover who ſet him on, for he ſhould have Five hundred Pounds Reward, his Life ſecured*, &c. but he told him plainly, *That he had ſpoke what he knew already, and that he could ſay no more, nor would he accuſe any Man falſly.* Whereupon he was re-manded to *Newgate*, and kept nine Weeks Priſoner, without ſuffering any to ſee him but his Wife, who came twice by the Permiſſion of the Duke of *Buckingham*. About the ſame Time, *Walters* was alſo ſent for to the ſame Place, where the Lord *Shaftsbury* took him into a By-Cloſet, and with a pleaſing Countenance, ſaid, *Honeſt* Smug *the Smith, thou look'ſt like an honeſt Fellow, thou ſhalt Shoe my Horſes, and I'll make a Man of thee: Prethee tell me who murther'd this Man, and who ſet thee to find him out? What* Papiſt *doſt thou Work for?* And thus going on, he anſwer'd, *My Lord, if I knew your Self had murther'd him, I would diſcover it, tho' I dy'd for it*; and then he told him, as well as he could remember, for what Cuſtomers he wrought: Whereupon he was re-deliver'd to the Keeper; but upon further Conſideration, he was call'd back and diſcharg'd.

In the Caſe of Brumwell *and* Walters,

Of Mrs. Gibbo,

The next Inſtance was of Mrs. *Mary Gibbon*, the Wife of Captain *Thomas Gibbon*, a Gentleman related to Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and one of his chiefeſt Confidents. When the Buſineſs of the Murder was at the higheſt before the Lords Committees, this Mrs. *Gibbon* deliver'd a particular Paper to a Perſon of Quality, Sir *John Banks*, who deliver'd the ſame to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. The Deſign of it was to ſhew the melancholy Apprehenſions of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, eight or nine Days before his Death, in which were theſe Words: ‘ Sir *Edmund* came ‘ to her Houſe, and having gone into a Chamber with her, and bolted the ‘ Door, he appear'd to be much troubled and out of Order. He ask'd ‘ her, *If ſhe had not heard that he was to be Hang'd*? *For*, added he, *all* ‘ *the Town is in an Uproar about me.* She ask'd him *for what?* To ‘ which he reply'd, *That having taken* Oates *and* Tongue's *Examinations,* ‘ *a Month ago, and tho' he had been often at Dinner ſince at my Lord* ‘ Chancellor's, *and Sir* William Jones *the Attorney-General, yet he never* ‘ *had diſcover'd the* Plot *they had ſworn to.* She ask'd him *What Plot?*

And

'And he ſaid *That* Oates *had forſworn Himſelf, and it wou'd come to No-*
'*thing.*' Upon this Paper Mrs. *Gibbon* was ſent for to attend the Com- 1678/9.
mittee, where the Lord *Shaftsbury* call'd to her ſaying, *You Damn'd Wo-* Car. 30
man, what Deviliſh Paper is this you have given us in? Then putting Reſ. 19
her upon her Oath to declare who wrote it, he call'd her *Bitch*, and other vile Names, and threatned her, *That if She wou'd not confeſs, that Sir* John Banks, *Mr.* Pepys, *and Monſieur* de Puy *ſet her on to write this Paper, ſhe ſhou'd be torn to Pieces by the Multitude*; threatning her alſo *to have her worry'd as the Dogs worry Cats*; inſomuch that out of Fear ſhe fell into Fits, and thought ſhe ſhou'd never have got home. All which ſhe afterwards deliver'd in upon Oath to one of the Secretaries of State; with an Addition of theſe Words, *I* Mary Gibbon *am indiſpos'd in Health; but whether I live or dye, in the Preſence of God, and his Holy Angels, I do make Oath, that this is every Syllable True.*

And of Francis Corral,

But the moſt remarkable Inſtance was that of *Francis Corral*, a common Hackney Coachman, who was taken up about a Fortnight after Sir *Edmund*'s Body was found, upon an officious Information of ſome Words he had drop'd concerning the Carrying of it to *Primroſe-Hill*. Whereupon, the next Day, he was carry'd to *Wallingford-Houſe*; and being ſworn and examin'd, the Lord *Shaftsbury*, with others, ask'd him *If he carry'd Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey *to* Primroſe-Hill *in his Coach, or knew who carry'd him?* To which he anſwer'd, *That he did not, and that he knew not who did.* The Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid, *That if he wou'd ſwear the Truth, he ſhou'd have Five Hundred Pounds*; and laid down ſome Money on the Table, promiſing, *That he ſhou'd have a Room near the Court, if he was afraid of any Body that ſet him to work, and ſhou'd command a File of Muſqueteers to guard him, for fear that thoſe that employ'd him ſhou'd do him a Miſchief.* He ask'd, *Who ſhou'd thoſe be, my Lord? No Body ſet me at Work; nor do I know for what I am brought hither.* The Earl reply'd, *We are Peers of the Land; and if thou wilt not confeſs, there ſhall be a Barrel of Nails provided to put thee in, and roul thee down a Hill.* The Coachman anſwer'd, *What wou'd you have me ſay, my Lord? I know nothing of the Matter: Wou'd you have me to accuſe other People, to bring them into my Condition?* Upon which his Lordſhip expreſly ſaid, *Then thou ſhalt dye.*——*The* Papiſts *have hired him, and he will not confeſs:* And thereupon a *Mittimus* was drawn, and the poor Man committed to *Newgate*, and laid in vaſt heavy Irons, and thruſt into the Dungeon; where, after he had continu'd about three or four Hours, he was taken out again; but ſo faint with the Cloſeneſs and Naſtineſs of the Place, that he ſwooned away, ſo that they gave him Brandy to keep him alive. About three in the Afternoon, the ſame Day, he was carry'd to a Houſe in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, where the Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid to him, *Now, You Rogue; here's one that will juſtify he ſaw you:* And, ſpeaking to a Perſon that ſtood by, ſaid, *Did not you ſee him whip his Horſes, and go down by* Tottenham-Court? The Man replying, *Yes, my Lord*; his Lordſhip cry'd, *Sirrah, What's the Reaſon you will not confeſs, but put us to all this Trouble?* The other haſtily reply'd, *What wou'd you have me confeſs? I know no more than your Lordſhip does, and it may be, not ſo much.* Then ſaid the Lord *Shaftsbury, If thou wilt not confeſs,* Richardſon, *take him away, and let him be ſtarv'd to Death*; with which the poor Man wept. *Ah Rogue!* ſaid the Earl, *There's never a Tear comes down.* Upon which he, with Imprecations told his Lordſhip, *That he knew no more than the Child that is unborn. That's a* Popiſh *Word,* reply'd my Lord, *he has conſulted with the* Papiſts, *and will not confeſs; ſo,* Richardſon, *take him away, and let him be ſtarv'd to Death.* Accordingly he was carry'd to *Newgate*, and kept in great Irons in the *Con-*

demn'd

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demn'd Hole, from *Thurſday* Evening till *Sunday* Noon, without any Thing to eat or drink; which put the poor Creature into ſuch Deſpair, that he ſaid, *If his Knife had not dropt out of his Hand, he had kill'd Himſelf.*

On *Monday* Morning, the ſame Man was carry'd to the Houſe of Lords, and ſo to the ſecret Committee, where he ſaw the ſame Lords as before; and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* with a pleaſing Countenance ſaid, *Come, thou look'ſt like an honeſt Fellow, tell us the Truth, and thou ſhalt have the ſame Reward that was promis'd thee at* Wallingford-Houſe; *and then thou ſhalt go preſently home to thy Wife and Children, and we will ſecure thee from any Harm: What doſt thou ſay to us all? Now ſpeak.* Whereupon the poor Man fell down upon his Knees, and ſaid, *I know nothing of it, and before I wrong any Man, I will dye immediately.* The Lord *Shaftsbury* changing his Tone, ſaid, *Thou art ſuch a peremptory Rogue, thou ſhalt go back to* Newgate, *and rot there a while. And thou ſhalt be brought to be try'd at the Seſſions, and then there will come enow againſt thee, and thou ſhalt be hang'd. Hadſt thou not better confeſs the Truth, and have that Money, than be brought before the Judges, and be condemn'd to be hang'd? It will be a dreadful Hearing for thee. Yes, my Lord,* cry'd the other, *I know it will be a dreadful Hearing: But, my Lord, it will be a more dreadful Hearing for me, at the Lord's Bar, if I ſhou'd wrongfully accuſe any Man; it will be a more dreadful Hearing, when it ſhall be ſaid, 'Take him away, Devil, for he hath falſly ac-'cus'd thoſe he knew no Hurt by?'* Whereupon the Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid, *I ſee we can do no good with him; take him away, and let him lye there and rot.* The poor Man pleaded that he had a Wife and Children; the Lord *Shaftsbury* anſwer'd, *Let his Wife and Children ſtarve.* In fine, the Coachman lay in the *Condemn'd Hole* with heavy Irons, ſix Weeks and three Days; and afterwards ſeven Weeks on the *Common Side* upon Boards, without Irons. At length, when another ſwore that Sir *Edmund*'s Body was carry'd a Horſeback, upon good Security the Man was diſcharg'd; but his Legs were ſo gall'd and eaten up with the Irons, that he was not able to drive a Coach till eight Weeks after he had his Liberty. Such were the Arbitrary Proceedings of the great Pretenders againſt Arbitrary Power.

Miles Prance *a new Diſcoverer of Sir* E. Godfrey's *Death, &c.*

2. At laſt they accidentally found, or met with a Man who very much, if not fully, anſwered their Ends and Purpoſes, the forementiond *Miles Prance*, a Goldſmith in *Princeſs-Street*, and a Papiſt well known in *Somerſet-Houſe*, where he had ſometimes work'd for the Queen in her Chapel. This Man, who had ſhewn himſelf a Friend to the Plotters, had the ill Fortune to have a Lodger in his Houſe, one *John Wren*, that was fourteen Months Rent in Arrear; and preſſing him for the Money, he was obſerv'd to uſe threatning Words againſt his Landlord. And ſhortly after, the Loſs of a Tankard, which was never found again, caus'd a new Quarrel between them. Upon the 20th of *December*, *Prance* had his Rent paid him; but was taken up the next Morning by a Warrant from the Council, at the Inſtance and Complaint of this *Wren* and others, upon a Suſpicion of being privy to the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and it was ſuggeſted in the Information, 'That *Prance* lay out 'of his Houſe ſome Nights while Sir *Edmund* was miſſing.' His Dealings with *Grove*, his Brother being a Prieſt; *Pickering* and *Ireland* having been at his Houſe; his hiring a Horſe to go out of the Town, *&c.* made the Matter appear ſo probable, that *Wren* and two others put in for the Five Hundred Pounds promis'd in the King's Proclamation. *Prance* was carry'd away in Cuſtody into a little Room with a Lobby by the Houſe

House of Commons; into which several went out of Curiosity, and among the rest the Discoverer *Bedloe*; who staring about him, enquired privately, *Which was the Prisoner?* and finding the Man, he immediately retir'd. After some Hours waiting, they carry'd *Prance* to an Eating-House call'd *Heaven*; and into a Room where *Bedloe* was purposely planted by Sir *William Waller* and others: When of a sudden he started up, and with a curs'd Oath cry'd out, *This is one of the Rogues that I saw with a Dark Lanthorn about the Body of Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey; *but he was then in a Perriwig.* 1678/9. Car. 30 Ref. 19

He is charg'd by Bedloe,

Prance was carry'd from thence to the Committee of Lords; and while he was waiting to be call'd, *Wren* came to him, and said, *Now is your Time to Confess, or you are Ruin'd*; speaking of *Godfrey*'s Murther. Coming before the Lords, *Bedloe* directly charg'd him with the Murther; and *Wren*, with being out of the House while the Body was missing; but being examin'd upon Oath, he positively deny'd all, and wish'd Damnation to himself, *If he knew any thing of the Murther, or if he ever saw* Bedloe; and objected against *Wren* as an incompetent Witness. He acknowledg'd indeed, 'That he had been a *Papist*, but was now a *Protestant*, and had taken the Oaths; That he had wrought in his Trade for '*Grove*, *Pickering*, *Fenwick* and *Ireland*; That the *Sunday* after those 'Persons were taken up, he said in a *Coffee-House*, *They were very honest Men*, which some People took Offence at: That he kept out of 'the Way for fear of being question'd, but never lay out of his House 'but three Nights in two Years: That he did not go to the Queen's 'Chappel once a Month. He deny'd the Hiring of a Horse at first; but 'confess'd it afterwards, and that it was not to avoid the Oaths; but an 'Arrest staid him in Town: That he lay at a Neighbour's House on *Monday* when Sir *Edmund* was missing: That he never wore a Wig in his 'Life; That he neither knew *Bedloe*, *Walsh*, *Prichard*, nor *Le Phaire*, with some inferior Matters. In Sum, he with Execrations deny'd both the *Plot* and the *Murther*. After his Examination, which gave no Satisfaction, he was sent to *Newgate*, and there was committed to the *Condemn'd-Hole*, loaden with Heavy Irons; and for that Night was left to consider what further Answers to make, and whether he wou'd venture his Soul or his Body.

Examin'd by the Lords,

The next Morning early, being *Sunday*, there came a Person to him wholly unknown, who laid down a Paper upon a Form just by him, and so retired; and soon after another came with a Candle, who set it down and left him. By that Light he read the Paper, wherein he found the Substance of these following Minutes: 'So many *Popish* Lords mention'd 'by Name;—— Fifty Thousand Men to be rais'd;——Commissions given 'out, — Officers appointed; ——*Ireland* acquainted with the Design;— '*Bedloe*'s Evidence as to the Murder, was summ'd up, and abstracted in 'it.——And there were Suggestions in it, That he must undoubtedly be 'privy to the Plot, with Words to this Effect, *You had better confess* '*than be hang'd.*' *Prance* presently imagined this to be a Contrivance of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and design'd for Hints to what he was to swear: All which were the very Points of *Bedloe*'s Depositions; and as *Bedloe* was to second *Oates* in the One; so *Prance* was to second *Bedloe* in the Other. *Prance* ponder'd for some Hours upon the Heads of his Paper, and the Circumstances of his Condition; and what with the Noisomness of the Place, the Cold of the Season, the Weight of his Chains, the Sense of his Misery, and the Dread of Death, he took the most immediate Care of the Safety of his Body, and begg'd of the Master of the Prison to carry him to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s, under Pretence of Matters of great Moment to communicate to his Lordship. The Master, Captain *Richard-*

And manag'd by Shaftsbury.

1678/9. Car. 30 Ref. 19

son, gave the Earl an Account of it, and thereupon receiv'd a particular Order to bring him to *Shaftsbury-House*, to be further examin'd. He was carry'd thither between five and ſix the ſame Evening, and there continu'd till about Eleven that Night. As ſoon as he appear'd, he was call'd into a low Parlour where was the Earl and three more, and there ſtrictly examin'd upon the Points of the Paper, and threatned with certain Death if he did not confeſs. And further, if we may believe *Prance* himſelf, the Lord *Shaftsbury* told him, *That there were* Great Ones *concern'd, and he muſt diſcover them too; for the* Little Ones *ſhou'd not ſerve his Turn*; calling him *Rogue* and *Raſcal* ſeveral Times for croſſing *Bedloe*'s Evidence, and ſaying *There muſt be* Great Perſons *in it*; reflecting upon the Queen and the Duke of *York*; bidding him *not ſpare the King Himſelf:* Saying likewiſe, *That the Body was laid under the Altar*, &c. However it was, *Prance* yielded to the Menaces, and ſo fram'd a *Diſcovery* in Part, with a Promiſe to ſpeak out more at large, if he might have his Pardon. Whereupon, there was a Paper drawn up, which being ſign'd by the Priſoner, he was return'd to the Place from whence he came.

Prance having proceeded ſo far, and Information given to the Houſe of Lords, how willing he was to make Diſcoveries, if he might be aſſur'd of the King's Pardon, their Lordſhips made Application to his Majeſty for a full and general Pardon; and on the ſame Day, *December* 23d, Ordered, 'That certain Lords ſhou'd acquaint *Miles Prance* in '*Newgate*, that Afternoon, with his Majeſty's gracious Aſſurance, and 'that they ſhou'd then and there examine him thoroughly, in order to 'a true and perfect Diſcovery; and that Care ſhou'd be taken, *That no* 'other *Perſon, Lord or Commoner, ſhou'd be preſent at the ſaid Exami*-'*nation, but the ſaid Lords and the Priſoner*'. On the ſame Day, the Houſe of Commons order'd, 'That the *Committee of Secrecy* do repair to 'the Priſon, and take the Examination of Mr. *Prance* touching the Plot, 'and the Murder of Sir *Edmond-bury Godfrey:* And that they do impart 'to the Priſoners in *Newgate*, the Contents of his Majeſty's Proclamation 'in relation to the Diſcovery of the Plot, *&c.*' After he had been ply'd by theſe two Committees with all Strictneſs and Severity, their Encouragement, and the Aſſurance of Pardon, had ſo ripen'd him, that the next Day he was fit to be examin'd before the King and Council; before whom he was very particular about the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and directly accus'd five Perſons as actually preſent at the Murther, as Father *Girald*, and Father *Kelly*, two *Iriſh* Prieſts; *Robert Green*, Cuſhion-Man to the Queen's Chappel; *Laurence Hill*, Servant to Dr. *Godden*, Treaſurer of the Chappel; and *Henry Berry*, Porter of *Somerſet-Houſe*; beſides others more remotely concern'd, as Father *Lewſon*, *Vernatti*, &c. Being ask'd *Why he gave ſo different a Relation to the Committee of Lords, from what he now ſo freely confeſs'd:* He anſwer'd, *He was in much Confuſion before the Committee, being not ſure of his Pardon; but now being ſure, and upon his Oath, he did ſpeak the whole Truth, according to his Knowledge.* And being then further ask'd, *Why he came not in upon the Proclamation, and Reward thereof*; He ſaid, *He was afraid to truſt to it.* After ſeveral Queſtions, he was ſtill ſo particular as to the Circumſtances of Time, Place and Manner, that the King appointed the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Oſſory*, with Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, to take *Prance*'s Information at *Somerſet-Houſe*, from Place to Place were the things were acted; which they perform'd with great Diligence: In which Examination *Prance* was very punctual in naming and ſhowing ſome of the Rooms; but ſo uncertain and dubious in ſome Particulars, eſpecially about the chief Room, that

His Diſcovery to the King and Council.

that when the Duke of *Monmouth* privately ask'd the Earl of *Offory what he thought on't*, he anſwer'd, *It was all a great Cheat.* 1678. Car. 30 Ref. 19

The Council ſat again in the Afternoon, and *Prance* was confronted with *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill*, who deny'd every Syllable of the Charge, and *Prance* ſtood as ſtoutly to every Point of the Accuſation. After which he was ſent back to *Newgate*, for four or five Days, with his Irons ſometimes off, and ſometimes on, according as he was in a diſcovering Temper; during which time, he was often viſited by Members of both Houſes, who ſometimes ſeverely threaten'd him, when his Evidence did not agree with *Bedloe*'s; and particularly becauſe he wou'd not own the Perriwig which *Bedloe* had firſt mention'd. Upon *Sunday* the 29th of *December*, he was again examin'd before the King in Council; but before he was brought before the Board, he made it his Requeſt, that he might firſt wait upon the King himſelf. Upon which Captain *Richardſon* was order'd to carry *Prance* to Mr. *Chiffinch*'s Lodgings, where his Majeſty came and took him into a Room by himſelf. After a ſhort time, the King open'd the Door, *Prance* being then upon his Knees, and bad Mr. *Chiffinch* and Captain *Richardſon* to take Notice of what *Prance* ſaid; who being call'd upon to ſpeak out plainly, he declar'd, *That the Men he had Sworn againſt, were all Innocent; and that All he had Sworn againſt them was falſe*; which he affirm'd with great Paſſion, and earneſt Aſſeveration. Upon which the King preſs'd him in theſe very Words, *Upon your Salvation is it ſo!* He reply'd, *Upon my Salvation, the whole Accuſation is falſe.* He was from thence carried to the Council, where falling down upon his Knees alſo, he declared to the ſame Effect. Upon which he was ask'd, *What Inducement he had to his former Story? Why he ſwore againſt thoſe Perſons? Who put him upon it?* He ſaid, *No body prompted him; he only knew the Men he ſwore againſt; he never ſaw* Bedloe *before he was taken up; he knew nothing of the* Plot, *nor of the* Murther; *All he had Sworn was falſe; he was never guilty of any Man's Blood, and cou'd not reſt for the Story he had told: But* Wren *ow'd him Money, and threatned him becauſe he dunn'd him for it, and ſo hair'd him into it.* This was a great Surprize to the Council, and ſome there were that call'd him a thouſand *Villains* and *Apoſtates*, and threaten'd to ſhew him the Wrack; and the Duke of *Monmouth* ſaid, *Certainly they have let Prieſts and Jeſuits come to him, he cou'd never have gone off as he did elſe.* The very next Day he was likewiſe brought before the King and Council, where he firmly and finally perſiſted in the ſame Story, and was remanded to *Newgate*; firſt declaring, 'That he had no other Hints to the Story 'he had told them, than what he took from the forementiond Paper of '*Inſtructions*, that was laid by him in the *Condemn'd Hole* in *New-*'*gate.*

He denies all before them.

Prance, excepting juſt after his Return, ſtood firm and immoveable in his Denial, againſt all Terrors and Temptations for about 12 Days, from the 29th of *December* to the 11th of this preſent *January*. During which ſpace of time, his Uſage was barbarous, and more like the *Romiſh Inquiſition*, than the Methods of a Free Nation. For nine Days at leaſt his Caſe was deplorable; and what with the deadly Cold and Naſtineſs of the Place, the Diſtreſs of his Condition, the Agony of his Thoughts, under the Horror of bringing new Guilt upon his Conſcience, and the galling Weight of the Irons, he lay in ſuch Torments, both of Body and Mind, that he ſpent his Hours in Roaring and Groaning, frequently and pitifully crying out, *Not Guilty, not Guilty! No Murther, no Murther!* He us'd the ſame Outcries, or Clamours at leaſt to that Effect, ſo often, that the Impoſers had no way to cover the Scandal and the Inhumanity

His barbarous Uſage in Newgate.

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of this Treatment, but either by imputing the Anguiſh of a wounded Conſcience to the Ravings of a diſtemper'd Brain; or by converting the Marks of a true Repentance into the Story of a Counterfeit Madneſs. But when things were at the worſt, *Prance* was now and then, as the good Humour prevail'd, eas'd of his Irons, comforted with good Words and Promiſes, and no Artifice omitted for the bringing him to a proper Underſtanding. The Keepers were then under the ſole Direction of a certain ambulatory *Committee*, when and in what degree to ſqueeze, to pinch, to eaſe, to ſhackle, to comfort, or to torment their Priſoners; and moſt things were done according to the particular Orders of that Cabal. It wou'd be too tedious to recite all the Sufferings of this unfortunate Man, who being unable to hold out as *Corral* had done, and finding his Life in the ſame Danger with thoſe he had accuſed, he, at length ſubmitted to the Temptation, and upon a new Aſſurance of Pardon, he promis'd to ſtand by his former Evidence. Immediately upon this, on the 11th of *January*, his Irons were knocked off, and he was remov'd from hard Boards, and a diſmal cold Room, to a fine Lodging and a curious Bed, with variety of the beſt Meats and Drinks. Here, having Pen, Ink and Paper, and the Aſſiſtance of his Friend one Mr. *Boyce*, he finiſh'd his Story, and prepar'd for being a compleat Evidence againſt *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill*, who were ſhortly after to come upon their Tryals.

He returns to his firſt Evidence.

Prance and *Bedloe* had given in very different Accounts of the Murther; but now *Prance*'s Story was more fix'd and regular, and was to ſtand good againſt all others; while *Bedloe*'s was to be rather by way of Supply and Confirmation. *Prance*'s Story, which took ſo much with the Belief of the Nation, was to this Effect: '*Girald*, *Kelly*, *Green*, '*Berry*, *Hill* and *Prance*, with the Approbation of ſome others, after 'ſeveral Conſultations, had reſolv'd to Murther Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, as being a bitter Perſecutor of the Catholicks, an active Diſcoverer of their Deſigns, and a particular Enemy to the Queen's Servants. 'Thus determin'd, on *Saturday* the 12th of *October*, *Hill* went to Sir '*Edmund-bury*'s Houſe in the Morning, and talk'd with him in private: 'Then taking his leave, he went to *Girald* and *Green*, and with them 'ſtaid hard by, waiting for the Gentleman's coming out, which he did 'about 10 or 11, all alone as uſually. They dog'd him to ſeveral Places, 'till about 6 or 7 in the Evening, when *Green* went to *Prance*'s Houſe, 'and told him, *They had ſet him near St.* Clements; and that *Prance* 'muſt make all haſte to the *Water-Gate* at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where he 'ſhou'd find *Kelly* and *Berry*, which he did; and they three waited 'there till about nine a Clock. When of a ſudden *Hill* came running, 'and ſaid, *He was coming, and they muſt pretend a Quarrel, and he wou'd fetch him in.* While *Kelly* and *Berry* were in a ſeeming Scuffle, '*Hill* at the Gate ſtop'd Sir *Edmund-bury*, and entreated him *for God's ſake to come in, for two Men were a quarrelling, and he was afraid there wou'd be Bloodſhed.* The Gentleman, being a Magiſtrate, did at 'laſt Conſent, and *Hill* entred the Gate firſt, to ſhew him the Perſons; 'and after them follow'd *Girald* and *Green*; while *Prance* watched the '*Water-Gate*, and *Berry* was to ſecure the Paſſage by the Chappel. 'But firſt he and *Kelly*, the pretended Combatants, ſtood about the end 'of the Rail by the Queen's Stables; and as Sir *Edmund* went down towards them, *Green* ſuddenly threw a twiſted Handkerchief about his 'Neck, and immediately all four pull'd him down and ſtrangled him, ſo 'as he cou'd make no Noiſe; after which they threw him behind the 'Rail, and gave him ſome violent Punches on the Breaſt with their 'Knees, and *Green* with all his Force wrung his Neck almoſt round.

The Subſtance of his ſtrange Story.

Prance

'*Prance* and *Berry* being come to them, when he was quite dead, they all help'd to carry the Body into Dr. *Godden*'s Lodgings, where *Hill* liv'd, and where they brought him up five or ſix Steps, into a little Room on the Right Hand, and there left him that Night, and *Sunday* all Day and Night. On *Monday* Night, *Hill* and ſome others remov'd him into a Room in the upper Court, where *Prance* was ſhewn the Body by the light of a Dark-Lanthorn, and where *Bedloe* ſwore he ſaw *Prance*. On *Tueſday* Night, they carried him to another Room in the long Entry, over-againſt Dr. *Godden*'s Lodgings; and on *Wedneſday* Night, they remov'd it to the little Room where it was firſt laid. Having kept the Body above four Days and Nights, *Girald* and *Kelly* adviſ'd to carry it into the Fields, and leave him run through with his own Sword, that he might be ſuppos'd *to have murthered himſelf*; and therefore his Money, Rings, *&c.* were all to be left with him. This being agreed, they reſolv'd to carry him out that Night; and accordingly *Hill* procur'd a Sedan, or Chair, into which they put the Body about 12 a-Clock. *Berry*, the Porter, having invited the Centinels into his Houſe, open'd the Gate, and *Prance* and *Girald* carry'd out the Sedan. Thus, ſometimes they two, and ſometimes *Kelly* and *Green*, carried it up towards *Soho-Fields*, hard by the *Grecians* Church; and there *Hill* attending with a Horſe, they ſet the Body up before him, and left the *Sedan* in ſome unfiniſh'd Buildings in that Place; whereupon *Girald* ſaid, *I wiſh we had a hundred ſuch Rogues as ſecure as this.* Then *Prance*, being a Houſe-keeper, return'd home; and the other four went on, one leading the Horſe, *Hill* riding and holding the Body, and the other two walking by. They carried him to a Place call'd *Primroſe-Hill*, about two Miles out of Town, where they left him in a Ditch, with his own Sword run through his Body by *Girald* himſelf, in the exact Poſture of One that had murder'd himſelf.' This Story, which afterwards met with inſuperable Difficulties and Inconſiſtencies, at preſent had a wonderful Effect upon the Nation, was aſſerted with ſuch ſpecious Pretences and Circumſtances, and ſo plauſibly connected and united to the grand Plot, that it was dangerous for any Man to ſuſpect the Truth, or the Probability of it. 1678/9. Car. 30 Reſ. 19

3. All this while the King was under no ſmall Perplexities about the Plot, the Murther, the Charge againſt the Lord *Danby*, &c. but he acted as one that believ'd all, and was frequently iſſuing out Proclamations againſt the Papiſts, who immediately after the Prorogation of the Parliament, flock'd to *London* and *Weſtminſter* in great Numbers, and began to talk with unuſual Boldneſs about the preſent Times. The firſt Proclamation was dated *January* 3, which declared, 'That whereas ſeveral '*Popiſh* Recuſants, and Perſons reputed to be ſuch, had ſince the late 'Prorogation of the Parliament taken the Boldneſs to reſort to the ſaid 'Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, his Majeſty was moſt highly offended 'with their Preſumption, and did Order, That a diligent and ſpeedy 'Search and Inquiry ſhou'd be made after them, and they ſhou'd be pro-'ceeded againſt with the utmoſt Severity.' On the 11th of *January*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to publiſh another Proclamation, 'Commanding the immediate Return of all his Majeſty's Subjects who were in Foreign Seminaries, offering Pardon to thoſe who ſhall obey, and forbidding all Relief 'or Maintenance to be ſent to them that ſtay, according to the Statute 'made 27th of *Elizabeth.*' About this time, *Come* in *Herefordſhire* was ſaid to be diſcover'd to be a Colledge of *Jeſuits*; and Mr. *Stephen Dugdale*, formerly Servant to the Lord *Aſton* in *Staffordſhire*, came in and made a conſiderable Diſcovery; whereupon, on the 15th of *Januaary*

Proclamations againſt the Papiſts.

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ry there came out a third Proclamation, 'Againſt *Francis Evers*, alias 'Eurie, of *Tixal* in the County of *Stafford*, *John Gaven*, late of *Wolverhampton*, *Vavaſor*, alias *Gifford*, late of *Boſcobel*, *Edward Leviſon*, late of *Wilnot*, all Jeſuits, and *Broadſtreet*, late of *Hore-Croſs*, a Popiſh Prieſt, being all charg'd to be guilty of the *Popiſh* Plot; and a 'Promiſe of a Hundred Pounds to any that ſhou'd apprehend *Evers*, 'and Fifty Pounds for each of the reſt.' Of theſe *Gaven* was ſoon after taken into Cuſtody, but the reſt abſconded.

Notwithſtanding theſe Proceedings of the Court, the Juſtices of the Peace of *Middleſex*, ſeem'd apprehenſive of ſome Relaxations in Favour of the *Papiſts*, and therefore on the 17th of *January*, they preſented to his Majeſty in Council theſe ſix Queries. 1. 'Whether Foreigners (*Popiſh* Recuſants) that are, and have long been here ſetled Houſe-Keepers, 'and are Tradeſmen, *viz.* Chirurgeons, Taylors, Perriwig-makers, or 'ordinary Shop-keepers, following Imployments for their own Advantages, but not otherwiſe Merchants, but are certify'd to be *Merchant-Strangers*, ſhall be excus'd from taking the Oaths, or finding Sureties, 'or either of them? 2. Whether ſuch Foreigners, being certify'd by 'Ambaſſadors, or other Foreign Miniſters, to be their Servants at this 'time, ſhall be excus'd? 3. Whether Foreigners (*Popiſh* Recuſants) ſetled here Houſe-keepers, but neither are Tradeſmen, Travellers, or Foreign Miniſters Servants, ſhall be excus'd? 4. Whether Native Subjects 'of our Sovereign Lord, that are menial Servants of Foreign Miniſters, 'ſhall be excus'd? 5. Whether Married Women, being *Popiſh* Recuſants, but their Husbands *Proteſtants*, ſhall be excus'd? 6. Whether *Popiſh* Recuſants that have taken the Oaths, found Sureties, have 'appeared, and are convicted, ſhall find new Sureties, or be continu'd over?' Upon receiving of theſe Queries, his Majeſty referred the Matter to the Judges of the Land, who very ſhortly return'd him this Anſwer in Writing: '*May it pleaſe your Majeſty*, We have met and 'conſider'd of the Queſtions propoſed to us, and do hereby humbly return our Opinions. 1. That Foreigners, being *Popiſh* Recuſants, and 'exerciſing ordinary Trades, but not Merchants, are not excus'd from 'taking the Oaths, or finding Sureties. 2. That Foreigners, tho' certify'd by Ambaſſadors to be their Servants, except they are their menial 'Servants, are not excus'd. 3. That Foreigners, tho' ſetled Houſe-Keepers, being no Travellers, or Foreign Miniſter's Servants, are not excus'd. 4. That the King's Native Subjects are not excus'd from taking 'the Oaths, by being menial Servants to Foreign Maſters. 5. We find 'no Law that excuſes a Feme-Covert, being a *Papiſt*, from taking the 'Oaths, tho' her Husband be a *Proteſtant*. 6. That a *Popiſh* Recuſant, 'having taken the Oaths, is not bound to find new Sureties; unleſs upon a new Tender of the Oaths, he ſhall refuſe to take them. All which, 'with great Humility, we ſubmit to your Majeſty's Judgment: *W. Scroggs*, *F. North*, *W. Mountagu*, *W. Wylde*, *F. Littleton*, *W. Wyndham*, *R. Atkyns*, *V. Bertie*, *F. Bramſton*, *T. Jones*, *W. Dolben*.'

Queries of the Juſtices of Middleſex.

Anſwer'd by the Judges.

The King approv'd of the Opinion, and thereupon made an Order of Council, which was ſent to the *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of each County, to be obſerv'd by all Magiſtrates whatſoever.

In the mean Time, during moſt of the Month of *January*, all Peoples Mouths were fill'd with various Reports concerning the next Meeting of the Parliament: It was often affirm'd, That the next Seſſion was to be further Prorogu'd till the 25th of *February*; and then again, That the Parliament wou'd certainly meet on the 4th of *February*, the Day mention'd at the Prorogation. But as a Period to all common Reports and Conjectures, on the 24th of this Month of *January*, his Majeſty iſſu'd out a ſurprizing Proclamation, in which he Declar'd, 'That he had taken 'into

'into his ſerious Conſideration the many Inconveniencies ariſing by the 'over-long Continuance of one and the ſame Parliament; wherefore he 'Publiſhes and Declares his Royal Will and Pleaſure to *Diſſolve this* '*preſent Parliament.*— But to the Intent his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects 'may perceive the Confidence his Majeſty hath in their good Affections, 'and how Willing and Deſirous his Majeſty is to meet his People, and 'have their Advice by their *Repreſentatives* in Parliament, he will cauſe 'Writs, in due Form of Law, to be forthwith iſſu'd for the *Calling of a* '*New Parliament*, which ſhall begin and be holden at *Weſtminſter*, on '*Thurſday* the ſixth Day of *March* next; when his Majeſty doth expect 'ſuch *Laws* will be Enacted, and ſuch *Order* taken, by the Conſent and 'Advice of his Parliament, as will tend to the Securing the True *Prote-* '*ſtant* Religion, and the Peaceable and Happy Government of this his 'Kingdom.

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The SECOND PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

Thus ended the famous Long Parliament, the Second, or, as ſome call it, the Firſt of this Reign, which had been continu'd, by Eighteen Prorogations, and ſeveral Adjournments, for Seventeen Years, Eight Months, and Seventeen Days. For above two Thirds of which Time, the King had liv'd with ſo entire Agreement with it, inſomuch that both the *Proteſtant* and *Popiſh* Diſſenters had us'd their utmoſt Efforts for its Diſſolution; but by the Death of ſome, and Defection of others, and the violent Heats rais'd by the Plot, and other Matters, it became ſo much alter'd, that the King was weary'd out with what the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, when Lord Chancellor, had call'd *His Wife*, ſo as to give her this *Bill of Divorce*. The Houſe of Commons had been choſen out of as Great, Wiſe and conſiderable Men, as were in the Nation; and, conſidering the vaſt Exigencies when they met, they made as good and wiſe Laws and Eſtabliſhments. As they cannot be vindicated in all Particulars, ſo perhaps they cannot be altogether ſo, with relation to their Treatment of Diſſenters of both Kinds; but this ought to be ſtill remember'd, that all the Proceedings of that Nature aroſe from particular Provocations, which had reviv'd old Reſentments, and ſeem'd rather the Effects of Policy and Self-Preſervation, than of Religion and Devotion, tho' there was a great Mixture of both: And further, all theſe were really contrary to the Humour and Inclination of the King Himſelf. From whence we have leſs reaſon to believe thoſe Corruptions charg'd upon them by Enemies on both ſides, but rather to depend upon the Words of the knowing Duke of *Leeds*, which he wrote above Thirty Years after the Diſſolution of this Parliament. Speaking of the rough Treatment he met with from them upon the Account of his Letters, he ſays, *And it is no leſs difficult to conceive, how that Parliament ſhould be thought a* Penſionary Parliament, *which was not only ſo ſparing in the Supplies which were Neceſſary, and did Appropriate every Penny to particular Uſes upon Account; and that I, who was call'd the* Promoter *and* Pay-Maſter *of thoſe* Penſions, *had not Power to preſerve my ſelf from being impeach'd of* Treaſon *by thoſe* Penſioners, *for what in Juſtice my worſt Enemies could not have made a* Miſdemeanour. *Theſe are ſuch Contradictions in their own Nature, that they need no Anſwer.* Not but Bribery was practis'd the ſix laſt Years, but never ſufficient to gain a Majority; and this Cuſtom, as Sir *William Temple* obſerves, was introduc'd by the Lord-Treaſurer *Clifford*, near Twelve Years after the firſt Meeting; and ſtill there were many great Men that ſhew'd themſelves above all Temptations, as the Lord *Caſtleton*, Mr. *Sacheverell*, Mr. *Garraway*, Sir *William Hickman*, &c. who were faithful to their King, Country and Church, in ſpight of all Tryals whatſoever. As to the Cauſes of the Diſſolution of this famous Aſſembly, there have been innumerable Conjectures, therefore we ſhall only uſe the

Obſervations upon that Parliament.

Words

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Words of the forementiond noble Author, who ſays, *As I hope I have made it appear that I never needed a Pardon, nor to have abſented my ſelf from Tryal, but that I did both in Obedience to the King's Commands; ſo I verily believe, the King was ſo apprehenſive that the producing Mr.* Mountagu's *Letters would have ſo much heightned the ill Humour of that Parliament, that the Fear of producing them (which I muſt have done, rather than ſuffer a Bill of* Attainder *to paſs againſt me) was one of the Cauſes of Diſſolving that Parliament.* We ſhall conclude with obſerving, that during that Time they were under the leaſt Temptations of Bribery, they were moſt Loyal and Complying with the King; but when they were under the Greateſt, they were moſt Oppoſing and Contradicting; and if the King Himſelf had always been as careful of his own Honour, as they themſelves were, they might in all Probability have continu'd the whole Reign, in Oppoſition to all Parties and Factions whatſoever.

CHAP. III.

From the Diſſolution of the Second and Long Parliament, to the Diſſolution of the Fifth and laſt Parliament in this Reign.

Containing the Space of 2 Years, 2 Months, and 4 Days.

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The Nation buiſy in Elections.

I. 1. IN this following Period, the Nation was more agitated, and the King and Court under greater Difficulties, than at any Time ſince the Reſtoration. Upon the unexpected Diſſolution of a Parliament, which ſome ſaid, *Nothing but God Almighty could put an End to*, the whole Nation was in a ſudden Ferment, and all were violently ingag'd in the new Elections, upon the Writs iſſu'd out the 25th of *January*. Moſt of the Diſſenters were tranſported at the Diſſolution, and they and their Friends exerted themſelves in the Elections after an extraordinary manner; having a hopeful Proſpect of a new Struggle, either for a Superiority, or an equal Eſtabliſhment. They knew how to make all the Advantages of the *Popiſh* Plot, and generally falling into the Wiſhes and Endeavours of a zealous Proſecution of it, became thereby the more Popular; and they had now the Opportunity of making the World believe, that they were the chief Aſſertors of *Engliſh Liberty*, and the *Reform'd Religion*. And thoſe Members of each Houſe, who were thought to be in their Intereſt, had now the Advantage of being eſteem'd the greateſt Patriots, and the better Friends of the *Proteſtant* Religion; while many of thoſe who were more profeſſedly for the Eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*, were drawn into the Meaſures of the Court, and into the Perſonal Intereſt of the Duke of *York*, and thereby fell into the odious Character of being *Popiſhly Affected*, and the *Promoters of Arbitrary Power*. Having multiply'd theſe ſorts of Calumnies, they proceeded to the Multiplying of Free-Holds, a Practice ſaid to be unknown before this Time; and ſo all the Diſſenting Teachers, old Committee-Men, Sequeſtrators, and Parliament Soldiers, rally'd their Forces, and joyning with all thoſe Semi-Conformiſts, that had comply'd with the Church out of Neceſſity or Convenience, they made a very powerful

Wright. Tryals. Leſtrange. Care. Temple. Gazettes.

Uncommon Practices.

powerful Body. But notwithſtanding all this Care, and theſe uncommon Advantages, the Diſſenting Party did not carry the Elections every where, nor almoſt any where without great Oppoſition. For, on the other ſide, the Gentry appear'd themſelves, and brought in their Tenants and Dependents; and many of the Yeomen Free-Holders were zealous for the Church and Government: And in Corporations, the Magiſtrates and Free-men had not forgot the old Methods of the Diſſenters, ſo that the two Parties were almoſt equal there. In the Counties in general, the Gentry had been certainly the ſtronger ſide, if Arts had not been employ'd againſt them: and in ſome Places they prevail'd againſt all thoſe that were us'd, but not ſo much as to make an equal Party in the Houſe. As to the City of *London*, they choſe all of one ſide, now call'd the *Country Party*, viz. Sir *Robert Clayton*, Knight, and Alderman; Sir *Thomas Player*, Knight, and Chamberlain of the City; *William Love*, Eſquire, late Alderman; and *Thomas Pilkington* Eſquire, a *Turkey* Merchant. 1678. Car. 31 Reſ. 19

All this while the King ſeem'd intirely to keep Pace with the Country, now fill'd with the Rumours of Plots, Conſpiracies and Murthers, and endeavour'd to oblige the People by all deſirable Proceedings againſt the *Romiſh* Party, for which he himſelf had moſt real Affection, and from which, perhaps, he had leaſt Apprehenſion: He did not only enforce the Order of Council before mention'd, but made particular Enquiry into the ſeveral Neglects of Proſecution in the Country; and finding a Remiſſneſs in ſeveral Places, and notwithſtanding the many Proclamations he had publiſh'd of late, that ſeveral did refuſe or neglect to put the ſame in Execution, his Majeſty, within ſeven Days after the Parliament was diſſolv'd, was pleas'd in Council to Order, 'That all his Majeſty's Juſtices 'of the Peace do with all Care and Diligence purſue his Majeſty's Com-'mands ſignify'd in ſuch his late Proclamations. And his Majeſty doth 'hereby further Direct the Lord Chancellor of *England*, upon due Com-'plaint made of the Neglect or Refuſal of any of his Majeſty's Juſtices 'of the Peace, in the Execution of the Premiſſes, forthwith to put them, 'and every of them out of Commiſſion for the Peace, as *Perſons Diſ-'affected to his Majeſty's Government, and the true Proteſtant Religion*; 'and to put in their Places Perſons who may be likely to act with more 'Vigour and Affection.' In Sum, all the King's Proceedings at this Time were like one who fear'd and hated both the Papiſts, and their Religion. *The King uſes all popular Methods.*

2. What added to the Ferment of the Times, and the Horror of the People, was the Conviction of the three reputed Murtherers of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill*, who were try'd on the 10th of *February*, at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, with as much Expectation and Concourſe as the greateſt of the Plotters. Here *Oates* had but a ſmall Share, who ſwore only to the Fears and Apprehenſions of Sir *Edmund-bury*, a little before the Murther, as that he told him, *That he went in Fear of his Life by the Popiſh Party*; and when he adviſ'd him to take his Man always with him, he ſaid, *No, he did not fear them, if they did but come fairly.* This Evidence was confirm'd by one Mr. *Robinſon*, who teſtify'd he heard him ſay, *That he believ'd he ſhould be the firſt Martyr.* But *Prance*'s Evidence was large and full; and he told the whole Story at length, as we have already recited it, and was ſo poſitive and particular, that it was ſufficient alone to convict the Priſoners. And yet he was put to two Difficulties in the Tryal, which at another Time could not have been ſo eaſily conquer'd. The Firſt was that obvious one of his Recanting and Denying all before the King and Council; but in this he was not a little help'd out *The Tryal of* Green, Berry, *and* Hill. Prance *the main Witneſs*

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by the Court, and it was alledg'd, *That all that was nothing but an unusual Fear, and a Want of a full Assurance of his Pardon.* The Second was upon his being ask'd by Mrs. *Hill*, upon his Oath, *Whether he had not been tortured in* Newgate, *since several had heard him cry out in that Place?* The poor Man, to support the Credit of his Evidence, was forc'd to disown all his barbarous Usage, and to say, *That Captain* Richardson *had us'd him as civilly as any Man in* England; *and that all the Time he was there, he wanted for nothing:* And all directly contrary to sufficient Proofs that were made to appear afterwards.

Bedloe's *Evidence.*

The next Witness was *Bedloe*, the first Discoverer, whose Evidence before the Lords was, 'That *Le Phaire*, *Walsh*, *Pritchard*, *Keins*, &c. 'had wheedled Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* into *Somerset-House*-Court, under the Pretence of taking some principal Plotters; and after a Turn 'or two, and the Pretence of sending for a Constable, they shov'd him 'into a Room, presented a Pistol to him, *if he made any Noise, but wou'd* 'do him no hurt, *if he wou'd send for his Examinations*; which he refu- 'sing to do, they stifled him between two Pillows, and after that, upon 'finding some Life in him, they strangled him with a long Crevat.' But now it was necessary to omit several Particulars in this Story, to make his and *Prance*'s Evidence agree; and indeed the main Business between them two, was the same as between *Oates* and Him, to make a real Harmony without an appearing Confederacy. What he testify'd upon the Tryal, was generally more remote, yet at such a near Distance as might answer the Ends of his Swearing. He swore, 'That about a Fortnight 'before the Murther, *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, *Keins*, and some other *Ro-* 'mish Priests, all unknown to *Prance* and his Criminals, discours'd him 'about *Killing a certain Gentleman*, not nam'd; and then set him to in- 'sinuate himself into Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*'s Acquaintance, which 'he did under several Pretences. That on the very Day of the Mur- 'ther *Le Phaire* told him *There was a Gentleman to be put out of the* 'Way that Night, and would have him to assist, and *that there would* 'be Four thousand Pounds Reward from the Lord Bellasis, &c. and 'therefore desir'd him to meet in the Cloysters at *Somerset-House* that E- 'vening, for *thereabouts it was to be done*; which he promis'd to do, but 'wilfully fail'd them, *Because he wou'd not have his Hands in Blood.* On 'the *Monday* after, *Le Phaire* meeting him, charg'd him with Breach of 'Promise, and appointed him to come to *Somerset-House* at Nine that 'Night, where he told the Witness, *That he had done ill, that he did not* 'help in the Business; but if he wou'd assist to carry him off, he should 'still have half the Reward; and told him he was actually murther'd. The 'Witness ask'd *if he might see him*; upon which *Le Phaire* led him 'through a dark Entry into a Room where were several People, and '*Prance* amongst them, and only by the Light of a dark Lanthorn, he saw the 'Face of the murther'd Person, and knew him to be Sir *Edmund-bury God-* 'frey. The Witness advis'd to tye Weights about him, and throw him into 'the *Thames*; but they did not approve of that, but said, *They would put* 'it upon Himself, and carry him out in a Chair by the Help of Porter 'Berry, *at Twelve that Night.* The Witness promis'd, *upon the Sacra-* 'ment, which he had taken the *Thursday* before, *to come again to help* 'them; but being got from them, his Conscience would not permit him 'to go any further; tho' he had been promis'd Two thousand Pounds for 'his Labour, but he rather chose to discover the Villany to the King 'and Council,' and accept of a Quarter of the Sum in an honest Way.

Some Circumstantial Evidences.

By Way of Circumstance and Confirmation, the Constable that view'd the Body in the Ditch, gave an Account, 'That the Sword was stick- 'ing through him, but no Blood appear'd on the Ground, and he found

'Gold

'Gold and Silver in his Pockets.' And two Surgeons ſwore, 'That 'they verily believ'd, the Sword was run through him after he was dead 'and cold; but that he dy'd by reaſon of the Suffocation, and breaking 'of his Neck, and Bruiſes on the Breaſt.' Sir *Robert Southwell* depos'd, 'That *Prance* having related the Matter to the Council, and being ſent 'with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Oſſory*, to ſhew the Places 'he mention'd, did readily go to them all, and they appear'd to be all 'ſuch as he had deſcrib'd them; only as to the Room in the upper 'Court where the Body was laid one Night, having never been there 'but once, he ſaid he cou'd not poſitively aſſign it, but pointed to ſome 'Rooms, and ſaid, *He was ſure it was thereabouts.*' And this Dubiouſneſs the Court obſerv'd, gave more Credit to the reſt of his Teſtimonies, *for a Man that will ſwear any Thing, will ſtick at Nothing.* Theſe, and ſome other ſmaller Matters, were brought as Circumſtantial Proofs againſt the Priſoners. 1678/9. Car. 31 Reſ. 19

The Defence made by the Priſoners.

As to their Defence, they had ſeveral material Things to alledge, which were not ſo much regarded at this Time. *Hill* brought ſeveral Witneſſes to prove, 'That he was never out of his Lodgings, after Nine a-Clock 'at Night, during the whole Time of this Tranſaction;' but they were the leſs minded by reaſon of their being *Papiſts*, and of the ſame Religion with himſelf. Beſides he prov'd, 'that when he heard of *Prance*'s being ta-'ken up for the Murther, he had full time to make his Eſcape, which he 'never endeavouring, was a great Preſumption of his Innocence.' *Green* prov'd by two Witneſſes, *James Warrier* and his Wife, 'that he was at 'their Houſe in the *Strand*, from between Seven and Eight, till after 'Ten, on that very Night and Time, that Sir *Edmund* was ſaid to be 'Murther'd in *Somerſet-Houſe:* And when *Prance* was taken up, he 'ſhew'd ſuch a Deteſtation of the Fact, that he ſaid, *Rather than he 'ſhould eſcape, if he were guilty, he would be the Executioner himſelf.* In Behalf of *Berry* the Porter, the Soldiers that were placed Sentinel at the Gate, teſtify'd, 'that no Sedan went out of the Gate that Night that 'the Body was ſaid to be carry'd off, tho' one did come in, (which be-'long'd to the Lady *Wiche*, as it afterwards appear'd,) *and that they cou'd 'not be miſtaken in ſo plain a Matter.*' And *Berry*'s Maid declar'd, 'that 'her Maſter was in Bed by Twelve a-Clock that Night, and never ſtir'd 'out; which made it impoſſible for him to be upon the whole Expedi-'tion.' They all endeavour'd likewiſe to invalidate *Prance*'s Evidence; but his fine Story carry'd the Point at laſt; and the Court particularly obſerv'd, *That it was impoſſible that Mr.* Prance, *a Man of that mean Capacity, ſhould invent a Story with ſo many conſiſting Circumſtances, if there were not Truth in the Bottom of it:* Which made others obſerve, *That the Story was invented by ſome Body elſe of a greater Capacity.* In Concluſion, the Jury brought them in all guilty of the Murther: Whereupon the Lord Chief-Juſtice ſaid, *Gentlemen, you have found the ſame Verdict that I would have found, if I had been one with you; and if it were the laſt Word I were to ſpeak in this World, I ſhould have pronounc'd them Guilty.* At which Words, the whole Aſſembly in *Weſtminſter-Hall* gave a great Shout of Applauſe.

They are found guilty.

The next Day Mr. Juſtice *Wyld*, as Second Judge in the Court, paſs'd Sentence upon them with a Speech, in which we may take notice of theſe Words: *If I cou'd abſtract Folly from Wickedneſs, certainly it was one of the greateſt Pieces of Folly and Sottiſhneſs in the World: For what cou'd be your End in it? Did you think that all the Magiſtrates in* England *were lodg'd in Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey? *that if he were taken out of the Way, there were not Men of Spirit and Courage, as faithful and diligent as he was?*——After their Condemnation, great Pains were ta-

Condemn'd.

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ken, and particularly by Mr. *Smith* the Ordinary of *Newgate*, to bring them to a Confeſſion of their Guilt, or Knowledge of the Murther; but they continually deny'd they had any Knowledge of it, and immoveably inſiſted upon their Innocence to the laſt Moment of their Lives; all which was then generally imputed to their *Popiſh* Principles; tho' *Berry* in effect own'd to the Ordinary, That he was a *Proteſtant* in his Heart, but had for ſome Time diſſembled his Religion for his private Advantage. *Hill*, to ſhew his Sincerity, confeſs'd to the Ordinary, *That he had wrong'd one in a Twelve Penny Matter, which had ſo troubled his Conſcience, that he had made Reſtitution ſince his Condemnation, tho' he was in extream Want of preſent Neceſſaries:* and therefore he thus argu'd with Him, *If I have taken Shame upon my ſelf, in confeſſing my Crime in the Caſe of a Trifle; can you think I wou'd deny the Murther to maintain my Reputation?* About the ſame Time he wrote this Letter to his Wife, which may deſerve to be remember'd: '*My dear Wife*, I recommend 'you to that good God of Heaven, who I hope will be both a Husband 'to you, and a Father to my poor Child, if you ſerve and love him as 'you ought to do: And the Firſt Thing you are to do, is *heartily to 'forgive him that is the Occaſion of my Death*; and not to bear him any 'Malice, but leave the Revenge wholly to God, who knows beſt how 'to revenge the Innocent. This I earneſtly beg of you to do; and likewiſe to deſire all my Friends to pray to God Almighty, *That if it be 'his Divine Will, this little Suffering may mitigate his Juſt Wrath 'againſt me for my heinous Sins.*' In purſuance of their Sentence, *Laurence Hill* and *Robert Green* were executed at *Tyburn*, on the 21ſt of *February*: But *Henry Berry*, being now look'd upon as a Proteſtant, was repriev'd till the 28th, in Expectation of ſome Diſcovery; but he finally inſiſted, as the other two had done, *That he was as Innocent as the Child new Born*; which was then only look'd upon as a Canting and Equivocating Expreſſion, invented by the *Papiſts* to be us'd upon theſe and the like Occaſions.

And Executed.

And now the two grand Evidences, *Oates* and *Bedloe*, having gain'd the main Point, of making the *Murther* to be an eſſential Part of the *Plot*, and the chief Support of the Credit of it, they ſeem'd in the Height of their Glory, and no Man durſt preſume to doubt of their Veracity. Therefore on the ſame Week that the Three laſt Perſons were condemn'd, when Mens Beliefs were freſh and ſtrong, they thought fit to bring in their Bills of Charges, of what Moneys they had, for the Good of the Publick, expended and paid out of their own Pockets; *Oates* beginning his at a Time when he was in a ſtarving Condition, without Money or Credit; and *Bedloe*, when he had juſt before been fed out of the Alms-Basket at the *Marſhalſea*. The former amounted to ſix Hundred and ſeventy eight Pounds, twelve and ſix Pence: The Latter, being of a ſhorter ſtanding, amounted to no more than two Hundred and thirteen Pounds, without any odd Money. We do not find how well the Government paid them; but for the Truth of them, many Perſons have ſince thought that their Bills and their *Narratives* were equally credible.

Oates and Bedloe's Bills.

3. As the Time for the Meeting of the new Parliament drew near, ſo the King was daily preparing the Way to make it an uſeful and eaſy Seſſion; and omitted no popular Acts that might teſtify his Apprehenſions of Popery and the Plot, which had now ſo fill'd the Heads of the Nation. But the moſt popular Act at this Time was reſerv'd to the laſt, and that was the ſending away his Brother the Duke of *York*, that he might be no Cauſe of Diſputes in the Parliament, nor be imagin'd to influence any Counſels at Court. Accordingly, he directed the following Letter to his Royal

Royal Highneſs, on the 28th of *February*: 'I have already given you my 'Reſolves at large, why I think it fit that you ſhou'd abſent your ſelf for 'ſome Time beyond the Seas: As I am truly ſorry for the Occaſion, ſo 'may you be ſure, I ſhall never deſire it longer than it will be abſolutely 'neceſſary for your *Good*, and my *Service*. In the mean Time I think it 'proper *to give it you under my Hand*, That I expect this Compliance 'from you, and deſire it may be as ſoon as conveniently you can. You 'may eaſily believe with what Trouble I write; there being nothing I am 'more ſenſible of than the conſtant Kindneſs you have ever had for me. 'I hope you are as Juſt to me, to be aſſured, *That no Abſence nor 'any Thing elſe, can ever change me from being Truly and Kindly, 'Yours*, C. R. 1678/9. Car. 31 Reſ. 19 *The King's Letter to the Duke of* York.

In purſuance of this Command, his Royal Highneſs, with the Dutcheſs and his Family, immediately made ready to take Shipping for *Holland*, which they did upon the 3d Day of *March*. The Day before, Sir *William Temple* being juſt arriv'd from *Holland*, he took an Occaſion to diſcourſe with that Miniſter, and told him with great Freedom the Steps that had been made towards the Reſolution of this Journey, *which was much againſt his own Opinion*: Therefore he bid Sir *William* remember what he now foretold him, *That however this was thought likely to ſtop the violent Humour then rais'd by the* Plot, *yet he ſhou'd ſee it wou'd go next to my Lord Treaſurer's Ruin, tho' he did not expect it*. But to obviate this Miſchief, and to prevent the Inconveniencies that might fall upon the King by a Parliamentary Impeachment, his Majeſty, upon the Firſt of *March*, had granted as full and as compleat a Pardon as cou'd be drawn up, for all Crimes and Miſdemeanors whatſoever, that cou'd before that Time be alledg'd againſt that prime Miniſter. That, and the Diſmiſſion from his Office, which preſently follow'd, was look'd upon as a ſure Protection againſt all Impeachments and Accuſations. *The Duke goes beyond Sea.*

On the 12th of *March*, the Duke of *York* and his Family arriv'd at *Holland*, and at his firſt Landing was receiv'd by his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, accompany'd with many Perſons of the Higheſt Quality, who conducted them to the *Hague*. Here the Prince drew out all his Guards before his Father-in-law, to the Number of three Thouſand, in a very good Equipage; and when the Duke paſs'd by them, the Prince put himſelf at the Head of his *Guards du Corps*, and ſaluted him with his Sword in his Hand; and as they fil'd off, the Prince march'd at the Head of them, and repeated the ſame Civility, tho' the Duke did what he cou'd to hinder them. The *States-General*, upon Notice of their Royal Highneſs's Arrival, deſired to have render'd them thoſe Publick Honours, which were due to their high Quality, but the Duke excus'd it, deſiring to be there *Incognito*. Of all which, there was a pompous Account publiſh'd at *London* by Authority. After a while, the Duke and his Family remov'd to *Bruſſels*, a Place in which he had formerly been well acquainted, where he ſtay'd moſt of the Summer, waiting for a proper Opportunity to return into *England*. *His Reception in* Holland. *Goes to* Bruſſels.

Rot. Parl. *Wright. Care. Hornby. &c.*

II. 1. The King having prepared the Way by all plauſible and probable Methods, to render Himſelf and his Buſineſs acceptable to his new Parliament, on *Thurſday* the 6th of *March*, that great Aſſembly met at *Weſtminſter*, watch'd and attended by the Eyes and Ears of the whole Kingdom. After all the preſent Members had taken the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, his Majeſty appear'd in great Splendor upon his Throne, and having ſent for the Houſe of Commons, he made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I meet 'you here with the moſt earneſt Deſire that Man can have, to unite the 'Minds *The* THIRD PARLIAMENT. *The King's Speech to both Houſes.*

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'Minds of all my Subjects, both to Me, and to one another. And I re-
'ſolve it ſhall be your Faults, if the Succeſs be not ſuitable to my Deſires.
'I have done many great Things already in Order to that End, as the
'Excluſion of the Popiſh Lords from their Seats in Parliament; the Exe-
'cution of ſeveral Men, both upon the Score of the *Plot*, and the Mur-
'ther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and it is apparent, that I have not
'been idle in Proſecuting the Diſcovery of Both, as much further as hath
'been poſſible in ſo ſhort a Time. I have disbanded as much of the Ar-
'my as I cou'd get Mony to do; and I am ready to disband the reſt
'ſo ſoon as you ſhall reimburſe me the Mony they have coſt me, and will
'enable me to pay off the Remainder: And above all, I have command-
'ed my Brother to abſent Himſelf from Me, becauſe I wou'd not leave
'malicious Men Room to ſay, *I had not remov'd all Cauſes which cou'd*
'*be pretended to Influence Me towards* Popiſh *Counſels*.

'Beſides that End of Union which I aim at (and which I cou'd wiſh
'cou'd be extended to *Proteſtants* Abroad, as well as at Home) I pro-
'poſe by this laſt great Step I have made, to diſcern Whether *Proteſtant*
'*Religion*, and the *Peace of the Kingdom* be as truly intended by Others,
'as they are really aim'd at by Me: For if they be, you will employ your
'Time upon the great Concerns of the Nation, and not be drawn to pro-
'mote private Animoſities, under the Pretences of the *Publick*: Your
'Proceedings will be calm and peaceable, in Order to thoſe good Ends I
'have recommended to you; and you will curb the Motions of any un-
'ruly Spirits, which wou'd endeavour to diſturb them. I hope there will
'be none ſuch among you, becauſe there can be no Man that muſt not
'ſee how fatal Differences amongſt our Selves are like to be at this Time,
'both at Home and Abroad. I ſhall not ceaſe my Endeavours, daily to
'find out what more I can, both of the *Plot*, and the Murther of Sir *Ed-*
'*mund-bury Godfrey*, and ſhall deſire the Aſſiſtance of both my Houſes in
'the Work. I have not been wanting in giving Orders for Putting all
'the preſent Laws in Execution againſt *Papiſts*; and I am ready to join
'in the Making ſuch further Laws as may be neceſſary for ſecuring the
'Kingdom againſt *Popery*.

'I muſt deſire your Aſſiſtance alſo in the Supplies, both for Disbanding
'the Army, as I have already told you, and for Paying that Part of the
'Fleet, which hath been provided for by Parliament but till the Fifth of
'*June* laſt; as alſo that Debt for Stores, which was occaſion'd by the
'*Poll-Bill*'s falling ſhort of the Sum which that Act gave Credit for. I
'muſt neceſſarily recommend to you likewiſe the Diſcharging of thoſe
'*Anticipations* which are upon my Revenue, and which I have command-
'ed to be laid before you; and I hope I have juſt Cauſe to deſire ſuch
'an *Increaſe of the Revenue* it ſelf, as might make it equal to my neceſ-
'ſary Expences; but by reaſon of thoſe other Supplies, which are abſo-
'lutely neceſſary at this Time, I am contented to ſtruggle with that Diffi-
'culty a while longer; expecting for the preſent, only to have thoſe Ad-
'ditional Duties upon *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſe* to be prolonged to me; and
'that you will ſome other Way make up the Loſs I ſuſtain by the Prohi-
'bition of *French* Wines and Brandy, which turns only to my Prejudice,
'and to the great Advantage of the *French*. I muſt needs put you in
'Mind how neceſſary it will be to have a good Strength at Sea at Sum-
'mer, ſince our Neighbours are making Naval Preparations: and not-
'withſtanding the great Difficulties I labour under, I have taken ſuch
'Care as will prevent any Danger that can threaten us, if your Parts be
'perform'd in Time. And I do heartily recommend to you, That ſuch
'a *Conſtant Eſtabliſhment* might be made for the Navy, as might make
'the Kingdom not only ſafe, but formidable; which can never be, whilſt

'there

'there remains not enough beſides, to pay the neceſſary Charges of the 1678/9.
'Crown. Car. 31
'I will conclude as I begun, with my earneſt Deſires to have this a Ref. 19
'HEALING PARLIAMENT; and I do give you this Aſſurance,
'That I will with my Life defend both the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the
'*Laws of this Kingdom*; and I do expect from you to be defended from
'the *Calumny*, as well as the *Danger* of thoſe Worſt of Men, who en-
'deavour to render Me, and my Government, odious to my People. The
'reſt I leave to the Lord Chancellor.

Accordingly the Lord Chancellor *Finch* deliver'd a long and eloquent Speech, of which the greateſt Part muſt be here inſerted. After a handſome Introduction, he proceeded thus: 'The Conſiderations which are *The Lord Chancellor* Finch's *Speech.*
'now to be laid before you, are as urgent and as weighty as were ever
'yet offer'd to any Parliament, or indeed ever can be; ſo great, and ſo
'ſurprizing have been our Dangers at Home, ſo formidable are the Appea-
'rances of Danger from Abroad, that the moſt united Counſels, the moſt
'ſedate and calmeſt Temper, together with the moſt dutiful and zealous
'Affections that a Parliament can ſhew, are all become abſolutely and in-
'diſpenſably neceſſary for our Preſervation. At Home, we had need
'look about us; for his Majeſty's Royal Perſon hath been in Danger by
'a Conſpiracy againſt his Sacred Life, maliciouſly contriv'd, and induſtri-
'ouſly carry'd on, by thoſe Seminary Prieſts and *Jeſuits*, and their Ad-
'herents, who think themſelves under ſome Obligations of Conſcience to
'effect it; and having vow'd the Subverſion of the true Religion amongſt
'us, find no Way ſo likely to compaſs it, as to wound us in the Head,
'and to kill the *Defender of the Faith*. His Majeſty wanted not ſuffici-
'ent Evidence of his Zeal for our Religion, without this Teſtimony from
'his Enemies, who were about to ſacrifice him for it: But it hath ever
'been the Practice of thoſe *Votaries*, firſt to murder the Fame of Princes,
'and then their Perſons; firſt to ſlander them to their People, as if they
'favour'd *Papiſts*, and then to aſſaſſinate them for being too zealous
'*Proteſtants*. And thus, by all the Ways and Means which our Law
'calls *Treaſon*, and their Divinity calls *Merit* and *Martyrdom*, they are
'trying to ſet up the Dominion and the Supremacy of the Pope, as if the
'Dignity of his Triple Crown cou'd never be ſufficiently advanc'd, un-
'leſs theſe Three Kingdoms were added unto him, and all brought back
'again under that Yoke, *which neither We, nor our Fore-Fathers, were*
'*able to bear*.

'The Enquiry into this Conſpiracy hath been cloſely purſu'd; and the
'Lords of the Council have been careful to proſecute the Diſcovery ever
'ſince the Riſing of the laſt Parliament, and the King doth now recom-
'mend it to you to perfect. More Evidence hath been already found
'out, and more Malefactors diſcover'd, ſome in Hold, ſome fled; the
'Juſtices of the Peace have been quicken'd in the Execution of their Du-
'ty; the Negligent have been reprov'd and puniſh'd, the Diligent encou-
'rag'd and aſſiſted in doubtful Caſes, by the Opinions of the Judges;
'active and faithful Meſſengers have been ſent into all the Corners of the
'Kingdom, where there was any Hopes of Service to be done; the ve-
'ry Priſons have been ſearch'd, to ſee whether any had fled thither to
'hide themſelves there, and under Pretence of Debt to eſcape the Pur-
'ſuit: And if any have deſired Leave to go beyond Sea, they have firſt
'given Security not to go to *Rome*, nor ſend their Children to any Fo-
'reign Seminaries; and then they have been oblig'd to give in a Liſt of
'all their Menial Servants, and thoſe Servants too have been examin'd
'upon Oath: And Order is given that they be again examin'd at the
'Ports, and make Oath they are the ſame Perſons who were examin'd
'above:

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'above: So that all poſſible Care hath been taken that no Malefactors 'might eſcape us in Diſguiſe. And tho' the Prieſts themſelves do not 'keep the *Confeſſions* of their Proſelytes more ſecret than theſe keep the '*Injunctions* of their Prieſts, yet enough hath appear'd to bring ſome Ca-'pital Offenders to publick Juſtice, and to convict them of the Crime: 'Some of the Traytors have been executed; ſeveral Prieſts have been 'arreſted and impriſon'd; all are hiding themſelves, and lurking in ſecret 'Corners, like the *Sons of Darkneſs*. The Murderers of Sir *Edmund-'bury Godfrey* have been condemn'd, and ſuffer'd Death: Some *Papiſts* 'have baniſh'd themſelves out of the Kingdom; others are impriſon'd for 'not taking the Oaths: All are proſecuted towards Conviction; and the 'very Shame and Reproach which attends ſuch abominable Practices, 'hath cover'd ſo many Faces with new and ſtrange Confuſions, that it 'hath prov'd a powerful Argument for their Converſions: Nor is it to be 'wonder'd at, that they cou'd no longer believe all that to be Goſpel 'which their Prieſts taught them, when they ſaw the Way and Means 'of Introducing it was ſo far from being Evangelical. In a Word, ſo 'univerſal is that Deſpair to which the *Papiſts* are now reduc'd, that 'they have no other Hope left but this, *That we may chance to overdo 'our own Buſineſs*; and, by being too far tranſported with the *Fears of 'Popery*, neglect the Opportunities we now have of making ſober and 'laſting Proviſions againſt it. And 'tis not to be doubted but that it 'wou'd infinitely gratify the Papiſts in the Revenge they wiſh, for this 'Diſcovery, if they cou'd ſee us diſtracted with Jealouſies incurable, and 'diſtruſting the Government to ſuch a Degree, as ſhou'd weaken all that 'Reverence by which it ſtands: For then the *Plot* wou'd not be alto-'gether without Effect; but thoſe whom they cou'd not deſtroy by their 'Conſpiracy, they ſhou'd have the Satisfaction to ſee Ruining themſelves 'after the Diſcovery: So that, tho' we had eſcap'd that *Deſolation* which 'they intended to have brought upon us, nothing cou'd ſave us from that '*Deſtruction* which we ſhall bring upon our ſelves. But their Expecta-'tions of this are as vain, as their other Deſigns were wicked: For his 'Majeſty hath already begun to let them ſee with what Severity he in-'tends to proceed againſt them. He hath paſs'd a Law to diſable all the 'Nobility and Gentry of that Faction ever to ſit in Parliament; and 'not content with that, he did offer to the laſt Parliament, and does 'again renew the ſame Offer to this Parliament, to paſs any further Laws 'againſt *Popery* which ſhall be deſired; ſo as the ſame extend not to the 'Diminution of his own *Prerogative*, nor alter the *Deſcent* of the Crown 'in the *Right Line*, nor defeat the *Succeſſion*. He hath refus'd the Pe-'tition of the Lords, who, during the Interval of Parliament, deſired to 'be brought to their Tryal, and, after ſo long an Impriſonment, might 'reaſonably enough have expected it. But his Majeſty thought it fitter to 'reſerve them to a more publick and conſpicuous Tryal in Parliament: 'For which Cauſe their Tryal ought now to be haſtned; for it is high 'Time there ſhou'd be ſome Period put to the Impriſonment of the Lords.

'But that which the King hath been pleas'd to mention to you this Morn-'ing, ſurpaſſes all the reſt, and is ſufficient of it ſelf alone to diſcharge all 'thoſe Fears of *Popiſh Influences* which many good Men had too far en-'tertain'd: For now you ſee his Majeſty of his own accord hath done 'that which wou'd have been very difficult for you to ask; and hath 'depriv'd himſelf of the Converſation of his Royal and only Brother, 'by commanding him to depart the Kingdom; to which Command his 'Royal Highneſs hath paid a humble and a moſt entire Submiſſion and 'Obedience. This Separation was attended with a more than ordinary 'Sorrow on both ſides. But he, that for your Sakes cou'd part with

'ſuch

'ſuch a Brother, and ſuch a Friend, you may be ſure, *hath now no Favourite but his People.* Since therefore his Majeſty hath ſhewn ſo much Readineſs to concur with, and in a manner to prevent, the Deſires of his Parliament, 'tis a miſerable Refuge our Enemies muſt truſt to, when they hope to ſee our Zeal out-run our Diſcretion, and that we our ſelves ſhall become the unhappy Occaſion of making our own Counſels abortive. Not only the Care of the State, but the Care we ought to have of the Church too, will preſerve us from all Errors of this kind: For as there neither is, nor hath been theſe fifteen hundred Years, a purer Church than ours; ſo 'tis for the ſake of this poor Church alone, that the State hath been ſo much diſturb'd. It is her Truth and Peace, her Decency and Order, which they labour to undermine, and purſue with ſo reſtleſs a Malice: And ſince they do ſo, it will be neceſſary for us to diſtinguiſh between *Popiſh* and other Recuſants, between them that wou'd deſtroy the whole Flock, and them that only wander from it. And among the many good Laws you ſhall think fit to provide, it may not be amiſs to think of ſome better Remedy for regulating the Preſs, from whence there daily ſteal forth *Popiſh Catechiſms, Pſalters*, and *Books of Controverſy:* And it may be another good Fruit of ſuch a Law, to hinder Schiſmatical and Seditious Libels too; for certainly it were much better for us *to make ſuch Laws as will prevent Offences, rather than ſuch as ſerve only to puniſh the Offenders.*' 1678. Car. 31 Reſ. 19

Then, inſiſting upon the Reaſonableneſs of a Supply, from the Dangers abroad, and Neceſſities at home, he proceeded thus:

'*My Lords and Gentlemen,* There are ſo many things to do, and ſo little time to do them in, that there ought not to be one Minute loſt. The Seaſon of the Year is not yet ſo far advanced, as to make it too late to ſet out a Fleet this Summer; for moſt of the Preparations are ready, if we go about it with that Diligence which is requiſite: And therefore it doth infinitely import us all to husband Time. The beſt way of doing this will be, to avoid all long and tedious *Conſultations*, which ſometimes do as much harm as ill *Reſolutions:* And, above all, to take heed to ſuch *Queſtions* and *Debates* as tend to raiſe Heat, or may create any kind of Diſturbance. Nor doth any thing in the World ſo much contribute to *Diſpatch*, as quiet and orderly Proceedings: For they who are in haſte, and attempt to do all their Buſineſs at once, moſt commonly hinder themſelves from bringing any thing to Perfection. You have now an Opportunity of doing great Things for the King and Kingdom; and it deſerves your utmoſt Care to make a right uſe of it: For 'tis not in the Power of a Parliament to recover a loſt Opportunity, or to reſtore themſelves again to the ſame Circumſtances, or the ſame Condition, which they once had a Power to have improv'd. Wou'd you ſecure Religion at Home, and ſtrengthen it Abroad, by uniting the Intereſts of all the *Proteſtants* in *Europe?* *This is the Time.* Wou'd you let the *Chriſtian* World ſee the King in a Condition able to protect thoſe who ſhall adhere to Him, or depend upon Him? *This is the Time.* Wou'd you extinguiſh all our Fears and Jealouſies? Wou'd you lay aſide all private Animoſities, and give them up to the Quiet and Repoſe of the Publick? *This is the Time.* Wou'd you lay the Foundations of a laſting Peace, and ſecure the Church and State againſt all the future Machinations of our Enemies? THIS IS THE TIME.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen,* The preſent Face of Things, and the State wherein we now are, is ſo well known and underſtood Abroad, that the whole World is in great Expectation of thoſe Reſolutions which ſhall be taken here: The Reſults of this Council ſeem to be de-

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'cisive of the Fate of these Kingdoms for many Ages, and are like to 'determine us either to Happiness or Misery of a very long Duration. 'We use to say, and say truly, *That the King, when seated in Parlia-* 'ment, *is then in the Fulness of his Majesty and Power, and shines forth* 'with the brightest Lustre: Let no Exhalations from beneath darken or 'obscure it! Foreign Nations say, and say truly, *That a King of* Eng- 'land, *in Conjunction with his Parliament, is as Great and Dreadful a* 'Prince as any in Europe: Shew them the Sight they are afraid of! 'And since they have laid it down for a Maxim in their Politicks, *That* 'England *can never be destroy'd but by it self; and that it is in vain to* 'make any Attempts upon this Nation, until they be in some great Disor- 'der and Confusion among themselves; make the Ambitious despair betimes, 'and establish so perfect an Intelligence between all the Parts of this great 'Body, that there may be but one Heart, and one Soul among us. And 'let us all pray, *That he, who hath once more miraculously deliver'd the* 'King, the Church, and the State, wou'd be pleas'd still to continue his 'Divine Protection, and give us thankful and obedient Hearts. And 'when we have offer'd up those Hearts to God, let us in the next place 'offer them again to the King, and lay them down at the Foot-stool of 'his Throne, that so the King may see himself safe in your Counsels, 'rich in your Affections, victorious by your Arms, and rais'd to such a 'Height by your Loyalty and Courage, that you may have the Honour 'of making him the *Greatest King*, and he the Glory of making you the '*Happiest People*.

In Conclusion, by the King's Commands, he order'd the House of Commons to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker, who was to be presented to the King the next Day; and being return'd to their House, Colonel *Birch* did nominate and recommend the Right Honourable *Edward Seymour*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*, Treasurer of the Navy, one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, and Speaker of the last Parliament: 'Being a Person acceptable to the King, 'and one who for his great Integrity, Ability, and long Experience in the 'Employment, was the fittest Person for so great a Trust.' And Mr. *Seymour* being unanimously call'd upon to the Chair, was conducted thither by Sir *Thomas Lee*, Sir *Thomas Whitmore*, and divers other Members; and being there placed, he made a gratulatory Speech to the House for their great Kindness and Affection towards him, in their unanimous Choice of him: But still he desired the House that they wou'd proceed to a new Election, *For the long Sittings of the late Parliament had so impaired his Health, that he doubted he shou'd not be well able to undergo the Service of the House, as wou'd be expected from him:* But the House not admitting of any Excuse, confirm'd their Choice; upon which he desir'd leave, *That he might intercede with his Majesty, that he wou'd be pleas'd to Discharge him of the Duty.*

Mr. Edward Seymour *chosen Speaker.*

But it appears, that he need not have been so urgent; for the King and the Earl of *Danby*, taking this Choice to be an ill Presage, that this Parliament wou'd begin where the last ended, were resolv'd not to approve of it: And as soon as he appear'd to be presented, the Lord-Chancellor stood up, and said, *That if his Majesty shou'd always accept a Person pitcht upon by the House of Commons, then it wou'd be no great Favour to be chosen a Speaker; and therefore his Majesty, being the best Judge of Persons and Things, thought fit to except against Mr.* Seymour, *as being fitly qualify'd for other Services and Imployments, without giving any Reason to the Persons chusing, or the Person chosen*: And therefore he order'd them to fix upon some other Person by to Morrow Morning, to be presented to the King for his Approbation. The Commons,

The King refuses him.

mons immediately return'd back to their own Houſe; where Sir *John Ernly* ſtood up and acquainted them, *He had Order from his Majeſty to recommend Sir* Thomas Meers *to them to be their Speaker, as a Perſon well known in the Method and Practice of Parliaments, and a Perſon that he thought wou'd be very acceptable and ſerviceable to them.* But the Houſe in a great Heat, cry'd out, *No, No!* and fell into a warm Debate. Mr. *Sacheverell* ſaid, *It was never known that a Perſon ſhou'd be excepted againſt, and no Reaſon at all given,* and therefore concluded, *That it was done purpoſely to gratify ſome particular Perſons.* Mr. *Williams* ſaid, *For above a hundred Years, it had not been known that a Speaker preſented was ever excepted againſt; and the thing it ſelf of preſenting him to the King, as he humbly conceiv'd, was but a bare Compliment.* Sir *Thomas Clarges* alledg'd, *That there were Parliaments long before there were Speakers choſen, and afterwards for the Eaſe of the Houſe among themſelves, they pitch'd upon a Speaker.----All our Lives and Liberties are preſerv'd by this Houſe, therefore we are to preſerve the Liberties of it.* Mr. *Garraway* objected, *If Mr.* Seymour *be rejected, and no Reaſon given, pray who muſt chuſe a Speaker, the King or we? Is it plain not we?*-----Sir *Thomas Lee* ſaid, *We addreſs'd our ſelves to his Majeſty the laſt Parliament, as fearing his Perſon to be in Danger, but we receiv'd no Anſwer at all in a whole Week; we were immediately Prorogu'd unexpectedly, and a little after Diſſolv'd as unexpectedly: And I ſuppoſe the ſame Perſons that gave that Advice, gave this alſo.* Others concluded, that all this was only for a Bone of Contention, fearing they ſhou'd agree, and ſo call'd to *Adjourn*, which was ſoon agreed to.

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The Commons diſguſted.

Theſe Heats were ſo much the greater, becauſe they reaſonably ſuppos'd that it was all occaſion'd by the Earl of *Danby*, whoſe Power was not wholly at an End, and between whom and Mr. *Seymour* there was a particular Reſentment. However, the firſt thing reſolv'd on the next Day, being *Saturday*, was, 'That an humble Application be made to the King, 'to acquaint his Majeſty, That the Matter yeſterday deliver'd by the 'Lord-Chancellor, relating to the Speaker, is of ſo great Importance, 'that this Houſe cannot immediately come to a Reſolution therein: 'And therefore do humbly deſire his Majeſty, that he will graciouſly 'be pleas'd to grant ſome further Time for this Houſe to take the 'Matter into Conſideration.' And they order'd the Chancellor of the Dutchy, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and Sir *Henry Capel* immediately to attend his Majeſty with this Vote. Being return'd in a ſhort time, the Lord *Ruſſel* acquainted the Houſe, 'That they had at-'tended his Majeſty, who was ſitting in Council; and that his Majeſty, 'as ſoon as he was inform'd they were to wait upon him from the Houſe, 'immediately came out, and receiv'd them with great Chearfulneſs and 'Kindneſs: And having deliver'd their Meſſage, his Majeſty retired to 'the Council-Chamber, and coming out again, was pleas'd to return the 'following Anſwer by Word of Mouth, which they had reduc'd to 'Writing: *Gentlemen, I have conſider'd of your Meſſage, and do conſent to a further Time, which I appoint to be on* Tueſday *next, unleſs you ſhall find ſome Expedient in the mean time; for as I would not have my* Prerogative *intrench'd upon, ſo I would not do any Thing againſt the* Privileges *of the Houſe.*

They apply to the King.

His Anſwer.

Upon the ſaid *Tueſday*, they drew up this humble *Repreſentation*: 'We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons in this 'preſent Parliament aſſembled, do with all Obedience return your Ma-'jeſty moſt hearty Thanks for the favourable Reception and gracious 'Anſwer your Majeſty was pleas'd to return to our late Meſſage; wherein 'your

The Commons Repreſentation.

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'your Majesty was pleas'd, not only to *allow us longer Time* to deliberate 'of what was deliver'd to us by the Lord Chancellor, relating to the 'Choice of a Speaker, but likewise to express so great a Care *not to in-* '*fringe our Privileges*. And we desire your Majesty to believe, no 'Subjects ever had more tender Regard, than our selves, to the Right of 'your Majesty and your Royal Prerogative, which we shall always ac- 'knowledge to be vested in the Crown for the Benefit and Protection of 'your People. And therefore, for the clearing all Doubts that may arise 'in your Royal Mind, upon this Occasion now before us, we crave Leave 'humbly to represent to your Majesty, That it is the undoubted Right 'of the Commons to have the Free Election of one of their Members to 'be their Speaker, and to perform the Service of the House: And that 'the Speaker so Elected, and Presented according to Custom, hath by 'the constant Practice of all former Ages, been continu'd Speaker, and 'executed that Imployment, unless such Persons have been excus'd for 'some Corporal Disease, which has been alledg'd, either by themselves, 'or some others in their Behalf, in full Parliament. According to this 'Usage, Mr. *Edward Seymour* was unanimously chosen, upon the Con- 'sideration of his great Ability and Sufficiency for that Place, of which 'we had large Experience in the last Parliament, and was presented by 'us to your Majesty, as a Person we conceiv'd would be most acceptable 'to your Majesty's Royal Judgment. This being the true State of the 'Case, we do in all Humility lay it before your Majesty's View; hoping 'that your Majesty, upon due Consideration of former Precedents, will 'rest satisfy'd with our Proceedings, and will think fit not to deprive 'us of so necessary a Member, by employing him in any other Service; 'but to give us such a gracious Answer, as your Majesty and your Royal 'Predecessors have always done heretofore upon the like Occasions; that 'so we may, without more Loss of Time, proceed to the Dispatch of 'those *Important Affairs* for which we were call'd hither: Wherein we 'doubt not but we shall so behave our selves, as to give an ample Testi- 'mony to the whole World of our Duty and Affection to your Majesty's 'Service, and of our Care of the Peace and Prosperity of your King- 'doms.' To this Representation the King immediately gave this short Answer: *Gentlemen, All this is but Loss of Time; and therefore I de-* *sire you to go back again, and do as I have directed you.*

The King's Answer.

This giving no Satisfaction to the House, the next Day, *March* 12th, the Commons, after a warm Debate, drew up this following Address:

The Commons Address.

'*Most Gracious Sovereign*, Whereas by the Gracious Answer your Ma- 'jesty was pleas'd to give to our first Message in Council, whereby your 'Majesty was pleas'd to declare a Resolution *not to infringe our just Rights* '*and Privileges*, we your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Commons 'were encourag'd to make an *Humble Representation* to your Majesty 'upon the Choice of our Speaker, which on *Tuesday* last was presented 'by some of our Members: We do, with great Trouble and infinite 'Sorrow, find by the Report made to us by those Members at their Re- 'turn, that your Majesty was pleas'd to give us an immediate Answer to 'the same, without taking any further Consideration, which we are per- 'swaded if your Majesty had done, what we then offer'd to your Maje- 'sty would so far have prevail'd upon your Royal Judgment, as to have 'given your Majesty Satisfaction in the Reasonableness of our Desire; 'and preserv'd us in your Majesty's favourable Opinion of our Proceed- 'ings. And since we do humbly conceive, that the Occasion of this Que- 'stion hath arisen from your Majesty's not being truly inform'd of the 'State of the Case; we humbly beseech your Majesty to take the said 'Representation into your further Consideration, and give us such a Gra- 'cious

'cious Anſwer, that we may be put in a Capacity to manifeſt our Rea- 167$\frac{8}{9}$.
'dineſs to enter into thoſe Conſultations which neceſſarily tend to the Car. 31
'Preſervation and Welfare of your Majeſty and your Kingdoms.' Upon Reſ. 19
reading of this Addreſs to the King, he immediately gave this quick and ſharp Return; *Gentlemen, I will ſend you an Anſwer to Morrow.* Accordingly, as he had often done before upon great Difficulties, he reſolv'd to put an End to the Diſpute, and on the next Morning, being *Thurſday* the 13th of *March*, he came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he immediately Prorogu'd the Parliament till *Saturday* following, after the Commons had ſate without a Speaker, but Six Days. And thus the King found a Way to gain his Point, but with very little Advantage to his own Buſineſs and Affairs.

The King prorogues the Parliament.

2. On the appointed Day, *March* 15th, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers in his Royal Robes, and the Houſe of Commons attending, his Majeſty was pleas'd to put both Houſes in mind of what he ſaid to them at the Opening of the Parliament: And then the Lord Chancellor, by the King's Command, directed the Commons to return to their Houſe, and to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker. And being return'd, the Lord *Ruſſel* put the Houſe in mind of the King's Commands, and immediately recommended *William Gregory*, Serjeant at Law, *as a Perſon, for his great Learning and Integrity, fit for the Imployment:* And Mr. Serjeant *Gregory* being unanimouſly call'd upon to the Chair, he in a ſhort Speech modeſtly excus'd himſelf, and deſired of the Houſe, that another might be nominated; but no Excuſe being admitted, he was formally conducted to the Chair by the two intimate Friends, the Lord *Ruſſel* and the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and there confirm'd in the Place. On the *Monday* following, he was preſented by the Commons to the King, in the Houſe of Lords, who without Heſitation approv'd of the Choice.

The Second Seſſion.

Serjeant Gregory Speaker.

At the Beginning, the Houſe was much employ'd with what was almoſt unknown in the laſt Parliament, the Buſineſs of controverted Elections, chiefly occaſion'd by riotous Methods, and the unuſual Zeal of Parties: Concerning which, there were above Threeſcore Petitions preſented, Six of them from Counties themſelves, which was a great Number in thoſe Days. As ſoon as thoſe were put into a way of Determination, they appear'd reſolved to purſue the latter Meaſures taken in the former Parliament; and therefore on *Wedneſday* the 19th of *March*, they Reſolv'd, 'That a Committee be appointed to inſpect the Journals of the laſt 'Seſſion of the laſt Parliament, and to prepare and draw up a *State of* 'the *Matters* then depending and undetermined, and the Progreſs that 'was made therein.' And on the next Day they *Reſolv'd*, That a *Com-* 'mittee of Secrecy be appointed to take Informations, and prepare Evi- 'dence, and draw up Articles againſt the Lords that are Impeach'd, and 'that are now in the *Tower*; and to take ſuch further Informations as 'ſhall be given, relating to the Plot and Conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty 'and the Government, and the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey.*' And then to be yet more particular, they immediately after *Reſolv'd*, 'That a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, to put them in mind of the *Im-* 'peachment of High-Treaſon, exhibited againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, 'in the Names of the Commons of *England*, and to deſire that he may 'be committed to ſafe Cuſtody:' *Reſolving* again, 'That it be referr'd 'to the *Committee of Secrecy*, to draw up further Articles againſt him.' However, the Letters produc'd againſt the Earl being written by the King's particular Command, and ſome private Papers being neceſſary for his Defence, which his Majeſty would not ſuffer to be made publick; he at laſt reſolv'd to adhere to the Benefit of his Pardon, and hoping his Abſence might allay the Storm, thought fit to withdraw. And

Controverted Elections.

A Committee of Secrecy.

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The Earl of Danby *retires* Oates *and* Bedloe's *Informations.*

And that nothing might be wanting to profecute the Plot, the Murder, and this Nobleman, all Countenance was given to the Plot-Diſcoverers; and on the 21ſt of *March* Dr. *Tongue* and Mr. *Oates* were call'd before the Commons, to give in their Informations concerning the Plot, *&c.* And the Latter gave in an Information, not only againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, but alſo againſt Sir *John Robinſon*, Colonel *Edward Sackville*, and Captain *Henry Goreing*, all Three Members of the Houſe of Commons; which rais'd a new Flame in that Place. On the ſame Day *Bedloe* likewiſe deliver'd in his Information; upon which the Houſe *Reſolv'd*, 'That 'an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, That the Five Hundred 'Pounds Reward promis'd by his Proclamation, for the Diſcovery of the 'Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, may be forthwith paid to Mr. *Bed-* 'loe, *who this Houſe is ſatisfied to be the Firſt Diſcoverer thereof:* and 'that his Majeſty would further be pleas'd to order that the Twenty 'Pounds Reward for the Diſcovery of every Prieſt, may be effectually 'paid to the Diſcoverers of them.' At the ſame time, in another Addreſs, they deſired his Majeſty, 'That the Care of Mr. *Bedloe*'s Safety 'may be immediately recommended to his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*;' which was carry'd up by the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capell*, Mr. *Booth*, Mr. *Powle*, Sir *Robert Carr*, Sir *John Earnly*, and Sir *William Portman*. The King gave a preſent Anſwer, 'That he would take immedi-

An Addreſs for Bedloe.

The King's Anſwer.

'ate Care for the Payment of the Five Hundred Pounds, and the Twenty 'Pounds they deſired: That he had hitherto taken all the Care he could 'of Mr. *Bedloe*, and that he knew *how conſiderable his Evidence was*; 'And that he would ſee hereafter, that he ſhould want for nothing; and 'that he would be reſponſible for him, whilſt he remain'd in *White-Hall*; 'but that he could not be anſwerable for him when he went abroad.' Beſides theſe, there appear'd one Mr. *Edmund Everard*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, who had been Four Years Priſoner in the *Tower*, who making ſome old Diſcoveries, was encourag'd, as *Oates* before him, to put the whole into a formal *Narrative*.

Upon the whole, they came to this unanimous Grand *Reſolve*, ſomething like that in the laſt Parliament, *viz.* 'That the Houſe doth

A grand Reſolve.

'declare, that they are fully ſatisfy'd by the Proofs they have heard, that 'there now is, and for divers Years laſt paſt hath been, a Horrid and 'Treaſonable *Plot* and *Conſpiracy*, contriv'd and carry'd on by thoſe of 'the *Popiſh* Religion, for the Murthering his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, 'and for ſubverting the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Ancient and Well-'Eſtabliſh'd Government of this Kingdom.' To this Vote they deſired the Concurrence of the Lords, as they likewiſe did and obtain'd that to a particular Addreſs to his Majeſty *For appointing a Solemn Day of Humiliation*; 'being deeply ſenſible of the ſad and calamitous Condition of 'your Majeſty's Kingdom, occaſion'd chiefly by the impious and malicious 'Conſpiracies of a *Popiſh* Party, who have not only Plotted and Intended the 'Deſtruction of your Majeſty's Royal Perſon, but the total Subverſion of the 'Government, and true Religion eſtabliſh'd among us.' Afterwards they expreſs themſelves thus: 'That we may by Faſting and Prayer, and with 'humble and penitent Hearts, ſeek Reconciliation with Almighty God, 'and implore him by his Power and Goodneſs, *to infatuate and defeat* 'the wicked Counſels and Imaginations of our Enemies, *and continue his* 'Mercies and the Light of his Goſpel to Us and our Poſterities*;* and par-'ticularly, *to beſtow his abundant Bleſſings upon your Sacred Majeſty,* 'and this preſent Parliament, &c. Accordingly, his Majeſty commanded a General and Publick *Faſt*, to be kept throughout the Kingdom on the 11th of *April*; beginning his Proclamation for it, as he generally did upon ſuch an Occaſion, with mentioning and alledging the *Deſire of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.*

A Faſt deſired.

During

During this Height of Zeal, the Commons, on *March* 22d, order'd a Bill to be brought in, *To ſecure the King and Kingdom againſt the Danger and Growth of Popery.* And being commanded, at the ſame time, to attend his Majeſty in the Houſe of Peers, the King ſpoke to them in Favour of the Earl of *Danby:* But returning to their Houſe, they preſently *Reſolv'd,* 'That a Meſſage be immediately ſent to the Lords, to re- 'mind their Lordſhips of the laſt Meſſage ſent them from this Houſe, 'relating to *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*; and to demand that he might be 'forthwith ſequeſter'd from Parliament, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody.' Upon which extraordinary Requeſt, the Lords deſir'd a preſent Conference; but the Commons return'd Anſwer, *That it was not agreeable to the Uſage and Proceedings of Parliament for either Houſe to ſend for a Conference, without expreſſing the ſubject Matter of it.* Upon a ſecond Meſſage, wherein the Earl of *Danby* was mention'd, they met the Lords in the *Painted-Chamber*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* ſpoke as follows: 'I am commanded by the Lords to acquaint you, that their Lordſhips 'having taken into Conſideration Matters relating to the Earl of *Danby*, 'together with what his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſay upon that Subject; 'have Order'd, That a Bill be brought in, *by which* Thomas *Earl of* 'Danby *may be made for ever incapable of coming to his Majeſty's Pre- 'ſence, and of all Offices and Employments, and of receiving any Gifts or 'Grants from the Crown, and of Sitting in the Houſe of Peers.*

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A Meſſage againſt the Earl of Danby.

A Conference about him.

In the mean time, the Commons hearing that the King had ſign'd a Pardon for the Earl, they appointed a Committee to repair to the ſeveral Offices, and particularly to the Lord Chancellor, to enquire into the manner of ſuing out that Pardon. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor inform'd the Committee, 'That the Pardon was paſs'd with the utmoſt Privacy, 'at the Deſire of the Earl, who gave this Reaſon for it, '*That he did 'not intend to make uſe of it, but to ſtand upon his Innocence, except falſe 'Witneſſes ſhould be produc'd againſt him; and then he would make uſe of 'it at the laſt Extremity.* That he adviſ'd the Earl to let the Pardon 'paſs in the regular Courſe; but after conſulting with the King, his Ma- 'jeſty declared, *he was reſolv'd to let it paſs with all Privacy*: And 'ſuddenly after the King commanded the Lord Chancellor to bring the 'Seal to *White-Hall*, and being there, he laid it upon the Table; there- 'upon his Majeſty commanded the Seal to be taken out of the Bag, which 'his Lordſhip was oblig'd to ſubmit unto, it not being in his Power to 'hinder it; and the King wrote his Name upon the Top of the Parch- 'ment, and then directed to have it Seal'd; whereupon the Perſon that 'uſually carry'd the Purſe, affix'd the Seal to it. The Chancellor added, '*That at the very Time of affixing the Seal to the Parchment, he did not 'look upon himſelf to have the Cuſtody of the Seal.*

An Account of his Pardon.

Upon reading this Report, the Houſe fell into a violent Heat and Debate; and of thoſe that ſpoke, we muſt not omit Mr. *Powle*'s ſevere Speech, who naming the Earl of *Danby*, proceeded thus: *The Perſon to whom we owe the Dangers and Fears of the* French *King againſt us: The Perſon to whom we owe the Threats and ſevere Anſwers to thoſe humble Addreſſes we made the laſt Seſſion of Parliament: The Perſon to whom we owe the Ruin of this Nation, and exhauſting the King's Revenue: The Perſon to whom we owe the Expence of Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year, unaccounted for: The Perſon to whom we owe the Raiſing of a Standing Army, to be kept up by the Receipt of Six Millions of* Livres *Yearly, for Three Years, to enſlave Us and our Religion: The Perſon to whom we owe the late Bone that was thrown in on the Sitting of the laſt Parliament, to hinder the good Iſſue that might have come by their Proceedings; who is now laying down his* Staff, *and making up his Accompts*

Mr. Powle's *Speech againſt him.*

in

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His Pardon queſtion'd.

in the Treaſury as he pleaſes, to enrich himſelf out of the Spoils of the People, and ſo depart. At the Concluſion of the Debate, *Reſolved, Nemine contradicente,* 'That a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords to demand Juſtice, in the Name of the Commons of *England*, againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*; and that he may be immediately ſequeſter'd from Parliament, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody.' They likewiſe *Reſolv'd*, 'That an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, repreſenting to his Majeſty the *Irregularity* and *Illegality* of the Pardon, mention'd by his Majeſty to be granted to the Earl of *Danby*, and the *dangerous Conſequence* of grantiug Pardons to any Perſons that lie under an Impeachment of the Commons of *England*.

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The Earl of Shaftsbury's *Speech to the Lords.*

3. The Houſe of Lords was likewiſe agitated with Heats and Apprehenſions, which were particularly fomented by the great and reſtleſs Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who on the 25th of *March* deliver'd his Thoughts in a peculiar and artful Speech, much diſcours'd of at this Time. After a few Words, he proceeds thus: *I never ſtudy either to make my Court well, or to be Popular; I always ſpeak what I am commanded by the Dictates of the* Spirit *within me. There are ſome Conſiderations Abroad that concern* England *ſo nearly, that without them you will come far ſhort of Safety and Quiet at Home.* 'We have a little Siſter, and ſhe hath no Breaſts; what ſhall we do for our Siſter in the Day when ſhe ſhall be ſpoken for? If ſhe be a Wall, we will build on her a Palace of Silver; if ſhe be a Door, we will encloſe her with Boards of Cedar.' *We have ſeveral little Siſters without Breaſts, the* French *Proteſtant Churches, the two Kingdoms of* Ireland *and* Scotland: *The Foreign Proteſtants are a Wall, the only Wall and Defence to* England; *upon it you may build* Palaces of Silver, *Glorious Palaces. The Protection of the Proteſtants abroad, is the greateſt Power and Security the Crown of* England *can attain to, and which can only help us to give Check to the growing Greatneſs of* France. Scotland *and* Ireland *are two* Doors, *either to let in Good or Miſchief upon us; they are much weakned by the Artifice of our cunning Enemies, and we ought to encloſe them with* Boards of Cedar. Popery *and* Slavery, *like two Siſters, go Hand in Hand; ſometimes one goes firſt, ſometimes the other; but whereſoever the one enters, the other is always following cloſe at Hand. In* England, Popery *was to have brought in* Slavery; *In* Scotland, Slavery *went before, and* Popery *was to follow. I do not think your Lordſhips or the Parliament have Juriſdiction there: It is a noble and ancient Kingdom; they have an illuſtrious Nobility, a gallant Gentry, a learned Clergy, an underſtanding worthy People; but yet we cannot think of* England *as we ought, without reflecting on their Condition. They are under the ſame Prince, and the Influence of the ſame Favourites and Counſels; when they are hardly dealt with, can we that are richer expect better Uſage? For 'tis certain, that in all abſolute Governments, the pooreſt Countries are always moſt favourably dealt with.— Yet* Scotland *hath outdone all the* Eaſtern *and* Southern *Countries, in having their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates ſubjected to the Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure of thoſe that Govern.* After a large Enumeration of the Grievances in *Scotland*, he ſaid, *I am afraid your Lordſhips will think I have ſaid too much, having no Concern there: But if a* French *Nobleman ſhould come to dwell in my Houſe and Family, I ſhould think it concern'd me to ask what he did in* France: *For if he were there a Felon, a Rogue, a Plunderer, I ſhould deſire him to live elſewhere; and I hope your Lordſhips will do the ſame Thing for the Nation, if you find the ſame Cauſe.* — This Speech was ſuppos'd to have laid the Foundation for the enſuing Troubles in *Scotland*; and by the next Poſt Forty written Copies of it were

were tranſmitted to the Earl's Correſpondents at *Edinburgh*, who being induc'd by theſe Artifices to believe they might be ſeconded in *England*, grew ſo inſolent, that Accounts were preſently ſent up to the Court of the great Danger of the Publick Peace from the Enemies of the Church and Monarchy; but theſe Reports were ſlighted as the Contrivance of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, who had been ſo ſhrewdly handled in the Speech. 1679. Car. 31 Reſ. 19

On the ſame Day the Lords ſent a Meſſage to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, 'That they had ſent to apprehend *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, 'both to his Houſe here in Town, and to his Houſe at *Wimbleton*; and 'that the Gentleman-Uſher of the Black Rod had return'd their Lord-'ſhips Anſwer, *That he could not be found.*' Whereupon the Commons, reſolving not to be defeated, Order'd, 'That a Bill be brought in 'to Summon *Thomas* Earl of *Danby* to render himſelf to Juſtice by a cer-'tain Day to be therein limited; or in Default thereof, to Attaint him.' Then to render him more obnoxious, *Bedloe* came before the Houſe, and made a great Complaint of the harſh Uſage and Diſencouragements he had met with from the ſaid Earl, when Treaſurer; ſetting forth upon Oath, 'That going to him for ſome Money, by virtue of an Order from 'the Council, his Lordſhip took him into his Cloſet, and ask'd him, *Whe-'ther the Duke of* Buckingham, *or Lord* Shaftsbury, *or any of the Mem-'bers of the Houſe of Commons, had deſir'd him to ſay any Thing againſt 'him, and to tell him who they were, and he would well reward him*; 'and to know if he would deſiſt from giving Evidence againſt the—— 'and the Lords in the Tower, *&c.* To which *Bedloe* anſwer'd, *That he 'had once been an ill Man, and deſired to be ſo no more.* To which the 'Earl reply'd, *You may have a great Sum of Money, and live in another 'Country, as* Geneva, Sweden, *or* New England; *and ſhould have what 'Money he would ask to maintain him there.* But *Bedloe* refuſing all ſuch 'Temptations, his Lordſhip began to threaten him, ſaying. *There was a 'Boat and a Catch ready to carry him far enough for telling of Tales*: 'And after this, the Guards were as Spies upon him, and he very ill us'd, 'till by their Addreſs to the King the ſame was remedy'd, and better 'Care was taken.' And at the ſame time appear'd *Oates* in the Houſe, who declared, 'That being one Day in the *Privy-Garden*, the Earl of '*Danby*, paſſing by, reflected upon him, and ſaid, *There goes one of the 'Saviours of* England, *but I hope to ſee him hang'd within a Month.*' And likewiſe at the ſame time *Oates* gave his Teſtimony againſt Colonel *Sackville*, a Member of the Houſe formerly mention'd, declaring that he ſaid, *That they were Sons of Whores, who ſaid there was a Plot, and that he was a lying Rogue that ſaid it.* Whereupon the Colonel was immediately ſent to the *Tower*, and order'd to be expell'd the Houſe, with a Petition to the King to be made incapable of bearing any Office. But in a ſhort time, upon his Submiſſion, he was diſcharg'd from his Impriſonment, but not reſtor'd to his Seat in the Houſe.

The Commons reſolve to attaint the Earl of Danby.

Bedloe's *and* Oates's *Complaints againſt him.*

Colonel Sackville *expell'd.*

And now every Man was in danger from the Commons, who either ſeem'd to doubt of the Plot or the Murder, or appear'd to be a Friend to the Earl of *Danby*. Upon this laſt Account, Dr. *John Nalſon* was taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for Writing a Pamphlet in favour of the Earl; and the Printer was call'd to an Account for publiſhing two of Mr. *Mountagu*'s Letters; and the Earl's Speech upon his firſt Impeachment. Sir *Robert Southwell* alſo was accus'd by one Mr. *Chetwins*, and put to ſome Trouble in the Houſe, upon a Suppoſition that he was negligent, or not enough Officious in the Matter of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*. Some others likewiſe were diſturb'd and threatned

Several Perſons troubled.

1679. upon the Account of the Plot, or ſomething that was eſteem'd a Branch of it. But the Perſons moſt in Danger from them at this Time, beſides
Car. 31 the Earl of *Danby*, were the five *Popiſh* Lords, the Earl of *Powis*, the
Reſ. 19 Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, the Lord *Petre*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, now Priſoners in the *Tower*; againſt whom they drew up Articles of Impeachment of High-Treaſon, *&c.* upon the 3d Day of *April*. They begin thus: 'That for many Years now laſt paſt, 'there hath been contriv'd and carry'd on a Trayterous and Execrable '*Conſpiracy* and *Plot* within this Kingdom of *England*, and other Places, 'to alter, change, and ſubvert the ancient Government and Laws of 'this Kingdom and Nation, and to ſuppreſs the true Religion therein e-'ſtabliſh'd, and to extirpate and deſtroy the Profeſſors thereof; which ſaid '*Plot* and *Conſpiracy* was contriv'd and carry'd on in divers Places, and 'by ſeveral Ways and Means, and by a great Number of Perſons of ſe-'veral Qualities and Degrees, who acted therein, and intended to exe-'cute and accompliſh the aforeſaid wicked and trayterous Deſigns and 'Purpoſes.' The reſt ſeems a ſort of an Abſtract of *Oates*'s *Narrative*, and *Prance*'s Account of the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and drawn up in ſuch general Terms, that the Lords knew not how to give a particular Anſwer, but only made a general Denial to the whole. The Articles were carry'd up to the Houſe of Peers by the Lord *Ruſſel*, who was look'd upon as a zealous Proſecutor of thoſe Lords.

The five Popiſh Lords Impeached.

A Conference about the Earl of Danby.

4. But the Commons were principally imploy'd upon the Affair of the Earl of *Danby*; and on the 4th of *April* there was a Conference between the two Houſes, in the *Painted-Chamber*, concerning the Bill ſent up againſt that great Man; where the Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord Privy-Seal, deliver'd himſelf to this Effect, being the chief Manager for the Peers; 'That the Lords choſe to deliver back this Bill by *Conference*, rather 'than *Meſſage*, to preſerve a good Underſtanding, and prevent Debate 'and Controverſy between them. The Lords obſerve, that the greateſt 'Affairs of this Nation are at a Stand, at the Time of greateſt Danger 'and Difficulty, that this Kingdom ever labour'd under: That the King 'hath always in his Reign inclin'd to Mercy and Clemency to all his Sub-'jects: Therefore to a King ſo merciful and compaſſionate, the firſt In-'terruption of his Clemency they did deſire ſhould not proceed from the 'two Houſes, preſſing the King to an Act of the greateſt Severity; there-'fore they have paſs'd the Bill with ſome Amendments, which he deliver'd 'to them.' The Commons were no way ſatisfy'd with the Lords Proceedings, therefore drew up Reaſons againſt them, to be offer'd in another Conference, which were as following: 'The Addition of the *Title* 'does ſhew, that the Amendments made by your Lordſhips to the Bill 'do wholly alter the Nature of it, and from a *Bill of Attainder*, have converted it to a *Bill of Baniſhment*, which the Commons cannot conſent 'to for theſe Reaſons: 1. That Baniſhment is not the Legal Judgment 'in Caſes of High-Treaſon; and the Earl of *Danby* being Impeach'd by 'the Commons of High-Treaſon, and fled from Juſtice, hath hereby 'confeſs'd the Charge, and therefore ought to have the Judgment of 'High-Treaſon for the Puniſhment. 2. That Baniſhment being not 'the Puniſhment the Law inflicts upon thoſe Crimes, the Earl of *Dan-'by* might make uſe of this Remiſſion of his Sentence as an Argument, '*That either the Commons were diſtruſtful of their Proofs againſt him, 'or elſe that the Crimes are not in themſelves of ſo High a Nature as 'Treaſon.* 3. That the Example of this wou'd be an Encouragement to 'all Perſons that ſhould hereafter be impeach'd by the Commons, to with-

'draw

'draw themſelves from Juſtice, which they would be always ready to do, 1679.
'if not prevented by a Commitment upon their Impeachment; and there- Car. 31
'fore hope to obtain a more favourable Sentence in a *Legiſlative* Way, Ref. 19
'than your Lordſhips would be oblig'd to paſs upon them in your *Ju-*
'*dicial* Capacity.' Upon the Reading of this Paper, they immediately Reſolv'd, 'That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would 'iſſue out his Royal Proclamation for apprehending of *Thomas* Earl of '*Danby*.

A Second Conference.

On the ſame Day, *April* 8th, they had a ſecond Conference with the Lords upon the ſame Caſe, where the Earl of *Huntington* manag'd for the Houſe of Peers, and what he deliver'd was to this Effect, 'The Lords 'have deſired this Conference with the Commons, not ſo much to ar-'gue and diſpute, as to mitigate and reconcile: They have already ob-'ſerv'd, *That the Debates of this Bill have given too long, and too great an* '*Obſtruction to publick Buſineſs*; and therefore they deſire you to be-'lieve, that *That* is the Reaſon which hath chiefly prevail'd with their 'Lordſhips in a Matter of this Nature. And upon this Ground it is, 'that if a Way may be found to ſatisfy and ſecure the Publick Fears, 'by going leſs than the Bill you have propos'd, the Lords do not think 'it adviſeable to inſiſt upon the utmoſt and moſt rigorous Satisfaction to 'publick Juſtice, which might be demanded. To induce you to this 'Compliance, the Lords do acknowledge, that Baniſhment is ſo far from 'being the Legal Judgment in Caſe of High-Treaſon, that it is not the 'Legal Judgment in any Caſe whatſoever, ſince it can never be inflicted but 'by the *Legiſlative Authority*: But they ſee no reaſon why the Legiſla-'tive Authority ſhould always be bound to act to the utmoſt Extent of 'its Power; for there may be a Prudential Neceſſity ſometimes of mak-'ing Abatements, and it might be of fatal Conſequence, if it ſhould not 'be ſo. And the Lords, to remove all Jealouſies of the Precedents of 'this Kind, do Declare, that nothing which hath been done in the Earl 'of *Danby*'s Caſe, ſhall ever be drawn into Example for the Time to 'come, and will ſo enter it upon their Journal. And thereupon their 'Lordſhips inſiſt upon their Amendments ſo far, as to exclude all *Attain-*'*ders*; and do promiſe themſelves, the Commons will in this Point com-'ply with their Lordſhips, who do again aſſure them, *That their Reſolu-*'*tions are grounded only upon their Tenderneſs, and the Conſideration of* '*the Publick*.

A Third and free Conference.

This being not ſatisfactory, a Third and a Free Conference was held two Days after, in which the Lord Privy-Seal ſaid, 'That the Houſe of Com-'mons might ſee by the preſent quick *Free Conference*, which the Lords 'deſired, that their Lordſhips did ſhew their Willingneſs, by uſing all 'Means poſſible, to reconcile both Houſes, and to come to ſuch an Un-'derſtanding, as to paſs the Bill with all Expedition. He own'd the Co-'gency of the Commons Reaſons, and therefore the Lords were content 'to make the Bill abſolute, without giving the Lord of *Danby* any Day 'to appear, and the Penalties to continue. He obſerv'd, that by the paſ-'ſing of this Bill he would not only be ruin'd, together with his Fami-'ly, but likewiſe thoſe Acquiſitions which he got by the Marriage into 'a noble Family, would be loſt. And if the Houſe of Commons would 'have any other Penalties added to the Bill, their Lordſhips would leave 'it to them, provided *they run not to the abſolute Deſtruction of the Lord* '*Impeach'd*. He took notice, that altho' Reaſon and Juſtice were of the 'Commons Side, yet in a *Legiſlative Capacity*, they were to conſider 'Circumſtances with Relation to the Good of the Publick.' Then by way of Incouragement to the Commons, he told them, 'That in this

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'Affair they had gain'd two great Points; The First was, *That Impeach-*
'*ments made by the Commons in one Parliament, continue from Session to*
'*Session, and Parliament to Parliament, notwithstanding Prorogations or*
'*Dissolutions:* The other Point was, *That in Cases of Impeachment, upon*
'*special Matter shewn, if the Modesty of the Party impeach'd directs him*
'*not to withdraw, the Lords admit that of Right they order him to with-*
'*draw, and that afterwards he must be committed.*' But without special
'Matter alledg'd, he said, He did not know how many of their Lordships
'might be pick'd out of the House of a sudden.' The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, now in a Way of Preferment in Court, declar'd, 'they were as
'willing to be rid of the Earl of *Danby*, as the Commons; but he let
'them know, that the Expression which was sent with Reasons from
'the Lords the other Day, namely, *That the Lords would not draw in-*
'*to Example the Proceedings of the Earl of* Danby, *but would vacate*
'*them*, they intended that to extend only to the Points of *not Withdraw-*
'*ing*, and *not Committing*.' He likewise declared, 'that the Way now pro-
'pos'd would be a Means to have the Bill pass; for the Commons
'might have other Penalties if they would, as Confiscation of Estate, loss
'of Honours, *&c.* Therefore he desir'd the Commons to consider, that
'there were weighty Reasons, which were better understood than ex-
'press'd, that prov'd it necessary for the Good of the Publick, that this
'Bill should speedily pass.' The Commons reply'd, 'that they hop'd
'their Lordships did not think, they took it as if they had now gain'd any
'Point; for the Points which their Lordships mention'd as gain'd, were
'nothing but what was agreeable to the ancient Course and Methods of
'Parliament.' And thus they so immovably adhered to their own Bill of Attainder, that within two or three Days Time the Lords thought fit to give way to the Heat of the Season, and pass'd the Bill, in which, the 21st of *April* was appointed for the Earl's surrendering himself to Tryal.

The Attainder Bill passes against him.

The Earl finding himself reduc'd to this Extremity, rather than risque the Mischiefs that might happen to himself, or to the King if he should refuse to pass the Bill, on the 15th of *April* surrender'd himself to the Usher of the Black Rod. The next Day, being brought to the Bar of the House of Peers, the Lord Chancellor let him know, 'that he stood
'impeach'd by the House of Commons; and that upon his withdrawing
'himself, a Bill of Attainder had pass'd the two Houses; by which, how-
'ever, he had Time given him to come in, and make his Defence.'
The Earl handsomly excus'd his not appearing sooner, and declar'd his Innocency with several Protestations, and then was order'd to withdraw. Being call'd in, and brought to the Bar a second Time, the Lord Chancellor acquainted him, 'That their Lordships would allow him Time to
'give in his Answer to the Articles of his Impeachment, till the first Day of
'the Sitting of the House after *Easter*; that if any further Charge were
'put in against him, he should have further Time to answer; that he
'should have Council assign'd him, and Liberty to make use of Records,
'and that his Witnesses should be summon'd.' Upon which he withdrew, and by Order of the House he was immediately committed to the *Tower*; being attended by such a vast Concourse of People, that upon his Account a general Insurrection was fear'd in the City. Thus this great Man, who had taken such unreasonable Pains in the House of Commons to hunt down the famous Earl of *Clarendon*, now felt the same Hardships, and met with the like Fate as to his Honour, and a worse Prospect as to his Life.

The Earl surrenders himself.

He is sent to the Tower.

Temple. Rot. Parl. *Care.* Tryals. *Wright.*

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The King under great Difficulties.

III. 1. The Parliament had ſate but a ſhort Time, when the King found himſelf daily involv'd with new Troubles and Difficulties, ſuch as he had never ſtruggled with before, which oblig'd him to take new Meaſures, and make a total Alteration in his Court. Of which Alteration, and the Springs of it, Sir *William Temple* has given us the beſt Account; who tells us, that upon the Heats of the Commons, which increas'd into new Meaſures and Motions among them, as they were ſway'd by popular Humours upon the *Plot*, and many new Plots laid by the Ambitions of private Perſons, carry'd on under the Covert of the other; He never ſaw any Man more ſenſible of the miſerable Condition of his Affairs, than he found the King, upon many Diſcourſes with him. But nothing his Majeſty ſaid mov'd him more, than when upon the ſad Proſpect of them all, he told him, *He had none left, with whom he could ſo much as ſpeak of them in Confidence, ſince my Lord Treaſurer was gone.* And this gave him an Occaſion of entering into more Confidence with one who had always been the Treaſurer's Friend.

Sir William Temple's *Endeavours to eaſe him.*

In Order to extricate his Majeſty, Sir *William* firſt conſider'd, that the Deſign of the Treaſurer's Removal had been carry'd on by the Duke of *Monmouth*, in Conjunction with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* and the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was then moſt intimate with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and by his Grace and the Earl of *Sunderland* newly brought into the Treaſury. He found the Lord *Sunderland*, at leaſt, in Compliance with this Combination; and that all were reſolv'd to bring the Earl of *Shaftsbury* again into the Court, who was in Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Eſſex*, and near related to the Lord *Sunderland*. He obſerv'd the tender Affection the King had to the Duke of *Monmouth*; and plainly ſaw the Uſe his Grace would make of it, in caſe he could introduce a Miniſtry at his own Devotion: And this being a Matter that might ſtrike at the very Succeſſion of the Crown, and not only injure the Duke of *York*, but through Him, his Children and the Prince of *Orange*, he firſt reſolv'd, if it were poſſible, to break the Power of that Miniſtry; tho' he found no Men he could fix in it, with any Satisfaction to the King, or Advantage to his Service. On the other Side, Sir *William* obſerv'd the Parliament to grow every Day more violent, upon the Support they receiv'd by the Humours rais'd by the *Plot*, and the Incentives given them by the Ambitions of Perſons playing that Game. He ſaw a Probability of Matters growing to ſuch a Height, that the King might be compell'd to part with them; and yet he ſaw not ſufficient Authority left in the Crown, either to do that without great Hazards, or to live without another Parliament, till the preſent Humours might cool. Both theſe Conſiderations meeting, gave Sir *William* the Thoughts of the King's Eſtabliſhing a New Council, of ſuch a Conſtitution as might either gain Credit enough with the Parliament, by taking ſome Lords and Commoners who had moſt Sway in both Houſes, and thereby eaſe both the King and People; or, if the Humours ſhould grow outragious and ungovernable, the King might yet, at the Head of ſuch a Council, with more Authority and leſs Hazard, either Prorogue or Diſſolve them, as his own Neceſſities or their Extravagancies ſhould require. Theſe he propos'd to mix with others of the King's more general Choice, for making up one Half of the Council; while the other Half, being deſign'd Fifteen in Number, were ever to be the preſent Chief Officers of his Crown and Houſhold; who being all in his Majeſty's known Truſt, as well as Choice, wou'd be ſure to keep the Council ſteadily to the Intereſt of King and Crown. Moreover, one chief Regard neceſſary to this Conſtitution, was that of the

His Model of a new Council.

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the Perſonal Riches of the new Council; which in Revenues of Land or Offices, was found to amount to about Three hundred thouſand Pounds a Year; whereas thoſe of the Houſe of Commons were found not to exceed Four hundred thouſand a Year. And as Authority was obſerv'd much to follow Land; ſo, at the worſt, ſuch a Council, upon an Emergency, might out of their own Stock furniſh the King ſo far, as to relieve ſome great Neceſſity of the Crown.

After this great Scheme had been debated and digeſted about a Month between the King and Sir *William Temple*, and his Majeſty well ſatisfy'd with the whole; Sir *William* deſired him *Not to take a Reſolution of that Importance, without the Advice of three or four Perſons, on whoſe Judgment and Affection to his Service, his Majeſty cou'd moſt rely.* Hereupon the King order'd him to communicate the whole Deſign to the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, but one after the other, and with the utmoſt Secrecy; and if they concurr'd with his Opinion, he ſhou'd appoint them to attend his Majeſty the next Morning, in as private a Way as they cou'd. They all receiv'd the Overture with equal Amazement and Satisfaction: The Lord Chancellor ſaid, *It look'd like a Thing from Heaven fallen into his Majeſty's Breaſt:* The Lord *Eſſex* believ'd, *That it wou'd leave the Parliament and Nation in the ſame Diſpoſition to the King which he found at his Coming in*; and the Lord *Sunderland* approv'd it as much as any.

It is propos'd to three Lords.

The next Day theſe four attended the King in private, and had a very long Audience; in which no Difficulties aroſe but Two that were wholly Perſonal. Sir *William* had propos'd the Lord *Hallifax* as one of the Lords; to whom the King, in the firſt Conſultations, had ſhewn more Averſion than to any of the reſt; but upon ſeveral Repreſentations of his Family, his Abilities, his Eſtate and Intereſt, as well as Talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he reſented, Sir *William* thought the King had acquieſc'd. But at this Meeting his Majeſty rais'd new Difficulties, and appear'd a great while inflexible; till at laſt, the three Lords joyning with Sir *William*, and the latter ſaying, *They wou'd fall upon their Knees to gain a Point they all thought neceſſary for his Service*, his Majeſty conſented. The other Difficulty was concerning the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who had never been nam'd in the firſt Debates; and the King either had not thought of him before, or had not mention'd him to Sir *William*, as knowing what ill Opinion he had of that Lord. But after the Lord *Hallifax* had paſs'd, the King ſaid, *There was Another, who, if he were left out, might do as much Miſchief as any*, and nam'd the Lord *Shaftsbury*; to which the three Lords agreed, and over and above concluded, *That he wou'd never be content with a Counſellor's Place among Thirty*, and therefore it was propos'd to add One to the Number, by making a Preſident, and that He ſhou'd be the Man. Sir *William* diſputed this Point from the firſt Propoſal to the Concluſion; foretelling, *He wou'd deſtroy all the Good they expected from the whole Conſtitution*; and ſpoke with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that when he ſaw by the King's Agreeing it wou'd be concluded, he walk'd off, irreſolute whether he ſhou'd have left the Room or not; but turning again, he deſired his Majeſty to remember, *That he had no Part in Lord* Shaftsbury's *Coming into the Council, or his Affairs; That his Majeſty and the other three Lords had reſolv'd it without Him, and that he was ſtill abſolutely againſt it.* The King laugh'd, and turn'd Sir *William*'s Paſſion into a Jeſt; and ſo proceeded to conclude the Form of the Conſtitution. Sir *William* had foretold this Fate to his Majeſty the Year before; when upon his coming from *Holland*, the King had fallen into all the violent Expreſſions imaginable againſt

The whole agreed on.

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that Earl. He then told his Majeſty, *That with his good leave, he won'd hold any Wager, he ſhou'd ſee that Lord again in his Buſineſs:* And when the King ask'd him, *what made him think ſo?* he anſwer'd, *Becauſe he knew he was reſtleſs while he was out, and wou'd try every Door to get in; had Wit and Induſtry to find out the Ways; and when Mony wou'd work, had as much as any Body to beſtow, and Skill enough to know where to place it.* 1679. Car. 31 Reſ. 19

2. All things being compleated, on the 20th Day of *April*, the King having order'd an extraordinary meeting of his Privy-Council, order'd the Lord Chancellor to read the following Declaration: *The King's Declaration upon it.*

'*My Lords*, His Majeſty hath call'd you together at this Time to communicate a 'Reſolution he hath taken, in a Matter of great Importance to his Crown 'and Government; and which he hopes will prove of the greateſt Sa- 'tisfaction and Advantage to his Kingdoms, in all Affairs hereafter, both 'at Home and Abroad; and therefore he doubts not of your Approba- 'tion, however you may ſeem concern'd in it. In the firſt Place, his 'Majeſty gives you all Thanks for your Service to him here; and for 'all the good Advices you have given him; which might have been 'more frequent, if the great Number of this Council had not made it 'unfit for the Secrecy and Diſpatch that are neceſſary to many great 'Affairs. This forc'd him to uſe a ſmaller Number of you in a Foreign 'Committee; and ſometimes the Advices of ſome few among them, up- 'on ſuch Occaſions, for many Years paſt. He is ſorry for the ill Succeſs 'he found in this Courſe, and ſenſible of the ill Poſture of Affairs from 'That and ſome unhappy Accidents, which have rais'd great Jealouſies 'and Diſſatisfaction among his good Subjects; and thereby left the Crown 'and Government in a Condition too weak for thoſe Dangers we have 'Reaſon to fear, both at Home and Abroad. Theſe his Majeſty hopes 'may be yet prevented, by a courſe of wiſe and ſteady Counſels for the 'future; and theſe Kingdoms grow again to make ſuch a Figure as they 'formerly have done in the World; and as they may always do, if our 'Union and Conduct were equal to our Force. To this End, he hath 'reſolv'd to lay aſide the Uſe he may have hitherto made of any *Single Miniſtry*, or *Private Advice*, or *Foreign Committees*, for the general 'Direction of his Affairs; and to conſtitute ſuch a *Privy-Council*, as may 'not only by its Number be fit for the Conſultation and Digeſtion of all 'Buſineſs, both Domeſtick and Foreign; but alſo by the Choice of them, 'out of the ſeveral Parts this *State* is compos'd of, may be the beſt in- 'form'd in the true Conſtitutions of it, and thereby the moſt able to 'counſel Him in all the Affairs and Intereſts of this Crown and Nation. 'And by the conſtant Advice of ſuch a *Council*, his Majeſty is reſolv'd 'hereafter to Govern his Kingdoms; together with the frequent Uſe of 'his *Great Council of Parliament*, which he takes to be the ancient Con- 'ſtitution of this State and Government.

'Now for the greater Dignity of this Council, his Majeſty reſolves 'their conſtant Number ſhall be limited to Thirty: And for their grea- 'ter Authority, there ſhall be Fifteen of his chief Officers, who ſhall be 'Privy-Counſellors by their Places; and for the other Fifteen, he will 'chuſe Ten out of the ſeveral Ranks of the Nobility, and Five Commo- 'ners of the Realm, whoſe known Abilities, Intereſt and Eſteem in the 'Nation, ſhall render them without all Suſpicion of either Miſtaking or 'Betraying the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, and conſequently of advi- 'ſing him ill. In the firſt Place therefore, and to take care of the Church, 'his Majeſty will have the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Lon-*

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'*don* for the Time being: And to inform him well in what concerns the 'Laws, the Lord Chancellor and one of the Lord Chief Juſtices. For 'the Navy and Stores, the Admiral and Maſter of the Ordnance: For 'the Treaſury, the Treaſurer, or Firſt Commiſſioner, and Chancellor of 'the Exchequer. The reſt of the Fifteen ſhall be the Lord Privy Seal, 'the Maſter of the Horſe, the Lord Steward and Lord Chamberlain of 'the Houſhold, the Groom of the Stole, and the two Secretaries of 'State; which ſhall be all the Offices of his Kingdom, to which the Dig-'nity of a *Privy-Counſellor* ſhall be annex'd. The others his Majeſty has 'reſolv'd on, and hopes he has not choſen ill. His Majeſty intends be-'ſides, to have ſuch Princes of his Blood as he ſhall at any Time call to 'this Board, being here in Court; a Preſident of the Council, whene-'ver he ſhall find it neceſſary; and the Secretary of *Scotland*, when any 'ſuch ſhall be here. But theſe being uncertain, he reckons not of the 'Conſtant Number of Thirty, which ſhall never be exceeded.

The New COUNCIL.

To make way for this new Council, the King was pleas'd to diſſolve the old One, with repeated Thanks for their former Services; and the next Morning to nominate and appoint theſe following Members; His Highneſs Prince *Rupert*; *William*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord Preſident of the Council; *Arthur* Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord Privy-Seal; *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle*; *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, Maſter of the Horſe; *Henry* Duke of *Newcaſtle*; *John* Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*; *James* Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold; *Charles* Lord Marquis of *Wincheſter*; *Henry* Lord Marquis of *Worceſter*; *Henry* Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold; *James* Earl of *Salisbury*; *John* Earl of *Bridgewater*; *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland*, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State; *Arthur* Earl of *Eſſex*, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; *John* Earl of *Bath*, Groom of the Stole; *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Falconberg*; *George* Lord Viſcount *Halliſax*; *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*; *John* Lord *Roberts*; *Denzil* Lord *Hollis*; *William* Lord *Ruſſel*; *William* Lord *Cavendiſh*; *Henry Coventry* Eſquire, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State; Sir *Francis North*, Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas; Sir *Henry Capel*, Knight of the *Bath*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; Sir *John Ernley*, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir *Thomas Chicheley*, Knight, Maſter of the Ordnance; Sir *William Temple*, Baronet; *Edward Seymour*, Eſquire; and *Henry Powle*, Eſquire. Theſe, or moſt of them being ſworn, his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare, *That he wou'd have all his Affairs here debated freely, of what kind ſoever they were; and therefore with abſolute Secrecy.*

The Kng had now Reaſon to hope well upon this Eſtabliſhment of a Council ſo generally grateful to the two Houſes, and the Bulk of the People; and therefore his Majeſty the very ſame Morning came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, made this Speech to both Houſes:

The King's Speech to the Parliament upon this Occaſion.

My Lords and Gentlemen, *I thought it neceſſary to acquaint you what I have done this Day; which is, that I have eſtabliſh'd a new Privy-Council, the conſtant Number of which ſhall never exceed Thirty. I have made choice of ſuch Perſons as are worthy and able to adviſe me; and am reſolv'd in all my weighty and important Affairs, next to the Advice of my Great Council in Parliament, which I ſhall often conſult with, to be advis'd by this Privy-Council. I cou'd not make ſo great a Change without Acquainting both Houſes of Parliament: And I deſire you all to apply your ſelves heartily, as I ſhall do, to thoſe Things which are neceſ-*

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ſary for the Good and Safety of the Kingdom, and that no Time may be loſt in it. 1679. Car. 31 Reſ. 19

This Alteration and Eſtabliſhment was receiv'd with general Joy and Applauſe throughout the Kingdom; with Bells and Bonfires in the City, and the ſame even in *Ireland*. In *Holland*, the Stocks of the *Eaſt-India* Company immediately roſe upon the News; and the *States* deſign'd one of their moſt conſiderable Men, *Van Lewen*, to come Miniſter into *England* upon this Occaſion. *France* alone was unſatisfied with it, and their Ambaſſador *Barillon* ſaid, *It was making* STATES, *and not* COUNCILS; but it was eaſy to gueſs at his Reaſons, and ſo they were not much regarded. The Houſe of Commons receiv'd it with moſt Coldneſs, where the contrary was moſt reaſonably expected: And the pretending *Knowers* among them, who were not of this Council, now pretended to know nothing of it; to expect new Revolutions; to doubt it might be a *Court-Juggle*; to refer it to Time to diſcover the Truth of it; and, in the mean while, to ſuſpend their Judgments. This, ſays Sir *William Temple*, was the firſt Effect of the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s good Meaning to the King and his Affairs, into which he was enter'd; but not with that perſonal and tranſcendent Credit he aim'd at with his Majeſty, and in which he rightly judg'd thoſe who had been Authors of this new Council, had the greateſt Share. This made him fall in more abſolutely with the People's Favourite the Duke of *Monmouth*, and uſe all Endeavours to raiſe ſuch Heats and Diſcontents in the Houſes, upon the *Fears of Popery*, and the *Propoſitions to prevent it*, that the King ſoon found himſelf upon as uneaſy Terms with this Seſſion of Parliament, as ever he had been ſince his Reſtoration; the Humours being rais'd by the Earl's Inſinuations among his Patriots, 'That the Duke of *Monmouth* had ſo much Credit 'with the King, that his Majeſty deſir'd nothing but a good Occaſion of 'conſenting to all the Parliament ſhou'd inſiſt on; which wou'd be 'granted him, if they kept up their Heat and Obſtinacy in ſo popular 'a Point, as that againſt *Popery*: And if that were once gain'd, the 'Duke of *Monmouth* and he ſhou'd be able to ſteer all the reſt, to the 'Satisfaction of thoſe who call'd themſelves *the Good* or *the Honeſt Party*.' Such a Miſchief, ſays the ſame Author, cou'd never have grown, if the Lord *Shaftsbury* had not work'd himſelf up into Credit, both in Parliament and City, by the Appearance of having it with the King, and in Council, where he was Preſident; and by the Infuſions given of his having, or growing yet into greater, by a more ſecret Spring; which was the Prevalency of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the King's increaſing Kindneſs for him, as appear'd ſince the Abſence of the Duke of *York*. Therefore he cou'd not believe but all this wou'd have been avoided, if, upon this new Conſtitution, the Lord *Shaftsbury* had been laid aſide, as a Perſon mark'd out by his Majeſty, and never to enter more into his Affairs or Confidence; *which*, ſays he, *the whole Courſe of his Life, from his very firſt Entrance upon the Publick Stage, if examin'd never ſo ſtrictly, wou'd have given good Ground for.*

How received.

The E. of Shaftsbury's ambitious Deſigns.

Upon the firſt Conſtitution of this Council, the Lord *Sunderland* and Sir *William Temple* enter'd into a near and diſtinct Confidence from any others in the Courſe of the King's Affairs; and ſhortly after they took in the Earl of *Eſſex*, with ſome Unwillingneſs in Sir *William*, and ſo became a *Triumvirate*, to undertake the firſt Digeſtion of Affairs, and to prepare them either for the Parliament or the Council. But Sir *William* finding Matters grow very uneaſy among the Commons by the Practices of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Cover at leaſt, and that the Lord *Halifax* appear'd unſatisfied by obſerving where the King's

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A Quadrumvirate in the Council.

Confidence lay; he propos'd to the Lords *Sunderland* and *Eſſex*, to receive him into all their Conſultations; which he thought wou'd give him more Credit with the King, and them more Eaſe in the Courſe of their Proceedings. They receiv'd the Propoſal with little Satisfaction, and the Lord *Sunderland* particularly told Sir *William*, *He ſhou'd not find the Lord* Hallifax *the Perſon he took him for*; *but one that cou'd draw with no body, and ſtill climbing up to the Top himſelf*; but upon Sir *William*'s urging the Matter, they conſented, and ſo all four join'd together in their Meetings and Conſultations, by which means they had the greateſt Sway, and in effect preſided in the Council. This they continu'd, for a conſiderable, time with ſo much Union, and Endeavours for the general Good of the Service of the King and Nation, that Sir *William* cou'd not but ſay to them, at the End of one of their Meetings, *That we four were either the four honeſteſt Men in* England, *or the greateſt Knaves*; *for we made one another at leaſt believe, that we were the honeſteſt Men in the World.* But this Conjunction, by Time or Accident, was broken, or rather alter'd before the Riſing of the Parliament.

Their Proceedings.

The principal Matters that lay before the King at that time, were, Firſt, the Satisfaction of his People, by falling into ſome Meaſures with the Parliament, that might enable him to look abroad in ſuch a Figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was neceſſary for preventing the common Fears of a new Invaſion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*; which look'd very deſperate, without ſome brave and reſolute Protection from *England*. The Second was, a Reſolution to be taken in Anſwer to the Inſtances made by Monſieur *Van Lewen* from the *States-General*, about a new Guaranty to be given upon the late General Peace by his Majeſty; particularly to *Spain*, in the Buſineſs of *Flanders*. The Third was, the giving ſome Eaſe to *Scotland*, where the Humours began to ſwell about this time; and which the *Quadrumvirate* thought cou'd be no way done ſo eaſily, as by the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*; a Man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the Temper his Majeſty ſeem'd reſolv'd to uſe at this time. But for this laſt, they cou'd not upon any Terms obtain it of the King, by all the joint and ſeparate Arguments us'd by all four; the King's Defence being, as Sir *William Temple* obſerv'd, a very true one, *That none of them knew* Scotland *ſo well as himſelf*. As for the Second, they eaſily agreed upon the Meaſures that ſeem'd neceſſary for the Satisfaction of the *States-General*, and the Safety of *Flanders*; being all four of the Committee for Foreign Affairs.

The Difficulties they met with.

But the moſt difficult and important Matter was the Firſt, which they found more perplex'd than they cou'd imagine. For both Houſes of Parliament ſeem'd now to have no Eyes, but for the Dangers of Popery upon the Duke's Succeſſion to the Crown; which Humour, as before hinted, was blown up by all the Arts and Intrigues of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Shaftsbury*. The King appear'd willing to give them all poſſible Security againſt thoſe Fears, without changing the Laws in Point of Succeſſion: And, on the other ſide, the Houſe of Commons were buſy in finding out Expedients to ſecure this Point, but cou'd agree in none; being ſtill diverted from fixing on any, by the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Practices. The Council fell upon the ſame Subject with great Earneſtneſs; and after much Debate, agreed upon many Heads to be laid before the Parliament, which were to be hinted at by the King in a Speech to both Houſes. One of theſe Expedients was, to have a Bill brought in for the *Aſſociation* of all his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects: Another was, a Bill for the Baniſhment of all conſiderable *Papiſts* out of *England*:

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A third, for ſecuring frequent Parliaments; and it was likewiſe propos'd, That the Prince of *Orange* ſhou'd be join'd in the Adminiſtration with the Duke of *York*, upon the latter's coming to the Crown. Theſe Expedients were agreed to by all the Council, except the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and Sir *William Temple*, who were againſt them upon very different Grounds. Sir *William*'s were two; 'Firſt, becauſe he believ'd, that nothing that 'came firſt from the King upon theſe Points, wou'd be accepted by the 'Commons; who, if they wou'd be ſatisfied at all, he thought ſhou'd 'firſt agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuſe. The 'Second was, that as he did not ſee any certain Eaſe their Expedients 'wou'd give to the King, tho' agreed to by the two Houſes; ſo it was 'evident to all, *That they wou'd leave the Crown, after him, in Shackles*; 'which being put on upon the Duke's Occaſion, and in his Time, wou'd 'not be eaſily knock'd off by any Succeſſor. The Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s Ground was plain, and ſo expreſſed by him upon all Occaſions; which was, *That there cou'd be no Security againſt the Duke, if once in Poſſeſſion of the Crown:* And this being well infus'd by his and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends into the Houſe of Commons, occaſion'd their ſullen rejecting all the Expedients offer'd them by the King, and laid the Foundation for the Proceedings of the next Houſe of Commons, and the great Diſorders that follow'd. 1679. Car. 31 Reſ. 19

3. To return to the more immediate Tranſactions of Parliament, the Commons, who were daily employ'd in troubleſom Buſineſs, about the time of this new Conſtitution, were not a little heated with the Caſe of *Nathaniel Reading*, Eſquire, a *Lincolnſhire* Gentleman, and a Counſel at Law, then diſtinguiſh'd for his Adventures in the Iſle of *Azolme*. This Lawyer, of a ſmooth Tongue and ready Wit, was accus'd before the Houſe of Commons of endeavouring to mollifie and ſweeten, and in ſome Degree to corrupt the inflexible Honeſty of Mr. *Bedloe*; who tho' he had receiv'd from him above Fifty Pounds, and larger Sums in Promiſes, *not to ſtifle the whole Plot*, but only to make him *Eaſy* toward ſome particular Perſons, his Conſcience wou'd not permit him to conceal ſo foul a Practice. This made a great Noiſe, and was look'd upon as a Matter of dangerous Conſequence, in the Houſe of Commons; who thereupon petition'd the King to iſſue out a Special Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* for the immediate Tryal of the ſaid *Nathaniel Reading*. Accordingly, on the 24th, he was Try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar before the Lord-Chief Juſtice *North* (in the Abſence of *Scroggs*) and moſt of the other Judges, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, nam'd in the Commiſſion. The Facts were prov'd upon him by the Oaths of *Bedloe* himſelf, one *Wiggins* his Man, and one Mr. *Speke*; which two laſt *Bedloe* had hid privately in his Chamber to overhear their Diſcourſe. Mr. *Reading* in his Defence, did in effect own the Correſpondence with Mr. *Bedloe*, but with ſeveral fine Words alledg'd, 'That Mr. *Bedloe* firſt 'propos'd the Matter to him; and that all that he did, was not in the 'leaſt to *ſhorten, leſſen*, or *ſtifle* any thing of the Truth, which Mr. *Bed-* 'loe had to ſay, but only to prevent him from the great Guilt of *Perjury* 'and *Innocent Blood, &c.*' But being found Guilty, the Lord-Chief Juſtice, after a grave Speech, 'reflecting upon the Heinouſneſs of the 'Crime, and the Quality of the Perſon, as being of the Long Robe, 'whoſe *Knowledge* ſhou'd keep them from ſo fooliſh, and their *Honour* 'from ſo wicked an Attempt, pronounc'd the Judgment of the Court, *viz. That he be fin'd a Thouſand Pounds, impriſon'd for one Year, and ſtand one Hour in the Pillory, in the* Palace-Yard *in* Weſtminſter, &c. *The Tryal and Puniſhment of Mr.* Reading.

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A new Diſcovery about Fires.

&c. which was done accordingly, for a Terror to all Perſons who ſhou'd pretend to manage or influence the King's Evidence.

This Sentence was no ſooner paſs'd, but the Houſe was heated and allarm'd with a new Account of the *Papiſts* Deſigns of firing the City: and a Servant Maid, call'd *Elizabeth Oxley*, was found to have ſet Fire to her Maſter *Bird*'s Houſe in *Fetter-lane*, which by the help of the Watch was ſoon extinguiſh'd. She declar'd upon her Examination, that ſhe was employ'd to do it by one *Stubbs* a *Papiſt*, who promis'd her five Pounds. Hereupon *Stubbs* was ſeiz'd, who acknowledg'd he had perſwaded her to it; but further declared, that Father *Gifford*, his Confeſſor, had put him upon the Buſineſs, and told him, *It was no Sin to fire all the Houſes of Hereticks*; and that *Gifford* had promis'd him a hundred Pounds for the ſame; and told him *he was to have the Money from the Church*. He likewiſe ſaid, that he us'd to meet the ſaid *Gifford* with *Flower* and *Clinton*, two *Iriſh* Men, in St. *James*'s Fields, in the Dusk of the Evening, to conſult theſe Matters. Moreover, theſe two, *Stubbs* and *Oxley*, declar'd to the Houſe ſeveral other Things concerning an Inſurrection at home by *Papiſts*, and an Invaſion of 60000 Men ſpeedily to be made by the *French*, *&c.* Upon which free Confeſſions, the Houſe of Commons petition'd the King for a Pardon for theſe two, and a Proclamation againſt *Gifford* and the two *Iriſhmen*, both which were readily granted. This Story ſeem'd to have laid a Foundation for *Bedloe*'s ſtrange *Narrative* about Fires, with which he ſhortly after allarm'd and frighted the weaker part of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. However it was, as ſoon as it was reported in the Houſe, *Saturday* the 26th of *April*, the Commons ſhew'd a more than ordinary Reſentment; and, beſides their Addreſs for the Execution of *Pickering*, and other Condemn'd Prieſts, they *Reſolved*, *Nemine Contradicente*, 'That this Houſe will ſit 'to Morrow [*Sunday*] to conſider the beſt Ways and Means to ſecure 'and preſerve the King's Perſon, and alſo the *Proteſtant* Religion, a-'gainſt the Attempts of the *Papiſts*, both in the Reign of his Majeſty 'and his Succeſſor.' Accordingly, the next Morning, they firſt ordered a Bill to be brought in to Baniſh all Papiſts or Reputed Papiſts within *London* and *Weſtminſter* 20 Miles from the ſame for ſix Months; and then they came to their Grand *Reſolve*, which was alſo *Nemine Contradicente*, 'That the Duke of *York* being a *Papiſt*, and the Hopes of his coming 'ſuch to the Crown, has given the greateſt Countenance and Encou-'ragement to the preſent Conſpiracies and Deſigns of the *Papiſts* a-'gainſt the King and the *Proteſtant* Religion. And they deſir'd the Concurrence of the Lords to this Vote, and order'd the Lord *Ruſſel* to carry up the ſame.

The Reſentment of the Houſe of Commons.

The E. of Danby *pleads the King's Pardon.*

In the mean time, the Earl of *Danby*, finding the Fury of the Commons, appear'd at the Bar of the Houſe of Peers, and there pleaded and produc'd the King's moſt gracious Pardon for all Crimes and Offences whatſoever, committed before the 28th Day of *February* laſt. At which the Commons were not a little diſoblig'd; and upon *April* 28th, the *Committee of Secrecy*, which were appointed to examine and peruſe the Nature of the Earl's Plea, made this Report; 'I. We find no Precedent 'that ever any Pardon was granted to any Perſon Impeach'd by the 'Commons of High-Treaſon, or other High Crimes depending in the 'Impeachment. 2. As to the manner of paſſing the Earl of *Danby*'s 'Pardon, it hath been formerly reported to the Houſe, and the Com-'mittee refer themſelves to that Report. 3. That by what means it was 'obtain'd, the Time allow'd the Committee hath been ſo ſhort, that we 'cannot as yet diſcover the Adviſers or Promoters thereof, any further

'than

'than what is mention'd in the ſaid Report relating to the Lord-Chancel- 1679.
'lor.' Whereupon the Houſe *Reſolv'd*, 'That a Meſſage be ſent to the
'Lords, to deſire their Lordſhips to demand of the Earl of *Danby*, *Whether* Car. 31
'*he will rely upon, and abide by the Plea of his Pardon.* Accordingly, Rel. 19
the next Day, the Earl was again brought to the Bar of the Lords Houſe, Debates upo. it.
where kneeling, and then ſtanding up, the Lord-Chancellor acquainted him, 'That the Commons had return'd to their Lordſhips the Plea de-
'liver'd by him at the Bar of their Houſe on the 25th Inſtant, with a
'Deſire that their Lordſhips ſhou'd ask him, *Whether he will rely*
'*upon, and abide by his ſaid Plea.*' The Earl praying time to anſwer, their Lordſhips allow'd him four Days, till *Saturday* next, and then he was ſent back to the *Tower*. On the ſame Day, the King return'd this Anſwer to the Commons Addreſs for the Execution of *Pickering* and other Prieſts; Gentlemen, *I have always been tender in Matters of Blood, which my Subjects have no Reaſon to take Exception at: But this is a Matter of great Weight, I ſhall therefore conſider of it, and return you an Anſwer.*

4. Several Things being prepar'd by the new Privy-Council, in order to eaſe the Minds of the People, now variouſly agitated, on *Wedneſday* the 30th of *April*, his Majeſty came in his Royal Robes to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he made this ſhort Speech to both Houſes; My Lords and Gentlemen, *The Seaſon of the Year advancing* *The King's Second Speech to both Houſes.*
ſo faſt, I thought it neceſſary to put you in mind of three Particulars:
1. *The Proſecution of the Plot:* 2. *The Diſbanding of the Army:* 3. *The Providing a Fleet for our Common Security. And to ſhew you, that whilſt you are doing your Parts, my Thoughts have not been miſemploy'd; but that it is my conſtant Care to do every Thing that may preſerve your Religion, and ſecure it for the future in all Events, I have commanded my Lord Chancellor to mention ſeveral Particulars; which, I hope, will be an Evidence, that in all Things that concern the Publick Security, I ſhall not follow your Zeal, but Lead it.*

Accordingly the Lord Chancellor made this following Speech, which ought to be inſerted without any Abridgment: '*My Lords, and you the* *The Lord Chancellor's ſecond Speech.*
'*Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, That Royal
'Care which his Majeſty hath taken for the General Quiet and Satisfacti-
'on of all his Subjects, is now more evident by theſe new and freſh In-
'ſtances of it, which I have in Command to open to you. His Majeſty
'hath conſider'd with Himſelf, that 'tis not enough that your Religion
'and Liberty is ſecure during his *Own Reign*, but he thinks he owes it
'to his People to do all that in him lies, that theſe Bleſſings may be
'tranſmitted to your *Poſterity*, and ſo well ſecured to Them, that no
'*Succeſſion in After-Ages* may be able to work the leaſt Alteration. And
'therefore his Majeſty, who hath often ſaid in this Place, *That he is ready*
'*to conſent to any Laws of this Kind, ſo that the ſame extend not to*
'*alter the Deſcent of the Crown in the Right Line, nor to defeat the*
'*Succeſſion*, hath now commanded this to be further Explain'd.

'And to the End it may never be in the Power of any *Papiſt*, if the
'Crown deſcend upon him, to make any Change either in Church or
'State; I am commanded to tell you, That his Majeſty is willing that
'Proviſion may be made, Firſt to diſtinguiſh a *Papiſt* from a *Proteſtant*
'*Succeſſor*; then ſo to limit and circumſcribe the Authority of a *Popiſh*
'*Succeſſor*, in theſe Caſes following, that he may be diſabled to do any
'Harm: Firſt, in Reference to the *Church*; his Majeſty is content that 1.
'Care be taken, that all *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Spiritual* Benefices and Pro-

'motions

1679. Car. 31 Ref. 19 2. 3. 4. ‘ motions in Gift of the Crown, may be Conferr'd in ſuch a Manner, ‘ that we may be ſure the Incumbents ſhall always be of the moſt Pious ‘ and Learned *Proteſtants:* And that no *Popiſh* Succeſſor, while he con- ‘ tinues ſo, may have any Power to controll ſuch Preſentments. In Re- ‘ ference to the *State*, and Civil Part of the Government; as it is alrea- ‘ dy Provided, *That no Papiſt can ſit in either Houſe of Parliament*; ſo ‘ the King is pleas'd that it be Provided too, that there may never want ‘ a Parliament, when the King ſhall happen to dye, but that the Parlia- ‘ ment then in Being may continue Indiſſolvable for a Competent Time; ‘ or if there be no Parliament in Being, then the laſt Parliament which ‘ was in Being before that Time, may Reaſſemble, and Sit a Competent ‘ Time, without any New Summons, or Elections. And as no Papiſt can ‘ by Law hold any Place of Truſt, ſo the King is content that it may be ‘ further Provided, That no *Lords*, or others of the *Privy-Council*, no ‘ Judges of the Common Law, or in Chancery, ſhall at any Time, during ‘ the Reign of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, be Put in, or Diſplac'd, but by the ‘ Authority of Parliament: And that Care be taken, that none but ſin- ‘ cere Proteſtants may be *Juſtices of the Peace*. In Reference to the ‘ *Military Part*, the King is willing that no *Lord Lieutenant*, or *Depu- ‘ ty-Lieutenant*, nor no Officer in the Navy, during the Reign of any ‘ *Popiſh Succeſſor*, be Put out, or Remov'd, but either by Authority of ‘ Parliament, or of ſuch Perſons as the Parliament ſhall intruſt with ſuch ‘ Authority.

‘ It is hard to invent another Reſtraint to be put upon a *Popiſh Suc- ‘ ceſſor*, conſidering how much the Revenue of the Succeſſor will depend ‘ upon Conſent of Parliament, and how impoſſible it is to raiſe Mony ‘ without ſuch Conſent. But yet, if any Thing elſe can occur to the ‘ Wiſdom of the Parliament, which may further ſecure Religion and Li- ‘ berty againſt a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, without defeating the *Right of Suc- ‘ ceſſion* it ſelf, his Majeſty will moſt readily conſent to it. Thus watch- ‘ ful is the King for all your Safety; and if He cou'd think of any Thing ‘ elſe, that you do either want or wiſh to make you happy, he wou'd ‘ make it his Buſineſs to effect it for you. God Almighty long conti- ‘ nue this Bleſſed Union between the King, and his Parliament, and ‘ People.

It may be thought a wonderful Infatuation that theſe Expedients and Conceſſions ſhou'd be no better receiv'd: The Reaſons have been already hinted at from Sir *William Temple*, and may not be irrationally attributed to the Spirit of Faction or Deluſion, or an unaccountable Mixture of both. But Providence, which can take Advantage of Mens Miſtakes as well as Crimes, ſeem'd to have deſign'd greater Things, without either Ruining the Monarchy, or the Privileges of the Nation. The Commons were ſo heated with the continu'd Infuſions, and repeated Stories, about Popiſh and Arbitrary Deſigns, that they knew not how to proceed with the Calmneſs and Clearneſs of Debate neceſſary to ſo venerable an Aſſembly. On the next Day after theſe Speeches, they revived a Committee formerly appointed to conſider what Part of the Mony given for Disbanding of the Army, is yet undiſpos'd of, and remaining in the Exchequer; being ſtill apprehenſive of the Corruptions of the Earl of *Danby*. But to ſhew a perſonal Concern for their Sovereign, at the ſame Time they fell upon the further Conſideration of Securing and Preſerving the King, and the *Proteſtant* Religion, againſt the Attempts of the *Papiſts*, both in the Reign of his Majeſty and his Succeſſors. They alſo read at the ſame Time, a *Bill for better Prevention of Illegal Exaction of Mony from the Subject*; and *Order'd*, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, ‘ That when ‘ any

The Commons very uneaſy.

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'any Member of this Houſe is preferr'd to any Office or Place of Profit, 'a new Writ ſhall immediately iſſue out for Electing a Member to ſerve 'in his ſtead.'

Still the Earl of *Danby* was one of their chief Grievances, and his Pardon a very great Vexation; therefore on the 5th of *May*, they *Reſolv'd*, 'That it was the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Pardon pleaded by 'the Earl of *Danby* was Illegal and Void, and ought not to be allow'd in 'bar of the Impeachment of the Commons of *England*.' And Mr. Speaker, with the whole Houſe, went up to the Lords Bar, and demanded Judgment, in theſe Words; *My Lords, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled, are come up to demand Judgment, in their own Names, and the Names of all the Commons of* England, *againſt* Thomas *Earl of* Danby, *who ſtands Impeach'd by them before your Lordſhips of High-Treaſon, and divers High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; to which he has pleaded a Pardon; which Pardon the Commons conceive to be Illegal and Void; and therefore they do demand Judgment of your Lordſhips accordingly.* Shortly after they fell upon another great Man, more juſtly obnoxious, the Duke of *Lauderdale*, againſt whom they drew up this following Addreſs; 'We your Majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful Subjects, the 'Commons in Parliament aſſembled, finding your Majeſty's Kingdoms in-'volv'd in imminent Dangers and great Difficulties, by the evil Deſigns, 'and pernicious Counſels of ſome who have been, and are in high Place, 'and Truſt and Authority about your Royal Perſon; who contrary to 'the Duty of their Places, by their arbitrary and deſtructive Counſels, 'tending to the Subverſion of the Rights, Liberties and Properties of 'your Subjects, and the Alteration of the *Proteſtant* Religion Eſtabliſh'd, 'have endeavour'd to alienate the Hearts of your Loyal Subjects from 'your Majeſty and your Government. Amongſt whom we have juſt 'Reaſon to accuſe *John* Duke of *Lauderdale*, for a chief Promoter of 'ſuch Counſels; and more particularly for Contriving and Endeavour-'ing to raiſe Jealouſies and Miſunderſtandings between your Majeſty's 'Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; whereby Hoſtilities might have 'enſu'd, and may ariſe between both Nations, if not prevented. Where-'fore, we your Majeſty's Loyal Subjects cou'd not but be ſenſibly affect-'ed with Trouble to find ſuch a Perſon (notwithſtanding the repeated 'Addreſſes of the laſt Parliament) continu'd in your Counſels at this Time, 'when the Affairs of your Kingdom require none to be put into ſuch 'Employments, but ſuch as are of known Abilities, Intereſt and Eſteem, 'in the Nation, without all Suſpicion of either Miſtaking or Betraying 'the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, and conſequently of Adviſing your 'Majeſty ill. We do therefore moſt humbly beſeech your moſt ſacred 'Majeſty, for the taking away the great Jealouſies, Diſſatisfactions and 'Fears amongſt your good Subjects, that your Majeſty will graciouſly be 'pleas'd to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from your Majeſty's Coun-'cils in your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and from all Offices, 'Employments and Places of Truſt, and from your Majeſty's Preſence, 'for ever. This Addreſs was carry'd in a full Body, but the King only 'made this cold Reply, *That he wou'd conſider of it, and return an An-'ſwer.*

They demand Judgment againſt the E. of Danby.

Their Addreſs againſt the D. of Lauderdale.

In the mean time his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by the Lord *Ruſſel*, one of his new Privy-Council, who acquainted the Houſe, 'That his Majeſty commanded him to let the Houſe know, that his Ma-'jeſty is willing to comply with the Requeſt made to him by the Houſe, 'concerning *Pickering*, and that the Law ſhall paſs upon him according-'ly. As to the condemn'd Prieſts, the Houſe of Peers have ſent for 'them,

The King's Meſſage to them.

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'them, in order, as his Majeſty conceives, to ſome Examinations. And 'further to acquaint you, That he repeateth his Inſtances to you, to think 'of putting the Fleet in ſuch a Poſture, as may quiet Mens Fears, and 'at leaſt ſecure us from any ſudden Attempt; which his Majeſty doubts 'not but you will do: And tho' the Streights and Difficulties he lyeth 'under are very great, he doth not intend, during this Seſſion, to preſs 'for any other Supply; being willing rather to ſuffer the Burdens that 'are upon him ſome time longer, than to interrupt you, whilſt you are 'employ'd about the *Diſcovery of the Plot*, the *Tryal of the Lords*, and 'the Bill for *Securing of our Religion*.

A Mony Bill paſs'd.

In one Matter of Moment the King and both Houſes agreed, the Neceſſity of a Tax: And therefore, on the 9th of *May*, the Money-Bill being prepar'd, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, paſs'd an Act *For Granting a Supply to his Majeſty of Two Hundred and ſix Thouſand four Hundred ſixty two Pounds, ſeventeen Shillings and Three-pence, for Paying off and Disbanding the Forces rais'd ſince the nine and twentieth of* September, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy ſeven.* In which Act there was a particular Clauſe to continue to Futurity, enacting, That Soldiers ſhall not be quarter'd in any Perſons Houſe againſt their Conſent: This was the laſt, and one of the leaſt Mony-Bills, in this Reign; about the Preparing of which, ſomething, for the Reader's Curioſity, is here tranſcrib'd *verbatim* from the *Journals* of the Houſe of Commons: *Die Jovis* 8 *Maii*; 'The Houſe 'then took into Conſideration the *Amendments* made by the Lords to the 'Bill for *Granting a Supply to his Majeſty of* 206462 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d. for Paying off and Disbanding the Forces rais'd ſince the* 29*th of* September, '1677. And the Firſt, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth *Amendments*, 'being twice read, were upon the Queſtion ſeverally agreed. The Sixth 'and Seventh *Amendment* (for leaving out *John* Lord *Roſs*, Son and Heir 'apparent to the Earl of *Rutland)* being read a ſecond Time, and the 'Lord *Roſs* having been call'd up to the Houſe of Peers, ſince the Bill 'was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords; *Reſolved*, That the Houſe doth 'agree with the Lords in the ſaid *Amendments*. The reſt of the *Amendments*, to the hundred and ſecond Skin, ſixth Line, being twice read, 'were upon the Queſtion, ſeverally agreed. The Amendment in the 'hundred and ſecond Skin, ſixth Line, being read a ſecond Time, and 'the Queſtion being put for Agreeing with the Lords in that *Amendment*, it paſs'd in the Negative. The reſt of the *Amendments*, to the 'End of the Bill, being twice read, were upon the Queſtion ſeverally 'agreed. The two Clauſes to be added at the End of the Bill, being 'twice read, and the Queſtion being ſeverally put, to agree with the 'Lords in the ſaid Clauſes, it paſs'd in the Negative. *Order'd*, That a 'Committee be appointed to draw up Reaſons, to be deliver'd at a Con-'ference to be had with the Lords, why the Houſe have diſagreed with 'their Lordſhips in SEVERAL of their *Amendments* to the Bill for '*Paying off and Disbanding the Army*.' The Reader is left to make his own Obſervations upon this Tranſcript.

How prepared.

5. The Commons were not only intent upon the Proſecution of the Earl of *Danby*, but were ſeveral Times inclinable to impeach his Friend Sir *William Temple*, as an Inſtrument of making the general Peace, and a Man of Arbitrary Principles; and Mr. *Mountagu*, who had been ſo bitter againſt the Earl, went a great Way from Man to Man in the Houſe, to know whether if ſuch an Accuſation were brought in againſt Sir *William*, they would be againſt him. Several went into it out of Reſentment

to

to the Earl of *Danby*, and other private Reaſons; but it did not take effect. But they were inceſſant in their Proceedings againſt the Earl, whoſe laſt Plea made them very uneaſy and tumultuous. About the Time of the paſſing the Money-Bill, this unpleaſing Meſſage was ſent by two Judges from the Lords: ‘ *Mr. Speaker*, We are commanded by the Lords to ‘ acquaint this Houſe with an Order Yeſterday made concerning the ‘ Earl of *Danby*, viz. Whereas the Earl of *Danby* hath adhered to the ‘ Plea of his Pardon, and pray'd to be heard by his Council, to make ‘ good the Validity of his Pardon: And whereas the Commons have by ‘ their Speaker, in proper Perſon, demanded Judgment againſt the ſaid ‘ Earl, as conceiving his Pardon to be Illegal and void; “ It is ordered “ by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament Aſſembled, that “ *Saturday* the tenth Inſtant, be appointed for Hearing the Earl of *Danby* “ to make good his Plea.” And are further to acquaint you, that the ‘ Lords Spiritual and Temporal have Yeſterday *Reſolv'd*, “ That the five “ Lords in the *Tower*, *William* Earl of *Powis*, *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, “ *William* Lord *Petre*, *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardor*, and *John* Lord “ *Bellaſis*, ſhall be brought to their Tryals, upon *Wedneſday* the Four- “ teenth of this Month.” The Part concerning the Earl of *Danby* ſo heated the Houſe, that they *Reſolved*, ‘ That no Commoner whatſoever ‘ ſhall preſume to maintain the Validity of the Pardon pleaded by the Earl of ‘ *Danby*, without the Conſent of the Houſe firſt had, and that the Per- ‘ ſons ſo doing ſhall be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties of the Com- ‘ mons of *England*.’ Which Vote they order'd to be poſted up at *Weſt-minſter-Hall*-Gate, and at the ſeveral Gates of the *Serjeant's-Inns*, and the *Inns of Court*.

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A Meſſage from the Lords.

The Commons Reſolve.

This heightned the Differences that were already begun, about the Manner and Method of Proceeding upon the Impeachments depending: The Lords had addreſs'd to the King for a Lord High-Steward to preſide in the Tryals; but the Commons thought it unneceſſary, or too great an Obſtruction to Buſineſs; therefore they propos'd, ‘ that a Committee of ‘ both Houſes might be Nominated, to conſider of the moſt proper Ways ‘ and Methods of Proceeding upon Impeachments.’ The Lords refus'd to agree, and in a Conference aſſign'd this Reaſon, ‘ That they did not find ‘ it conformable to the Rules and Orders of Proceedings of this Court, ‘ *which is, and ever muſt be tender in Matters relating to their Judica-* ‘ *ture*.’ Upon which the Commons, *May* 9th, *Voted*, That the Anſwer ‘ deliver'd by the Lords at the laſt Conference, tends to the Interruption ‘ of the good Correſpondency between the two Houſes.’ And deſiring a Conference with the Lords the next Day, they in Concluſion deliver'd this Reſolution, *That Things ſtanding thus, they cannot proceed in the Tryals of the Lords, before the Methods of Proceedings be adjuſted between the two Houſes*. Upon which their Lordſhips, upon Conſideration, did conſent to have a Committee of both Houſes, to conſider of Propoſitions and Circumſtances relating to the Tryal of the Lords in the *Tower*. But in another Conference, the ſame Day, the Lord Privy-Seal acquainted them, ‘ That the Lords had receiv'd a Petition from the Earl of *Dan-* ‘ *by*, who was order'd to attend their Lordſhips this Day, which their ‘ Lordſhips read; whereby the Earl of *Danby* ſet forth, *That he met* ‘ *with Informations ſeverally from his Council, that he durſt not appear* ‘ *to argue the Validity of his Pardon, by reaſon of the Vote of the Houſe* ‘ *of Commons*; and that their Lordſhips deſired to know, *Whether there* ‘ *was any ſuch Vote as was alledg'd in the Petition?*

With ſome Difficulty the Lords agree.

This only increas'd the Ferment in the lower Houſe; and this indeed prov'd a hot Day; in which, to teſtify their Fears and Apprehenſions,

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and to make way for the intended Tryals, they resolv'd upon an Address to the King, 'taking Notice of the Multitude of *Jesuits*, *Popish* Priests, 'and other *Popish* Recusants, who constantly resorted to the Cities of '*London* and *Westminster*, and obstinately continu'd there, in Contempt 'of his Majesty's Laws and Royal Proclamations; wherefore they humbly beseech his Majesty, that the *Militia* of *London*, *Westminster*, *Southwark*, the *Tower-Hamlets*, and the Counties of *Middlesex* and *Surrey*, 'may immediately be rais'd, and put in a Posture of Defence.' Then, to obviate these great Difficulties and Dangers, they resolv'd to sit the next Day, tho' a *Sunday*, as they had done a Fortnight before, on which Day they brought their former grand *Resolve* to Maturity, and *order'd* a Bill to be brought in, *To disable the Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm*; and referr'd it to the Drawing up of Mr. *Bennet*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Thomas Player*, Mr. *Vaughan*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, Mr. *Boscawen*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Hamden*, Colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Sacheverel*, and Mr. *Swinfen*. And immediately after they *Resolv'd*, *Nemine Contradicente*, 'That in 'Defence of the *King's Person*, and the *Protestant Religion*, this House 'doth Declare, that they will stand by his Majesty with their Lives and 'Fortunes; and that if his Majesty should come by any violent Death, '(which God forbid) they will revenge it to the utmost on the *Papists*.' This was soon after put into the Form of an Address; which being presented to his Majesty, he return'd this Answer, *Gentlemen, I thank you for your Zeal for the Preservation of the* Protestant *Religion, and of my Person; and I assure you, I shall do what in me lyes, to secure the* Protestant *Religion; and am willing to do all such Things, as may tend to the Good and Benefit of my Subjects.*

The Heat and Resolves of the Commons.

In the mean Time, to put forward more substantial Business, on *Wednesday* the 14th of *May*, the King sent this following Message to the House of Commons, by Mr. *Powle*, one of his new Privy-Council. 'C.R. 'Though his Majesty hath already, at the first Meeting in Parliament, and 'since by a Word or two, mention'd the Necessity of having a Fleet at 'Sea this Summer; yet the Season for preparing it being far advanc'd, 'and our Neighbours before us in their Preparations, he cannot hold himself discharg'd towards his People, if he do not now with more Earnestness again recommend the same to your present Care and Consideration; and the rather, from the daily Expectation of the Return of the 'Fleet from the *Streights*, to which a great Arrear is due; and hereby 'he must acquit himself of the evil Consequences, which the want of a 'Fleet in such a Juncture may produce: And he hath not done this without considering, *that the entering upon the Work presently, can be no 'hinderance to the other Great Affairs upon your Hands; but rather a 'Security, in the Dispatch thereof.* This Message, tho' reasonable and proper, and proceeding from an unexceptionable Council, was no further regarded, than after a Debate, it was *Resolv'd*, 'That the further Consi'deration of the said Message be adjourn'd till *Monday* next come Seven-'Night.

The King's Message to them.

6. Both Houses having agreed to a joynt Committee for setling the Way and Method of trying the Impeach'd Lords, after some Meetings, a Report was made to the House of Commons by Sir *John Trevor*, to this Effect: 'That the Commons had made two Propositions to the Com-'mittee of Lords; First they desired to see the Commission of the Lord 'High-Steward, and those to former Lords: Secondly, they desired to 'know what Resolutions had been taken about the Lords Spiritual be-'ing

Proceedings about the Impeach'd Lords.

'ing preſent or abſent at the Tryal of the Lords Impeach'd. For the 1679.
'firſt, the Lords Committee produc'd ſeveral Copies of the Commiſſi-
'ons to the Lord High-Stewards, and particularly that for the Tryal of Car. 31
'the Earl of *Danby*, and for the five Lords in the *Tower*. But withal Reſ. 19
'they communicated a Reſolution of the Lord's Houſe, of the 12th of
'*May*, in theſe Words, *It is Declared and Order'd by the Lords Spiritu-*
'*al and Temporal, that the Office of a High-Steward, upon Tryals of Peers*
'*upon Impeachments, is not neceſſary to the Houſe of Peers, but that the*
'*Lords may proceed upon ſuch Tryals, if a High-Steward be not appoin-*
'*ted according to their Humble Deſire.* Their Lordſhips further De-
'clared to the Committee, *that a Lord High-Steward was made* pro hac vice
'*only: That notwithſtanding the making a High-Steward, the Court re-*
'*main'd the ſame, and was not thereby alter'd, but ſtill remain'd* The
'Court of Peers *in Parliament: That the Lord High-Steward was but*
'*as a Speaker or Chair-Man, for the more orderly Proceedings at the Try-*
'*als.* Notwithſtanding which, they had petition'd and obtain'd a Lord
'High-Steward for the enſuing Tryals. As to the ſecond Propoſition,
'the Reſolution of the Houſe of Peers was in theſe Words, *Reſolved*
'*by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that the Lords Spiritual have a*
'*Right to ſtay in Court in Capital Caſes, till ſuch time as Judgment of*
'*Death comes to be pronounc'd.* The next Day the Lords explain'd them-
'ſelves, and declared the Meaning of their Reſolution to be, *that the*
'*Lords Spiritual have a Right to ſtay and ſit in Court, till the Court pro-*
'*ceed to the Vote of Guilty or not Guilty.* The Second Propoſition be-
'ing a Matter of great Weight and Conſideration, the Committee of the
'Commons had commanded him to Report it to the Houſe, in order to
'receive their Directions for their further Proceedings.

Two Days after, Sir *John Trevor* made another Report from the Committee of both Houſes, 'That the Lords had communicated to the Committee
'certain Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, in theſe Words; *Reſolved by*
'*the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that* Thurſday *the 22d Inſtant be ap-*
'*pointed to begin the Tryals of the Five Lords in the* Tower, *the Earl*
'*of* Powis, *Lord Viſcount* Stafford, *Lord* Petre, *Lord* Arundel *of* War-
'dor, *and Lord* Bellaſis. After which Reſolution paſs'd, *the Lords Spi-*
'*ritual ask'd the Leave of the Houſe, that they might withdraw them-*
'*ſelves from the Tryals of the ſaid Lords, with the Liberty of Entering*
'*their uſual Proteſtations.* And that the Commons Committee did de-
'ſire the Directions of the Houſe, how they ſhould proceed thereon.'
Upon hearing the Report, the Houſe of Commons, after a warm Debate, *Reſolv'd*, 'That it be given as an Inſtruction to the ſaid Com-
'mittee to inſiſt, *That the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any*
'*Vote in any Proceedings againſt the Lords in the* Tower; and when
'that Matter ſhall be ſettled, and the Methods of Proceedings adjuſted,
'this Houſe ſhall then be ready to proceed upon the Tryal of the Par-
'don of the Earl of *Danby*, againſt whom this Houſe hath already de-
'manded Judgment; and afterwards to the Tryals of the other five
'Lords in the *Tower*.' About the Rights of the Lords Spiritual, ſeve- *Spleen againſt the Biſhops.*
ral notable Books were written; and about this Time there ſeem'd to
have been a more than ordinary Spleen againſt them; and Three of them, *Gunning* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Prichard* Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, and *Mew* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, were accus'd for *Papiſts:* But the Accuſation ſoon fell, it being diſcover'd to be a malicious Contrivance to blaſt their Reputation, and fix a Scandal on the whole Order.

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The Substance of the EXCLUSION-BILL.

7. On the 15th of *May*, the Commons perfected their Grand Bill *to disable the Duke of* York *from Inheriting the Imperial Crown of* England; now obtaining the Name of the *Exclusion-Bill*; and was read the first Time, without any great Opposition. It set forth, after the Particulars of the Execrable Conspiracy, 'That the Emissaries, Priests and A-'gents for the *Pope*, had traiterously seduc'd *James* Duke of *York*, Pre-'sumptive Heir to these Crowns, to the Communion of the Church of 'Rome; and had induc'd him to enter into several Negotiations with the 'Pope, his Cardinals and Nuncio's, for promoting the *Romish* Church and 'Interest; and by his Means and Procurement had advanc'd the Power 'and Greatness of the *French* King, to the manifest Hazard of these 'Kingdoms. That by Descent of these Crowns upon a *Papist*, and by 'Foreign Alliances and Assistance, they might be able to succeed in their 'wicked and villanous Designs.' Then after another Preamble, they enacted to this Effect, 1. 'That the said *James* Duke of *York*, *Albany* and '*Ulster*, should be incapable of Inheriting the Crowns of *England*, *Scot-'land* and *Ireland*, with their Dependencies; and of enjoying any of the 'Titles, Rights, Prerogatives and Revenues belonging to the said Crowns. '2. That in Case his Majesty shou'd happen to die, or resign his Domi-'nions, they shou'd devolve to the Person next in Succession, in the same 'Manner as if the Duke were dead. 3. That all Acts of Sovereignty 'and Royalty that Prince might then happen to perform, were not only 'declared void, but to be High-Treason, and punishable as such. 4. That 'if any one, at any Time whatsoever, shou'd endeavour to bring the 'said Duke into any of the foremention'd Dominions, or correspond 'with him in Order to make him Inherit, he shou'd be guilty of High-'Treason. 5. That if the Duke himself ever return'd into any of these 'Dominions, considering the Mischiefs that must ensue, he shou'd be 'look'd upon as guilty of the same Offence; and all Persons were autho-'riz'd and required to seize upon and imprison him, and in Case of Re-'sistance made by Him or his Adherents, to subdue them by Force of 'Arms.' This Bill of Banishment, as well as Exclusion, was five Days after read a Second Time in the House: Upon which the Question being put, whether the Bill should be Committed, the House divided, and the *Yeas* order'd to go forth, which were two Hundred and Seven, and the *Noes*, who staid, were but a Hundred and twenty Eight, the Majority Seventy nine; and so the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole House. But the Parliament being soon after Prorogu'd, it never proceeded further.

The rest of the Time was chiefly employ'd in searching and finding out Grievances, and Offenders; and particularly Sir *Anthony Deane*, Officer of the King's Yard at *Portsmouth*, and Mr. *Samuel Pepys*, Secretary of the Admiralty, were accus'd before the House of Piratical Practices in the Year 1673, and of making some criminal Discoveries to the *French* in 1675, all tending to the *carrying on of the late Plot*; for which they were both sent to the *Tower*, and order'd to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General. They likewise took great Pains to enquire after the Pensioners in the last Parliament, which were found to be neither so numerous nor considerable as was expected. By the help of Sir *Stephen Fox*, they got a Roll of Eighteen that had receiv'd annual Pensions from the King, *viz.* Sir *Charles Wheeler*, 400 Pounds; Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, 500; *Robert Roberts*, 500; Sir *James Smith*, 500; Sir *Philip Howard*, 500; Sir *Courtney Poole*, 1000; Sir *Richard Wiseman*, 500; Colonel *King*, 200; *Thomas Price*, 400; Mr. *Westphaling*, 200; *Humphrey Cornwall*,

Enquiry after Pensioners.

wall, 200; Sir *John Barnaby*, 300; Sir *Lionel Walden*, 300; *Daniel Collingwood*, 300; Sir *Job Charlton*, 1000; Mr. *Knolls*, 200; *Robert Philips*, 300; and *Randolph Egerton*, 500 Pounds: In all 7800 Pounds a Year. Beſides theſe, the Names of Six others were read, who had receiv'd certain Sums at one Time, as Sir *George Reeves*, 500 Pounds; Sir *John Duncomb*, 2000; Sir *Thomas Woodcock*, 200; *Henry Clark*, 400; Sir *John Talbot*, 500; and Sir *Philip Mountain*, 300 Pounds at a Time: In all 3900 Pounds. Over and above, Sir *John Robinſon* was brought in for 1500 Pounds; Mr. *Rogers*, for 200; and Colonel *Whiteley*, for 300 Pounds upon Account. Sir *Joſeph Tredenham*, Mr. *Piercy Goring*, Sir *Robert Holt*, Mr. *Glaſcock*, and Sir *John Johnſton*, were brought in for uncertain Sums. How far theſe Gentlemen were culpable or criminal in this Matter, is hard to determine: However, the Houſe of Commons now look'd upon them as ſuch, and order'd a Bill to be brought in 'That no Members receive any Penſions or Places of Profit, during 'this Seſſion of Parliament.' As to the Impeached Lords, the Commons ſtill inſiſted upon their former Vote, *That the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in the Proceedings againſt the Lords in the* Tower; and till that Matter was ſettled, they cou'd not proceed. On the other Side the Lords, not allowing them to be proper Judges, to the laſt adhered to their firſt Reſolutions; ſo that in that Poſture of Affairs, the Impeach'd Lords were never to be try'd at all. 1679. Car. 31 Ref. 19

8. But before we come to the Concluſion of the Seſſion, ſome Notice is to be taken of the Proceedings of the new inſtituted Council; in which the *Quadrumvirate*, the Lords *Hallifax*, *Eſſex* and *Sunderland*, and Sir *William Temple*, joyntly proceeded with great Freeneſs and Unanimity: But this Conjunction held not long in the ſame Condition: For after the Expedients and Conceſſions offer'd in the Lord Chancellor's Speech had been rejected, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* finding himſelf neither in Confidence with the King, nor Credit in the Council, turn'd all his Practices and Hopes to the Houſe of Commons, and inflam'd them to that Degree, as made the Three Lords to grow uneaſy, and to caſt about which Way they might lay the Storm. At length the Lord *Sunderland* told Sir *William Temple*, that the other two Lords were of Opinion, *That it was neceſſary to take in the Duke of* Monmouth *and the Earl of* Shaftsbury, *into the firſt Digeſtion of Affairs, conſidering the Influence they had upon the Houſe of Commons; and for that End, to agree with them in the Baniſhment of the Duke of* York, *either for a certain Time, or during the King's Life*; and deſired to know Whether he wou'd fall into it with them, and joyn in bringing it about with the King. Sir *William* plainly told the Lord *Sunderland* He wou'd not: 'For firſt, he wou'd never have any Thing to do with the Duke 'of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Shaftsbury*; and next, he wou'd never en- 'ter into Matters of Difference between the King and his Brother; 'having upon ſeveral Occaſions told them both, *That he wou'd ever do 'all he cou'd towards the Union of the whole Royal Family; but ne- 'ver wou'd have any Thing to do with the Diviſions of it*; and no 'Man ſhou'd ever reproach him with Breaking his Word, and much 'leſs the King and the Duke.' Upon this peremptory Anſwer, the three Lords fell into Meetings and Conſultations with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, which Sir *William* knew nothing of; but tho' they did not keep up the firſt Confidence with the Latter, their former Kindneſs to one another ſtill continu'd. *Proceedings in the Council.*

But

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But their Union laſted not long neither: For within a Fortnight, they began to find the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury* unreaſonable, and like to prevail upon the Houſe of Commons, to endeavour the reducing the King to a Neceſſity of yielding all Points to them; and conſequently they Two wou'd be left abſolutely at the Head of Affairs: So that the three Lords began to make their Complaints of it to Sir *William Temple*, and to fall upon the Thoughts of Proroguing the Parliament, as the only Remedy left for the preſent Diſtemper. Sir *William* agreed with them in this Propoſal; and the more readily, becauſe he foreſaw it wou'd totally break off all the Commerce between the three Lords, and the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Shaftsbury*: And ſo they agreed to propoſe it to the King, and that it ſhou'd be debated in Council, where they concluded it wou'd not fail of Succeſs. In this Reſolution they parted, and appointed to meet two Days after, for fixing it with his Majeſty in Council, which was on the 27th of *May*. Sir *William* ſtaid his two Days in the Country; and upon his Arrival early in the Morning, he was told by the Earl of *Eſſex*, *That the King had found out there were* Remonſtrances *ready prepared in the Houſe of Commons, to inflame the City and Nation upon the Points of* Plot *and* Popery; *and that their three Lordſhips*, Hallifax, Sunderland *and Himſelf, having thereupon Conſulted with his Majeſty, he reſolv'd the Parliament ſhou'd be Prorogu'd that Morning, upon the King's Coming to the Houſe; and that it cou'd not be allow'd Time or Vent by a Debate in full Council.* Sir *William* was ſorry that it cou'd not have that Sanction, according to uſual Forms: But it paſs'd otherwiſe, and with very great Surprize and Reſentment of both Houſes, and ſuch Rage of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, that thereupon he cry'd out in the Houſe, *He wou'd have the Heads of thoſe who were the Adviſers of this Prorogation.*

They agree to prorogue the Parliament.

At the ſame Time the King, in his Royal Robes, paſs'd theſe Bills, 1. An Act *for the Securing the Liberty of the Subject, and for Prevention of Impriſonments beyond the Seas.* 2. An Act *for Re-ingroſſing the Records of Fines, burnt in the late Fire in the* Temple. 3. A private Act, concerning *Charles Dale* of *Rutlandſhire* Eſquire. Of theſe, the Firſt is juſtly accounted one of the beſt Acts for Securing of the Liberty of the Subject, that ever paſs'd ſince *Magna Charta*: This is the famous *Habeas Corpus* Act, which ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhes *Engliſh* Men from the Subjects of all the Governments in *Europe*, whether they be Monarchies, or Common-Wealths: And conſidering the King's Conceſſions in this Act, and in every Thing elſe, but one Point, it will not be hard to determine who were moſt culpable this Seſſion, nor whether he had Reaſon to part with this his Parliament; which, tho' only Prorogu'd, never met after; having ſate in all two Months and three Weeks. The Day mention'd in the Prorogation, was the 14th of *Auguſt*.

The End of the Third Parliament.

IV. 1. During the warm Proceedings of this laſt Parliament, the Fire of Rebellion was kindling in the Bowels of *Scotland*; where the depreſſed Party receiv'd great Incouragement from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Speech to the Lords, the Parliaments Addreſs againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and particularly, as it's ſaid, from the deſign'd Remonſtrances of the Houſe of Commons; ſo that if the Parliament had not ſuddenly broke up, the Malecontents might have appear'd much more formidable. Being once animated, they began at their Conventicles openly to diſplay the Banners of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as they call'd their Colours; and

Hicks. Wright. Temple. Tryals. Leſtrange. Care. Dangerfield. Collier. Wood. Calamy.

Deſigns of the Conventiclers in Scotland.

and their Preachers told them, *That was the Time of their Deliverance, when God wou'd take vengeance of their Enemies; only they muſt repent and be Strong, and of great Courage, and fight the Battles of the Lord Manfully.* They threatned ſuch as they thought were active againſt them, and they talk'd of great Revolutions in *England*; and dropt Liſts of thoſe Men they deſign'd ſhou'd fall by Heroical Hands; in the Head of which ſtood the Name of the *Perjur'd Apoſtate Prelate Sharp*, as they term'd the Primate of *Scotland*, the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*. Several Years before, the Murder of this eminent Prelate was attempted by one *Mitchel*, a Conventicle Preacher, who as his Coach ſtop'd in the Streets in *Edinburgh*, diſcharg'd a Piſtol at him loaden with three Bullets, which were intercepted by the Arm of the Biſhop of *Orkney*, who was then getting into his Grace's Coach. The Aſſaſſin made his Eſcape, but was taken and executed ſome Years after, when he glory'd in and juſtify'd the Fact to the laſt. But tho' he fail'd, others of the ſame Spirit reſolv'd to finiſh what he attempted; which Heaven permitted them to accompliſh in the following Manner. 1679. Car. 31 Reſ. 20

His Grace having been aſſiſting at the Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*, went over into *Fife* the 2d of *May*, this Year, and lodg'd that Night at a Village between *Burnt-Iſland* and St. *Andrews*. About Midnight two Men, well mounted and arm'd, enquir'd in the Village, if the Arch-biſhop was there; and hearing that he was, they immediately rode away. The next Morning the Arch-biſhop took Coach, with only his Daughter with him, and three Servants on Horſeback to attend him, one of whom he had ſent with a Compliment to a Perſon of Honour near the Road; and ſafely purſu'd his Journey, till he came within two Miles of St. *Andrews*; where, a little before Noon, he perceiv'd he was purſu'd by about twelve Horſe-Men with Piſtols, and drawn Swords hanging at their Arms; upon which the Coachman drove as faſt as ſix good Horſes cou'd gallop. They purſu'd and fir'd at the Coach, till at length one of them nam'd *Balfour*, who was beſt mounted, overtook the Coach, and having wounded the Poſtilion, ſhot one of the fore Horſes, and having hamſtring'd the other, ſtop'd the Coach. The reſt of the Murderers came up, and one of them fir'd a Piſtol ſo near, as to ſinge his Grace's Gown; then calling him *Dog*, *Apoſtate*, *Betrayer of the Godly*, *Perſecutor of Chriſt's Church*, they bid him come out of the Coach, and receive the Reward of his Wickedneſs againſt the *Kirk* of *Scotland*. Upon this his Daughter came out, and upon her Knees moſt movingly beg'd her Father's Life; but they threw her down, trampled on her, and wounded her. Upon which piteous Sight, the Father came out, and calmly told them, *He did not know he had ever injur'd them: if he had, he was ready to make Reparation*; beſeeching them *to ſpare his Life, and he wou'd never trouble them for that Violence*; but pray'd them *to conſider, before they brought the Guilt of innocent Blood upon themſelves.* The Reverence of his Perſon, and his compos'd Carriage ſurpriz'd the Villains; and one of them cry'd *Spare his Grey Hairs*; but others reply'd *He muſt die, and the traiterous Villain*, Judas, *Enemy to God's People, muſt now receive the Reward of his Apoſtacy.* He then beg'd Time to pray, telling them *He wou'd pray for Them*; but they ſcornfully told him *They cared not for his Prayers, they were ſure God wou'd not hear ſo baſe a Dog as he was.* Then earneſtly looking on one of the Aſſaſſins, he kneel'd to him, and ſaid, *Sir, you're a Gentleman, I beg my laſt Favour of you, that ſince you are reſolv'd I muſt die, you will have pity upon my poor Child here, and ſpare her Life, and for this, Sir, give me your Hand*; and reaching it out to him, the inhuman Wretch almoſt cut it

The barbarous Murder of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews.

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it off with his broad Sword, and with another Blow gave him a deep Wound over the Eye, which brought him to the Ground: But getting again upon his Knees, he ſaid, *Gentlemen it is enough, you have done your Work*; and lifting up his Hands, as well as he cou'd, he cry'd out, *Lord Jeſus have Mercy upon my Soul, and receive my Spirit*; they ſtill wounding him, till laying his Head upon his Arm, he ſaid, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all:* with which Words he expired, having receiv'd many Wounds, and his Brains ſtirr'd in his Scull by the Ends of their Swords; leaving a Strange Inſtance of *Fanatick* Rage and Barbarity.

This horrid Fact was committed the 3d of *May*, ſome time after the Reception of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Speech in *Scotland:* Within a few Days after this Fact, arriv'd the Addreſs of the Commons of *England* againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, which found all things ripe for an Inſurrection. For the Murther of ſo illuſtrious a Perſon as the Primate of that Kingdom, and a Privy-Counſellor, in ſo publick a manner, was not to be ſmother'd; ſo that the Dread of Puniſhment, and the Hopes of Aſſiſtance from *England*, concurr'd to puſh them forwards to an open Rebellion, for which they might poſſibly expect the like Encouragement, as in that againſt the late King. Accordingly, on the 29th of *May*, before they cou'd hear of the Prorogation of the Parliament, about 80 of them came to *Ragland*, where they proclaim'd the *Covenant*, burnt ſeveral Acts of Parliament made ſince the Reſtoration, and affix'd a Rebellious Declaration on the Market-Croſs, and attempted the like at *Glaſgow*, but were prevented by ſome of the King's Forces there. On *Sunday* the 1ſt of *June*, they rendezvous'd upon *Loudon-Hill*, being encreas'd to near 1500 Men, well-arm'd, in good Order; the Foot being commanded by one *Weir*, and the Horſe by *Balfour* and *Huckſton*, two of the Murtherers of the Archbiſhop, and by *Robert Hamilton* and one *Patron*. Captain *Graham* of *Claverhouſe*, afterwards Lord *Dundee*, march'd againſt them with a Troopof Horſe, and a Company of Dragoons; but after a ſharp Engagement, being overpower'd in Number, was oblig'd to retire. Fluſh'd with this Succeſs, on the next Day the Rebels made two Attacks on the City of *Glaſgow*, in both which they were repuls'd with conſiderable Loſs; but afterwards their Strength encreaſing, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of it, and iſſu'd out their Proclamation, imperiouſly commanding the Magiſtrates to turn out all the *Archbiſhops, Biſhops and Curates, their Bairns and Servants, and all Families and Perſons concern'd in the King's Army, within* 48 *Hours, under the higheſt Pains.* They alſo publiſh'd another Declaration, to demand Redreſs of their ſeveral Grievances, and to invite their Brethren to join them; and committed great Outrages there, and in the adjacent Country. In the mean time the Council of *Scotland* were not idle, but rais'd an Army, which they quarter'd ſo as to prevent the Approach of the *Covenanters* to *Edinburgh*, and ſent Accounts to the King of all that paſs'd, expecting his Majeſty's further Orders.

The Conventiclers appear in Rebellion.

Diviſions in the Engliſh *Council.*

The King and his Miniſters were not a little puzzled with this Affair, and there was a manifeſt Diviſion in the Council it ſelf. For ſince the laſt Prorogation, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been buſy in preparing Fuel for the next Seſſion, not without continual Appearance of ill Humour at Council, which often broke out into ſpiteful Repartees between him and the Lord *Hallifax*, the ableſt Perſon to cope with him. And on the other ſide, the Duke of *Monmouth* had broken all Meaſures with the Earl of *Eſſex*, with whom he had been long intimate to the laſt Degree: So as this grew to be a Perſonal Quarrel between theſe four; and tho'

tho' commonly ſmother'd when they met, yet ſeldom without the Appearance of ſome Smoak. Therefore, when they receiv'd the News of the *Scotch* Rebellion, it was remarkable to obſerve the Counter-Paces that were made. The King was for ſuppreſſing it immediately, by Forces from *England*, to be diſpatcht and join'd with thoſe in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to go and command them all. The Lord *Shaftſbury* ſhew'd plainly at Council, and in other Places, that he was unwilling that the Inſurrection ſhou'd be wholly, or too ſoon ſuppreſs'd, or otherwiſe than by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might be brought into the Direction of Affairs there, with the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale:* Yet on the other ſide, he was willing to ſee the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by ſuch a Command of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Forces; and agreed with his Grace, to put the King upon another Project at the ſame time, which was, in the Abſence of ſo many Forces, to raiſe a Troop of 200 Gentlemen for the Security of the King's Perſon, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to be Captain; and which was to be compos'd chiefly of broken Officers, whoſe Fidelity was beſt known to the Duke. On the other ſide, the Earl of *Eſſex*, tho' he agreed with the King in ſuppreſſing the Inſurrection, yet he deſir'd it might be only done by the *Scotch*, to prevent the increaſing Greatneſs of the Duke of *Monmouth*, if he met with Succeſs. And tho' he wou'd not oppoſe the King in his Deſign of ſending his Grace upon this Expedition; yet he openly did in the other of raiſing the Two hundred Gentlemen, and defeated it by raiſing invincible Difficulties in the Treaſury, where he was at the Head.

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The Duke of Monmouth *ordered for* Scotland.

After all, it was agreed by the four Leaders, *Eſſex*, *Sunderland*, *Halifax* and *Temple*, that the Duke ſhou'd go into *Scotland*, with ſuch Forces only as were now rais'd, and cou'd be conveniently ſpared. The Duke ſhew'd great Expedition and Bravery; and joining with ſeveral *Scotch* Forces, without Loſs of time, on the 22d Day of *June*, at *Bothwell-Bridge*, he fought the Rebels with great Fury, and tho' 17000 in Number, entirely routed them, killing about 800 on the Spot, and taking near 1200 Priſoners, by which the Inſurrection was cruſh'd, and that Country reduc'd to Peace and Order. Some few of the Priſoners were hang'd, eſpecially thoſe concern'd in the Archbiſhop's Murder, and moſt of the reſt were tranſported. The Duke of *Monmouth* ſoon return'd in Triumph; and was receiv'd with great Applauſes at the Court, and with ſingular Appearance of Kindneſs and Affection from the King: Tho' the Suppreſſion of this Rebellion was not very ſatisfactory to many of his ſecret Admirers.

He routs the Rebels.

2. In the mean time the Buſineſs and Credit of the Plot was ſucceſsfully carry'd on in the grand Tryal of five noted Jeſuits, *viz. Thomas Whitebread*, Provincial, or Chief of the Jeſuits in *England*; *William Harcourt*, reputed Rector of *London*; *John Fenwick*, Procurator of the Jeſuits in *England*; *John Gawen*, and *Anthony Turner*, all Prieſts and Jeſuits; Men of Gravity, Learning and Education; who, on the 13th of *June*, were brought to the *Old Baily*, and Try'd by the Lord-Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, and the reſt of the Judges of *England*. The Proofs againſt them were long, and conſiſted of divers Particulars. *Oates*'s Evidence was, 'I. That the great Conſult of the 24th of *April* 1678, was by Or- Oates,
'der of *Whitebread* the Priſoner, as Provincial; and that he, *Fenwick*,
'*Harcourt* and *Turner*, did all in his Preſence ſign the Reſolve for the
'King's Death. 2. That *Whitebread*, after his Return to St. *Omers*,
'did ſay, *He hop'd to ſee the black Fool's Head at* Whitehall *laid faſt*
'*enough; and if his Brother ſhou'd appear to follow his Footſteps, his*

The Tryal of five Jeſuits.

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'*Paſsport ſhou'd be made too.* 3. That in *July*, *Aſhby*, a Prieſt, brought over Inſtructions from *Whitebread* to offer Sir *George Wakeman* Ten thouſand Pounds to Poiſon the King; and alſo a Commiſſion to Sir *John Gage* to be an Officer in the Army they deſign'd to raiſe, which the Witneſs deliver'd to Sir *John*. 4. As for *Gawen*, tho' he cou'd not poſitively ſay he ſaw him at the Conſult, yet he ſaw his Hand ſubſcrib'd to the Reſolve: And that in *July* 78, he gave them in *London* an Account how proſperous their Affairs were in *Staffordſhire* and *Shropſhire*; that the Lord *Stafford* was very diligent, and that there was Two or three thouſand Pounds ready there, to carry on the Deſign; all which he afterwards heard him declare in Father *Ireland*'s Chamber.

Dugdale,

The next Witneſs was Mr. *Stephen Dugdale*, a new Evidence lately appearing, formerly a Servant to the Lord *Aſton*, from whom he is ſaid to have embezzled Three hundred Pounds. He ſwore, '1. Againſt *Whitebread*, that he ſaw a Letter under his Hand to Father *Ewers*, a Jeſuit, and Confeſſor to the Witneſs; in which he order'd him to be ſure to chuſe Men that were *Hardy* and *Truſty*, no matter whether they were *Gentlemen*: And he ſwore what they were to do; that the Words under his Hand were in expreſs Terms——*For killing the King*. 2. Againſt *Gawen* he ſwore, that he entertain'd the Witneſs to be of the Conſpiracy to Murther the King, as one of thoſe reſolute Fellows deſcrib'd by *Whitebread*; and for that End they had ſeveral Conſultations in the Country; as at *Boſcobel*, and at *Texal* in *Sept.* 1678. And he heard them talk in one of theſe Conſults, that it was the Opinion of the Monks at *Paris*, who were to aſſiſt in the Conſpiracy, *That as ſoon as the Deed was done, they ſhou'd lay it on the Presbyterians*, and ſo provoke the other Proteſtants to cut their Throats. That he had intercepted and read above a hundred Letters to the ſame purpoſe, to be deliver'd by private Marks known to Father *Ewers*. 3. That the Witneſs himſelf was ſo zealous in the Cauſe, that he had given them Four hundred Pounds for carrying on the Deſign, which *Gawen* had made him believe was not only lawful, but meritorious; and that he was to be ſent up to *London* by *Harcourt*, there to be inſtructed about killing the King. 4. That the ſame *Harcourt* did write word to Father *Ewers* of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*'s being diſpatcht that very Night it was done; ſo that they knew of it in *Staffordſhire* ſeveral Days before it was commonly known in *London*. And to confirm this Teſtimony, he produc'd Mr. *Chetwin*, a Gentleman, who ſwore, he did hear it reported as from Mr. *Dugdale*; and that he was not in Town when the Murderers of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* were Try'd, or elſe he wou'd then have witneſſed the ſame. 5. Againſt *Turner* he ſwore, That he ſaw him with others at *Ewers*'s Chamber, where they conſulted together to carry on this Deſign of bringing in Popery by killing the King.'

Prance,

In this Tryal, *Prance* had a ſmall ſhare in Swearing, and teſtify'd, 'That *Harcourt*, one Day paying him for an Image of the *Virgin Mary*, told him there was a Deſign of Killing the King: And that *Fenwick* told him in *Ireland*'s Chamber, that there ſhould be fifty Thouſand Men in Arms in a readineſs to ſettle their Religion, and that they ſhou'd be commanded by the Lords *Bellaſis*, *Powis*, and *Arundel* of *Warder*.'

And Bedloe.

But *Bedloe* was to give the concluding Evidence, who firſt gave an Account, why he did not before come againſt *Whitebread* and *Fenwick*, when they were upon their Tryal, becauſe he was finding out the corrupt Practices of Mr. *Reading*; and then he poſitively ſwore, '1. 'That he had ſeen *Whitebread* and *Fenwick* at ſeveral Conſults about the

'the Plot; and that he had heard *Whitebread* at *Harcourt*'s Chamber 1679.
'tell *Coleman* the Manner of the ſending the four Ruffians to *Windſor* to
'kill the King. 2. That he ſaw *Harcourt* take out of a Cabinet about Car. 31
'fourſcore or a hundred Pounds to give it to a Meſſenger, to be car- Reſ. 20
'ry'd to the ſaid Ruffians, with a Guinea to drink Mr. *Coleman*'s Health.
'3. That *Whitebread* told him, That *Pickering* was to have a great
'Number of *Maſſes*, and *Grove* Fifteen hundred Pounds for Killing the
'King. 4. That *Harcourt* employ'd him ſeveral Times to carry their
'Conſults beyond the Seas; and that, in *Harcourt*'s Preſence, he receiv'd
'*Coleman*'s Thanks for his Fidelity, and that *Harcourt* recommended him
'to the Lord *Arundel*, who promis'd him great Favour when the Times
'were turn'd: Alſo that he ſaw *Harcourt* give *Wakeman* a Bill to re-
'ceive 2000 Pounds, in part of a greater Sum; and heard Sir *George* ſay,
'*Fifteen thouſand Pounds was but a ſmall Reward, for the ſetling Re-*
'*ligion, and preſerving three Kingdoms from Ruin.*' Beſides theſe Evi-
dences, there was a Letter found among *Harcourt*'s Papers, from one *Petre* a Jeſuit; which names a Meeting deſign'd on the 24th of *April*, 1678; which was brought to fortify *Oates*'s Evidence of the grand Conſult; but this was explain'd to ſignify a Triennial Meeting about the Choice of a Procurator to be ſent to *Rome*; but not to the full Satisfaction of the Court.

The Priſoners Defence.

The Defence made by the Priſoners was various and long: Beſides their frequent Aſſeverations and Proteſtations of their Innocence, and their Ignorance of any Deſigns againſt the King; they much argu'd againſt the Witneſſes, inſiſting, 'That to the making of a *Credible Wit-*
'*neſs*, there muſt be *Integrity of Life*, *Truth of Teſtimony*, and *Probabi-*
'*lity of Matter*; but the Witneſſes againſt them, *Oates*, *Bedloe*, *Prance*
and *Dugdale*, were Men of deſperate Fortunes, and flagitious Perſons,
'and that Falſe-Swearing was their Livelihood. And particularly they
'alledg'd the great Improbability of truſting *Oates* with Secrets of the
'higheſt Importance, when he was turn'd away from St. *Omers* for his
'Miſdemeanors and Immoralities, which were ſo great, that he was de-
'ny'd the Sacrament. They charg'd him with Contradictions with re-
'lation to his former Evidences; and alledg'd, *If the Evidence on their*
'*ſide ſhould be rejected becauſe they were* Roman Catholicks, *all Com-*
'*merce with ſeveral Countries would be deſtroy'd.* Thereupon they pro-
'duc'd about ſixteen Witneſſes to prove, that *Oates* had been all *April*,
'*May*, and till the latter End of *June*, 1678, at St. *Omers*; and that they
'ſaw him every Day, convers'd and din'd with him, and that he was ne-
'ver out of the College, except two Days, and one Night he was at
'*Watton*, and two or three Days he was in the *Infirmary*, &c. and con-
'ſequently he could not be at the Conſult of the 24th of *April*. And
'further they prov'd, That Sir *John Warner* and Sir *Thomas Preſton*,
'whom *Oates* had ſworn to come over with him to the Conſult, were
'all that Time beyond the Seas, one at *Watton*, the other at *Liege*.'
And moreover, to ſhew that *Oates* was not a Man to be credited, 'they
'produc'd Eleven Witneſſes to prove that Father *Ireland*, who was ex-
'ecuted, was not at *London*, and made it appear directly contrary to what
'he had ſworn upon his Tryal.' In Anſwer to theſe Accuſations, *Oates*
alledg'd, 'That his coming to *London* to the Conſult was very private;
'yet he produc'd ſix or ſeven Witneſſes to teſtify they ſaw him there a-
'bout that Time, but in a ſort of a Diſguiſe.' But none ſpoke very home
but Mr. *Smith*, a School-Maſter of *Iſlington*, who afterwards in a *Narra-*
tive retracted all that he had ſaid, and confeſs'd his Guilt. As to *Ireland*'s
being in *London*, *Oates* produc'd one, and but one Witneſs, who did af-

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firm to have ſeen him there at that Time. The Priſoners alledg'd alſo ſeveral particular Things as to their own diſtinct Caſes; and *Gawen* offer'd himſelf to undergo the *Ordeal*, or Fiery-Tryal, over red hot Plow-Shares, as a Teſt of his Innocence, but this was not allow'd him by the Court.

Theſe, and other Things pleaded by the Priſoners, might probably have met with a more favourable Hearing, if, beſides the violent Bent of the Times, the Court and the Aſſembly had not been ſurpriz'd and irritated by the new Matter produc'd by *Dugdale* concerning Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. So that when the Lord Chief Juſtice ſumm'd up the Evidence, he took particular Notice of the Proof made, that *Harcourt* was privy to that Murder, which he had never heard before this Day, and in which he declar'd, he could never be better ſatisfy'd: And thereupon ſpeaking to the Priſoners, he ſaid, *This will ſtick, I aſſure you, Sirs, upon all your Party.* —— *While this Gentleman's Blood lies upon you, it muſt be yet further told you, That in what you* did *do, you have given us a* Specimen *of what you* would *do. We have a Teſtimony, that for promoting your Cauſe, you would not ſtick at the* Proteſtants *Blood. You began with Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey, *but who knows where you would have made an End! It was this Man you kill'd in his* Perſon, *but in* Effigie *the whole Nation. It was in one Man's Blood your Hands were embrew'd, but your Souls were* dipt *in the Blood of us all. This was a Handſel only of what was to follow; and ſo long as we are convinc'd you kill'd Him, we cannot but believe, you would alſo kill the King. We cannot but believe, you would make us All away, that ſtand in the Way of your Religion; A Religion, which according to what it* is, *you would bring in upon us by a Converſion of us with* Blood, *and by a Baptiſm with* Fire. *God keep the Land from* One, *and the City from the* Other! The Jury, after a ſhort Conſideration, return'd, and brought all the five Priſoners in guilty of High-Treaſon; but Sentence was reſpited till the next Day.

The Chief Juſtice's Speech.

Found Guilty.

On which Day came on the Tryal of *Richard Langhorn* Eſquire, a Counſellor at Law of the *Temple*, a *Romiſh* Gentleman well skill'd in conveyancing, and much employ'd by that Party. Being brought to the ſame Place with the five *Jeſuits*, and before the ſame Perſons, with a new Jury; *Oates* appear'd and ſwore, ‘ 1. That the Priſoner held Correſpondence with *Le Cheſe* and others, and that the Witneſs carry'd ſeveral Letters to Perſons beyond the Seas; in one of which he ſaw under his own Hand, Words to this Purpoſe, *That now they had a fair Opportunity to begin, or give the Blow*; with other Expreſſions plain enough concerning the Plot. 2. That he had Order from the Provincial *Whitebread* to give Mr. *Langhorn* an Account of the Reſolve of the Grand Conſult, *April* 24th, 1678; and upon acquainting him with it, the Gentleman lift up his Hands and Eyes, and pray'd, *That God wou'd give it good Succeſs.* 3. That he ſaw in his Chamber certain Commiſſions, which they call'd *Patents*; and that he permitted the Witneſs to peruſe ſeveral of them: One was to the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, to be Lord Chancellor, another to the Lord *Powis*, to be Treaſurer, and one to the Priſoner, to be Advocate of the Army; all ſign'd *Johannes Paulus d'Oliva*, by vertue of a Brief from the Pope. 4. That being employ'd as Sollicitor for ſeveral of the Fathers of the Society, the Priſoner prevail'd with the *Benedictine* Monks, to raiſe Six thouſand Pounds for carrying on the Cauſe; and ſaid in his Hearing, *That he would do his utmoſt for procuring the Mony.* 5. That he was diſguſted that *G. Wakeman* was not content with Ten thouſand Pounds to poyſon the King, and call'd him a *Narrow-ſpirited, narrow-ſoul'd Phyſician*; *who,*

Langhorn's *Tryal.*

Oates.

for

'*for ſo publick a Cauſe, ought to have done it for nothing.* 6. An Inſtru- 1679.
'ment being produc'd, ſign'd *Paulus d'Oliva*, found in *Langhorn*'s Cham- Car. 31
'ber; *Oates* ſwore that the foremention'd Commiſſions were ſign'd by Reſ. 20
'the ſame Hand; but they were all convey'd away, and this being only
'an Eccleſiaſtical Buſineſs, and not dangerous as they thought; was left
'behind.' In the next Place, *Bedloe* ſwore, firſt, 'that going with *Cole-* *And* Bedloe.
'*man* to the Priſoner's Chamber, the former gave him his Letters to *Le*
'*Cheſe*, the Pope's Nuncio and others, open, to read, and Regiſter in a
'Book by him kept for that Purpoſe; and that ſome of the Expreſſions
'in theſe Letters, were, *That all Things were now in Readineſs, and*
'*they only wanted Mony; that the Catholicks were now in Safety; that*
'*Places and Offices had been diſpos'd to them, and that all Garriſons either*
'*were, or ſuddenly would be in their Hands; and now they had a fair*
'*Opportunity, having a King ſo eaſie to believe what was dictated to*
'*him by a Party.* 2. That he brought other Letters from *Harcourt* to
'*Langhorn* to be regiſter'd; of which Letters, one was from the Rector
'of the *Iriſh* College at *Salamanca*, which ſpecify'd, *That the Lord* Bel-
'laſis *and the reſt concern'd ſhould be in readineſs, for that they had ſent*
'*ſome* Iriſh *caſhier'd Soldiers, with many other Lay Brothers, under the*
'*Notion of* Pilgrims *for St.* Jago, *who were to take Shipping at the*
'Groyn, *and to land at* Milford-Haven, *and there to joyn with the Lord*
'Powis.

Mr. *Langhorn*, in his Defence, beſides the ſolemn Proteſtations of his Innocence, alledg'd, 'that *Oates* and *Bedloe* the Witneſſes againſt him were '*Parties* in the Crime, and deſir'd to know whether they had their Par-'dons.' Upon underſtanding that *Bedloe* had *Three*, and *Oates* had *Two*, all under the Broad-Seal; he inſiſted, 'That they were ſtill *Approvers* in 'the Eye of the Law, and therefore not to be heard; and deſir'd to know 'whether they expected any Rewards for their Diſcoveries.' *Oates* reply'd upon Oath, *that he had been rewarded by Expending Six or ſeven hundred Pounds out of his own Pocket, without knowing whether he ever ſhould ſee it again.* *Langhorn* then alledg'd, he had heard that *Bedloe* had receiv'd five hundred Pounds; but he was anſwer'd, that That was for the Diſcovery of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*'s Murder, and not for the Plot. And *Bedloe* ſwore, *that he was ſo far from having any Benefit by that Diſcovery, that he was ſeven hundred Pounds out of Pocket.* When the Priſoner inſiſted upon the Improbability of their Aſſertions, by reaſon of their great Neceſſities and Poverty when they firſt made their Diſcoveries, he was told that ſuch Enquiries were foreign to the Matter in Hand. And ſo he proceeded to prove *Oates* to be perjured with reſpect to the Conſult in *April* 24th, and to the Buſineſs of Father *Ireland*, by the ſame Witneſſes that had been us'd by the five Jeſuits the Day before. And becauſe *Oates* had formerly ſworn, that he lay at *Grove*'s Houſe about the Time of the Conſult, he brought Mrs. *Grove* to teſtify, that he never was there about that Time; which was confirm'd by her Maid; and both affirm'd, that the Houſe was then taken up, and that there was no Room to lodge him in. He ſaid he had more Things to alledge, but was diſcourag'd, becauſe ſome of his Witneſſes were beaten and abus'd for appearing for him, and one Woman durſt not ſo much as ſpeak, for fear of the Inſolence of the Rabble. *Langhorn's Defence, and Condemnation.*

In Concluſion, the Jury brought him in Guilty, and he receiv'd Sentence, together with the five *Jeſuits*; at the Pronouncing of which by the Recorder, there was a very great Acclamation in the Place. On the 20th of this Month *June*, the five Jeſuits were carry'd to *Tyburn*, at which Place of Execution they all made ſolemn Speeches. *Whitebread* in *The Executi-on of the five Jeſuits, and* Langhorn.

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in his Speech has theſe Words; *I am to make my Appearance before the Face of Almighty God, and with all imaginable Certainty and Evidence to receive a final Judgment, for all the Thoughts, Words and Actions of my whole Life: So that I am not now upon Terms to ſpeak other than the Truth; and therefore in his moſt holy Preſence, and as I hope for Mercy from his Divine Majeſty, I do declare to you here preſent, and to the whole World, that I go out of the World as* Innocent *and as free from any* Guilt *of theſe Things laid to my Charge, as I came into the World from my Mother's Womb: And that I do renounce from my Heart all manner of* Pardons, Abſolutions, Diſpenſations for Swearing, *as* Occaſions *or* Intereſts *may ſeem to require, which ſome have been pleas'd to lay to our Charge, as Matter of our* Practice *and* Doctrine; *but is a Thing ſo* Unjuſtifiable *and* Unlawful, *that I believe, and ever did,* that no Power on Earth can authorize Me, or any Body ſo to do. —— *I do moreover declare, that this is the true and plain Senſe of my Soul, in the Sight of him who knows the Secrets of my Heart, and as I hope to ſee his bleſſed Face, without any* Equivocation, *or* Mental Reſervation. The reſt ſpoke much to the ſame Effect; and *Harcourt*, upon a Queſtion put to him by the Sheriff, particularly deny'd, that he wrote that Letter concerning the Diſpatch of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, which had been ſworn againſt him. Mr. *Langhorn*, either in Conſideration of his Affairs with others, which might be convenient to adjuſt, or rather in hopes of bringing out a free Confeſſion, was repriev'd for a Month, and then executed the 14th of *July*; perſiſting likewiſe in the moſt ſolemn, poſitive and ſtrong Expreſſions of his Innocence, which he had written down in a Paper, and deliver'd to the Sheriff. But all that He, or the others could ſay, would gain no Credit at this Time; it being a general Belief, that they thought it lawful to utter the greateſt Falſhoods and Lies, in favour of their Religion and Cauſe.

Proceedings in the Council.

3. Theſe ſharp Proceedings were no ways grateful to the King, nor to a conſiderable Part of the new Council, who were buſily employ'd in making way for a calmer and better-temper'd Seſſion of Parliament, after the ſhort Prorogation that had been made. Yet as to the *Plot*, the Lord *Hallifax* expreſly declar'd to his three Aſſociates, *that That muſt be handled as if it were true, whether it were ſo or not, eſpecially in thoſe Points that were ſo generally believ'd by City or Country, as well as both Houſes.* As the Term of the Prorogation drew near expiring, all agreed that a Seſſion could not conveniently begin before *October*; and a Day was appointed for conſidering that Matter in full Council. It was obſerv'd, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was now greater than ever; and that the Lord *Shaftsbury* expected the ſame, upon the next Meeting of the Parliament, and at the Coſt of thoſe whom he took to be the Authors of the laſt Prorogation: The Lords *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, now out of all Meaſures with the Duke of *Monmouth*, look'd upon themſelves as moſt in Danger, and aim'd at by the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Threats. This occaſion'd a Conſultation among the three Lords, and Sir *William Temple*, whether, conſidering the Diſtemper of the preſent Parliament, the beſt Courſe were not to Diſſolve it, and have another call'd in *October?* Which being unanimouſly carry'd in the Affirmative, and the King being fully of the ſame Mind; it was Reſolv'd, that his Majeſty ſhould at next Council propoſe the Queſtion, *Whether there ſhould be a further Prorogation, or a Diſſolution, with a new Parliament*; and that in the mean Time, the Lord Chancellor and the other Chief Officers ſhould be acquainted with the King's Mind, either by himſelf or the three Lords, Sir *William Tem-*

Temple being to go into the Country. By their Computation, they all Four concluded, there could not be above ſix in the whole Council that could be againſt the Diſſolution; which they thought would be a great Support to the King's Reſolution, againſt all the Exclamations they expected from the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his Party; and at leaſt againſt the Conſequences uſually deduc'd from the Forms of Calling and Diſmiſſing Parliaments, viz. *The Advice of the Privy-Council.* 1679. Car. 31 Ref. 20

But when the Council Day came, which was the 10th of *July*, the King and the three Lords having neglected to prepare the Lord Chancellor and other Chief Officers, Sir *William Temple*, at the King's propoſing the Queſtion, obſerv'd a general Surprize at the Board; which made him ſuſpect his Majeſty had ſpoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor, before he came in. It ſoon appear'd he had not ſo much as done that neither: For after a long Pauſe, he was the firſt that roſe up, and ſpoke long and violently againſt the Diſſolution; was follow'd by the Lord *Shaftsbury* in the fulleſt manner, and moſt tragical Terms; and by the Lord *Angleſey*, who urg'd all the fatal Conſequences that could be; being ſtill follow'd by the Lord *Arlington*, Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, and every Man there, except the three Lords, who ſpoke for the Diſſolution; but neither with half the Length or Force of Argument they intended to have done. They left, it ſeems, that Part to Sir *William Temple*, who was ſufficiently inſtructed in the Caſe; but reſenting the Negligence of his Friends, who might ſo eaſily have effected what was agreed on, and ſeeing that Reaſons would ſignify nothing, after ſuch a plain Majority, he contented himſelf with ſaying, *That he thought it was every Man's Opinion, that a happy Agreement between his Majeſty and Parliament was neceſſary to his Affairs, both at Home and Abroad: That all the Difference, in a Continuance of this, or Aſſembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the Probability of agreeing better and eaſier with one than the other: That his Majeſty had ſpoken ſo much of his Deſpairing about any Agreement with this preſent Parliament, and the Hopes he had of doing it with another, that for his part he thought That ought to decide it; becauſe he believ'd his Majeſty could better judge of that Point than any Body elſe.* Upon this, the King order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for Diſſolving the preſent Parliament, and calling another to aſſemble on the 17th of *October* following: Whereupon the Council broke up with the greateſt Rage in the World, of the Lord *Shaftſbury*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and two or three more, and the general Diſſatisfaction of the whole Board. *In which the King declares the Parliament Diſſolv'd.*

Still the King had ſome Hopes that his Subjects, upon reflecting on the late Miſcarriages, and the Nation's Danger of being involv'd in an inteſtine War, at a Time when the victorious Arms of *France* hung like a Cloud over their Heads, would proceed with more Caution, in the next Election, and ſend him up Men of cooler Tempers. But his Majeſty ſoon found himſelf miſtaken; and the common People, who generally follow as they are led, were perſwaded to believe the Parliament was Prorogu'd and Diſſolv'd, only to prevent the Tryal of the *Popiſh* Lords; tho' only the Commons had obſtructed it, and refus'd to appear againſt them, when they were brought to the Lords Bar. The Leaders of the Country, or *Shaftsbury*'s Party, encreas'd the Noiſe of *Popery*, *French Penſioners*, and *Arbitrary Government*; and beſides theſe general Charges, took ſpecial Advantage of two Things that occurr'd in the laſt Parliament: The firſt was the *Excluſion Bill*, which was made a kind of a Teſt, and all thoſe Gentlemen who voted againſt it, were mark'd as Favourers of *Popery*, if not downright Papiſts. The next was a Diſcovery, *New Elections.*

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very, formerly mention'd, made by Sir *Stephen Fox*, of the Penſioners in the long Parliament, which being by Order of the Houſe made on a ſudden by Memory only, and no Record of it enter'd, they took the Advantage of naming who they miſlik'd in their Black Liſts of *Court Penſioners:* All thoſe who had any Publick Employments were excepted againſt, and thoſe recommended who either had never been truſted, or had been turn'd out of their Places; who were all applauded as Men not to be bought, Enemies to the Court and Miniſters, and true Friends to the *Proteſtant Religion* and their Country: *And all this was done*, as they alledg'd, *for the Advancement of his Majeſty's Service, and the encreaſing the Love of his People towards him.* But the King, being of another Opinion, would not permit them to come together, ſo ſoon as was intended.

The Tryal of Sir George Wakeman, &c.

4. In the midſt of theſe Heats, they brought on the Tryal of Sir *George Wakeman*, Phyſician to the Queen, together with *William Marſhal*, and *James Corker*, two *Benedictine* Monks, and *William Rumley*, a Lay Brother of that Order; who, on the 18th Day of *July*, were all arraign'd for High-Treaſon at the *Old-Bayly*, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, and other Judges. In the opening of the Tryal, to prove the Plot in general, there appear'd Mr. *Dugdale* and Mr. *Prance*, and one Mr. *Jenniſon*, a new Evidence and Diſcoverer, of whom, the principal Buſineſs of the laſt was to prove, that Father *Ireland* was at *London* in the Month of *June*, 78, contrary to what he had proteſted at his Execution. Againſt Sir *George Wakeman* in particular, Dr. *Oates*, as he was then call'd, ſwore, 'Oates. 1. That the Priſoner in the Month of *July*, 78, 'ſending a Letter to *Aſhby* the Jeſuit, of Inſtructions, how he ſhould 'order himſelf before he went to, and at the *Bath*, whither he was go-'ing, did afterwards in the ſame Letter write, *That the Queen would 'aſſiſt him to poyſon the King:* And knew it to be his Hand, becauſe 'ſome two Days after he ſaw Sir *George* at *Aſhby*'s Lodging ſit in a 'writing Poſture, and then lay by his Pen, and roſe up; and going a-'way, left behind him a written Paper, wet with the Ink, purporting 'a Bill to an Apothecary; and the Hand of this Paper ſo left by Sir *George*, 'was the ſame with that of the fore-mention'd Letter to *Aſhby*. 2. That 'at the ſame Time, Mr. *Aſhby* did give Sir *George* ſome Inſtructions 'concerning the *Patent* or *Commiſſion* he had receiv'd of being Phyſician 'to the Army; and that the Witneſs did ſee the ſaid Commiſſion in Sir '*George*'s Hands. 3. That a few Days after, Father *Harcourt* and four 'other Jeſuits went to attend the Queen at *Somerſet-Houſe*; and while 'they were in a Chamber, and the Witneſs waiting without, he heard 'a Woman's Voice, ſaying, *She would not endure thoſe Violations of 'her Bed any longer, and that ſhe would aſſiſt Sir* George Wakeman *in 'poyſoning the King*; and that he was afterwards admitted in, where he 'ſaw no other Woman there but the Queen; and after that he heard 'the ſame Perſon ask *Harcourt*, *If he had receiv'd the laſt Thouſand 'Pounds.*' 4. That in the ſame Month, Ten thouſand Pounds was pro-'poſ'd to Sir *George* to poyſon the King, by *Aſhby*, at his Lodgings in '*Wild-Houſe*, in the Preſence of *Harcourt*, *Ireland*, and the Witneſs; 'but at that Time he refus'd it, ſaying, *It was too little for ſo great a 'Work.* 5. He heard that Five thouſand more was offer'd afterwards and 'accepted; and poſitively ſwore, He himſelf had ſeen in the Jeſuits En-'try Book, an Entry thereof, in theſe or the like Words: *Memorand. 'Such a Day of* Auguſt, *fifteen thouſand Pounds was propoſ'd to Sir* 'George Wakeman, *which he accepted*; which was *Harcourt*'s Hand;

'and

'and under it was a Receipt to this Effect, *Receiv'd five Thouſand* 1679.
'*Pounds, in Part of this fifteen Thouſand Pounds, of Father* Har- Car. 31
'court, *by Order of* Edward Coleman, *by me* George Wakeman. Reſ. 20
'Which laſt Words were the ſame Hand and Character with that Let-
'ter to *Aſhby*, and the Bill to the Apothecary, which the Witneſs had
'ſeen before.

The next Witneſs was Captain *Bedloe*, who ſwore, 'That about the *And* Bedloe.
'Beginning of *Auguſt*, 78, being at Father *Harcourt*'s Chamber, Sir
'*George Wakeman* came in diſcontented, and ask'd *Why he was drill'd*
'*on in a Concern of that Importance, and ſlighted?* and ſaid, *He knew*
'*not whether he ſhou'd go on or no*: But *Harcourt* ask'd him *What he*
'*wou'd have? they were ready for him*; and then fetcht a Bill and gave
'him, which he ſaid *he receiv'd that Day by the Queen's Order*; and
'that it was on ſuch a Goldſmith for two Thouſand Pounds. Upon
'which Sir *George* ſaid, *'Tis well ſomebody gives me Encouragement; I*
'*have more Encouragement from my good Lady and Miſtreſs, than from*
'*any of You. Nay*, reply'd *Harcourt* to him, *For Encouragement, that*
'*you ſhall not want, for the reſt ſhall be paid in due Time: But, Sir*
'George, continu'd he, *this muſt be well follow'd, becauſe ſo much de-*
'*pends upon it: For if we ſhou'd miſs to kill him at* Windſor, *or you*
'*miſs in your Way, we will do it at* Newmarket.' ——Which Words were twice repeated by *Bedloe*; upon which Sir *George* ſaid privately to his Fellow Priſoners, *There is my Buſineſs done.*

Sir *George* in his Defence alledg'd, 1. As to *Oates's* Evidence concern- *The Priſoner's Defence.*
ing the Letter to *Aſhby*, he brought an Apothecary that produc'd a Piece of a Letter of Directions to *Aſhby*, ſent from Sir *George*, and ſaid *he had read it all, and that there was no Mention of the King or Queen.* And when *Oates* pretended that that was not the Letter he ſaw, the Priſoner argu'd how improbable it was he ſhou'd write two Letters about the ſame Thing. 2. His next Exception to *Oates*'s Teſtimony was, That before the Houſe of Lords he ſhou'd ſay, *That he thought the foremention'd Letter to be* Wakeman's *Writing, only becauſe it was ſubſcrib'd* George Wakeman; but *Oates* gave another Account of thoſe Words, to the beſt of his Remembrance. 3. That *Oates* did not charge Sir *George* ſo fully before the King and Council, but rather deny'd that he knew any thing againſt him, but what he had ſeen in other Peoples Letters: And to this purpoſe Sir *Philip Lloyd* teſtify'd, 'That *Oates* did then ſay, He
'had ſeen a Letter from *Whitebread* to *Fenwick*, that Sir *George* was to
'poyſon the King, *&c.* And that Sir *George* did then carry himſelf, as
'if he were not concern'd at the Accuſation, and that *Oates* being call'd
'in again, and ask'd whether he knew any more againſt him, he lift up
'his Hands, and ſaid, *No, God forbid that I ſhou'd ſay any thing againſt*
'*Sir* George Wakeman, *for I know nothing more againſt him.*' *Oates's* Reply to this Difficulty, was, That he was then ſo weak and weary with watching, and hurrying up and down, that he was not in a Condition to make Anſwers. As to *Bedloe's* Evidence, Sir *George* inſiſted how improbable it was to make him privy to ſo great a Secret, who was a meer Stranger, and further, he ſolemnly ſwore, *He never ſaw* Bedloe *before in his Life.*

As to the other Priſoners, *Corker*, *Marſhal* and *Rumley*, in ſhort *Oates* ſwore that they were all privy to the Deſign of Killing the King, and conſenting to the Conſult of the *Benedictines*, *Aug.* 15. 1678. for raiſing ſix Thouſand Pounds for carrying on that Deſign. *Bedloe* confirm'd the Matter as to the two firſt, but cou'd ſay nothing againſt *Rumley*. In the Courſe of this Evidence, *Oates's* Credit met with an unexpected

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Blow: Whereas he had ſworn that *Corker* was Preſident of the *Benedictines*, and as ſuch his Hand was neceſſary in a particular Caſe; there appear'd three ſeveral Women, who teſtify'd that Mr. *Stapleton* was Preſident of the *Benedictines*, and had been ſo for ſeveral Years, and that *Corker* had never officiated in that Place. Some reflecting things were likewiſe alledg'd againſt both *Oates* and *Bedloe*, whoſe Credit now appear'd to be upon the Declenſion. However, it is plain, the Jury ſuſpected them, and notwithſtanding their poſitive Swearing, they brought in all the Priſoners not guilty: So Sir *George Wakeman* and *Rumley* were diſcharg'd out of *Newgate*; but *Corker* and *Marſhal*, being Prieſts, and liable to another Indictment upon that Account, were continu'd in Cuſtody.

They are acquitted.

This Tryal and Acquittal prov'd a conſiderable Shock to the whole Fabrick of the Plot, and it might have been more ruinous to it, had it not been ſo well ſupported by the next Parliament. In the mean time, it occaſion'd various Diſcourſes, and the Writing of ſeveral Pamphlets on both Sides, and was no ſmall Diſcouragement to thoſe call'd *The King's Evidences*. But the Credit of it was in ſome meaſure kept up by a new *Narrative* publiſh'd by Mr. *Jenniſon*, a Witneſs in this laſt Tryal, in which he not only teſtify'd that Father *Ireland* was in *London* in the Month of *June*, 78, contrary to the *Jeſuits* Aſſertions, and his own Dying Words; but undertook to name the four Ruffians that were to kill the King at *Windſor*, ſo often mention'd without Names; who were Mr. *Levallyn*, Mr. *Thomas Brahall*, Mr. *Karney*, three *Iriſh* Men, and Mr. *Wilſon* an *Engliſh* Papiſt, all of *Gray's Inn*, or harbouring thereabouts. Mr. *Jenniſon* made particular Excuſes why he appear'd no ſooner, and ſtill reſerv'd ſome farther Particulars to be diſcover'd as Occaſion ſhou'd offer. The King, tho' he believ'd nothing of the Matter, however iſſu'd out his Proclamation, commanding the forenam'd Perſons to render themſelves, and propos'd a Hundred Pounds Reward to any that ſhou'd take all or one of theſe dangerous Men. As to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, he met with ſo many Reflections, that upon the firſt Day of *Michaelmas* Term, he took occaſion to make a notable Speech in the *King's Bench* Court, concerning the very ſcandalous Libels that had been publiſh'd againſt him ſince Sir *George Wakeman*'s Tryal and Acquittal; in which Speech he purg'd himſelf at large of any Degree of Corruption, and with great Courage declar'd, *That he was neither afraid nor aſham'd to own what he had done*; *That the Impeachment of the Courſe of Publick Juſtice by vulgar Noiſe and Clamour, did not at all terrify him to a Compliance with the Rabble, againſt his Conſcience and Underſtanding*; *nor to try any Cauſe, otherwiſe than according to the* Evidence, *and the* Probability, *and the* Credibility *it carry'd with it*. Mr. Juſtice *Jones*, and Mr. Juſtice *Dolben* ſpoke alſo to the ſame purpoſe, and appear'd as Compurgators of the Honeſty and Integrity of the Chief Juſtice.

Jenniſon's Narrative.

A ſudden Change at Court.

5. But before this, in the latter End of *Auguſt*, there happen'd a conſiderable Change: The King being at *Windſor*, ſuddenly fell ſick, and with three ſuch Fits of an Ague and Fever, as gave great Apprehenſion, and occaſion'd a general Conſternation; the People looking upon any thing that ſhou'd happen ill to the King, at this time, as the *End of the World*. The three Lords were then attending at *Windſor*, and Sir *William Temple* their Aſſociate in the Country. Upon the King's firſt Illneſs, the Lords *Eſſex* and *Halifax* thought the Danger very great, and their own ſo too; and that if any thing happen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of *Monmouth*, now in his Meridian, wou'd be at the Head of the Nation,

on, in Oppoſition to the Royal Brother, and in Conjunction with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who had threatned to have their Heads upon the Prorogation of the laſt Parliament. This Fright ſo affected theſe two great Men, that tho' they had been violent Oppoſers of his Royal Highneſs, they, as ſoon as they cou'd, propos'd to the King the ſending immediately for Him from *Bruſſels*; all which was done with the greateſt Secrecy and Speed imaginable, ſo that the Duke arriv'd at *Windſor* upon the 2d of *September*. But finding the King out of Danger, it was agreed to paſs for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it ſhou'd be receiv'd by his Majeſty and the three Lords with all Signs of Surprize. However this Advice and Management ſo inrag'd the Duke of *Monmouth*, as well as the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, that theſe Lords ſaw no ſafe Way but to ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's Affairs; and ſo joyning themſelves wholly with the Intereſt of the Duke of *York*, they never ceas'd till they effected all that his Royal Highneſs deſired for his Security againſt his two great Enemies. And ſo the Duke of *Monmouth*, juſt in the Height of his Glory, was remov'd from his Place of Captain General, and for a while ſent into *Holland*, to the great Surprize of the Nation: And ſhortly after, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was turn'd out from being Preſident of the Council. 1679. Car. 31 Reſ. 20

Monmouth *and* Shafsbury *out.*

Upon the King's full Recovery, which caus'd a general Joy, the Lord Mayor of *London*, with the Court of Aldermen, and a Train of thirty Coaches, and about a Hundred Horſe-Men, went on *Monday* the 15th of *September* to *Windſor* to congratulate his Majeſty's happy Recovery; which Compliment was as kindly receiv'd, as it was handſomly perform'd. On the *Wedneſday* following, the King, attended by his Royal Highneſs and the whole Court, return'd to *White-Hall*; and that Night, by the Lord Mayor's expreſs Order, there were Bone-Fires throughout the whole City for his Majeſty's Return, *as well to his former Health, as his Place of Reſidency.* On the latter End of the Month, the King and Queen went to *New-Market*, where they were eſpecially congratulated by Dr. *Echard*, the Vice-Chancellor, with the chief of the Body of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. As to the Duke of *York*, he once more went over to *Bruſſels*, but without Deſigns of any long Continuance. For his Royal Highneſs obtain'd leave of the King that he might retire to *Scotland*, where his Figure might be greater than abroad, and his Return, upon any Exigency, might be more quick and eaſy. This Compromiſe between the King and the Duke, had this Notice given of it by Authority; '*New-Market, Octob.* 7. His Royal Highneſs having repreſented to 'his Majeſty, that he conceives it, for many Reſpects, more proper for 'him to be in his Majeſty's Dominions, rather than thoſe of another 'Prince, and made it his humble Requeſt to his Majeſty, to have his 'Leave to go into *Scotland*, his Majeſty hath granted it; and, it's pre'ſum'd, his Royal Highneſs will in a ſhort Time repair thither.' In Order to this, on *Sunday* Night, the 12th of *October*, the Duke, the Dutcheſs, and Family, ſuddenly arriv'd at St. *James*'s, to the Surprize of ſome, and Joy of others. Not long after, both their Royal Highneſſes, attended by many of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, follow'd with a numerous Train of Coaches, began their Journey towards *Scotland*, which laſted above a Month, with ſhort and pompous Stages. At *Edinburgh*, *Decemb.* 4. they were receiv'd and complimented by the Privy-Council, with full Reſpect and Honour: The Lord Chancellor made a Speech in the Name of all the Council; to which his Royal Highneſs anſwer'd in very affectionate Terms, 'expreſſing his great Satisfaction at the Civilities he had receiv'd in that Kingdom; and declaring his Readineſs to pro-

The Duke of York *goes into* Scotland.

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'mote the Honour and Service of the King, and the particular Intereſts of 'the *Scottiſh* Nation.

The Council diſunited.

6. In the mean time the new Council began to be more and more diſunited, and gradually to fall in ſunder: Sir *William Temple* was highly diſoblig'd at Two of the Three Lords, *Eſſex* and *Halliſax*, for Concealing their ſending for the Duke of *York*, and ſtill treating of him as if they were Strangers to it; which ended all private Commerce between Them and Him. On the other Side, they thought themſelves not ſufficiently ſound in the King's or the Duke's Confidence, and that they did other Mens Work; therefore they appear'd ready to give up their Parts in the Publick Affairs. Others, not well pleas'd with what was done at and after the Duke's Arrival, ſeem'd inclinable to the ſame Retreat. In this State of Affairs, *October* came on, in which the new Parliament was to meet; at which time the two Dukes of *York* and *Monmouth*, were both abroad. The Lord *Shaftsbury* endeavour'd to inflame the Noiſe of the late Conduct and Counſels againſt the Sitting of the Parliament, and to ſet on foot Petitions in caſe they did not Sit: The Miniſters were not able to ſtand the Opening of the Parliament; and therefore a ſhort Prorogation was expected ſome Days before that appointed for the Meeting. On the 15th of this Month, the Council being ſate, the King, after a little Pauſe told them, *That upon many Conſiderations, which he cou'd not at preſent acquaint them with, he found it neceſſary to make a longer Prorogation of the Parliament than he intended: That he had conſider'd all the Conſequences, ſo far as to be abſolutely Reſolv'd, and not to hear any thing that ſhou'd be ſaid againſt it: That he wou'd have the Meeting put off till that time Twelve Month.* However he order'd the Prorogation to extend no farther than the 26th of *January* next.

The new Parliament further Prorogu'd.

All the Council were ſtartled at this ſurprizing Reſolution, and the Way of Propoſing it, except thoſe few that were in the Secret; and they thought fit to be ſilent, and leave the Thing wholly upon his Majeſty: Several others ſtood up, and wou'd have argu'd the Reaſons and Conſequences of it; but the King wou'd not hear them, and ſo all Debate ended. After which, Sir *William Temple* ſtood up, and with great Freedom told his Majeſty, *That as to the Reſolution he had taken, he wou'd ſay Nothing, becauſe he was reſolv'd to hear no Reaſoning upon it; therefore he wou'd only preſume to offer him his humble Advice as to the Courſe of his Future Proceedings; which was, That his Majeſty in his Affairs wou'd pleaſe to make uſe of ſome Council or other, and allow Freedom to their Debates and Advices; after hearing which, his Majeſty might yet reſolve as he pleas'd. That if he did not think the Perſons or Number of this preſent Council ſuited with his Affairs, it was in his Power to Diſſolve them, and conſtitute another of any Number he pleas'd, and to alter them again when he wou'd: But to make* Counſellors that ſhou'd not Counſel, *he doubted whether it was in his Majeſty's Power or not, becauſe it imply'd a* Contradiction. *And ſo far as he had obſerv'd, either of former Ages or the preſent, he queſtion'd whether it was a thing ever practis'd in* England *by his Majeſty's Predeceſſors, or were ſo now by any of the preſent Princes in* Chriſtendom: *Therefore he humbly advis'd him to conſtitute ſome ſuch Council, as he wou'd think fit to make uſe of, in the Digeſtion of his great and publick Affairs.* His Majeſty ſeem'd not diſpleas'd at what he ſaid, but concluded the Matter as he had before determin'd it.

Sir W. Temple's *Speech.*

This increas'd the Breach in the new Council; and in no long time, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, pretending

pretending to deſpair of being able to ſerve the King any longer, in a Conduct of Affairs ſo diſagreeable to the general Humour of the People, went together to the King, and deſired his Majeſty to excuſe their Attendance any more upon him at Council; to which the King, with his uſual Frankneſs, anſwer'd, *With all my Heart.* The Lords *Salisbury*, *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, ſeem'd to have taken the ſame Reſolution, tho' not ſo much in Form. However the Lord *Eſſex* quitted his Place in the Treaſury, and the Lord *Hallifax* did in Effect retire; tho' he had own'd to Sir *William Temple That his Humour muſt always have Buſineſs to employ it, or wou'd elſe be uneaſie.* Upon the Earl of *Eſſex*'s leaving the Treaſury, Mr. *Laurence Hyde*, and Mr. *Sydney Godolphin*, were brought into the Council, and the Firſt in courſe took the Lord *Eſſex*'s Place. Theſe two, joyning in Confidence with the Lord *Sunderland*, while *Eſſex* and *Hallifax* were abſent, and Sir *William Temple* in the Country, they three were eſteem'd to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King's Affairs, and look'd upon as *the Miniſtry.* Upon the Removal of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the King made the Lord *Roberts*, ſoon after Earl of *Radnor*, Preſident of the Council. In the Room of the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Duke of *Albemarle* was made Captain of the Life-Guards of Horſe, and the Earl of *Mulgrave* Governor of *Hull*, and Lord-Lieutenant of the *Eaſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*. Sir *Stephen Fox* was made one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and *Daniel Finch*, eldeſt Son of the Lord Chancellor, now in the room of Sir *Henry Capel*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, was brought into the Council.

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Several Removals at Court.

7. One Thing that help'd forwards theſe Alterations and almoſt Diſtractions in Court, was a new Amuſement of the Nation, a ſtrange Diſcovery of a *Plot*, to throw and retaliate the *Popiſh* Plot upon the *Preſbyterian* Party, which obtain'd the Name of *the Meal-Tub Plot.* The principal Agent in it was one *Thomas Dangerfield*, alias *Willoughby*, alias *Day*, alias, *&c.* a Perſon famous for the former Extravagancies and ſubtle Practices of his Life, for which he had met with ſeveral ignominious Puniſhments; one naturally of a bold enterprizing Temper, a deſperate Fortune, a brisk genteel Carriage, a voluble Tongue, and Maſter of a notable debauch'd Wit, as well as matchleſs Confidence; in ſum, he appear'd to be as great a Cheat as *Bedloe*, tho' he had not the Fortune to draw as much Blood. The chief Account of this Matter is from his own *Narrative*; which informs us, that profeſſing the *Romiſh* Religion, and being a Priſoner in *Newgate*, he was apply'd to by Mrs. *Cellier*, Wife of a *French* Merchant, a Mid-Wife by Employment, and an Intimate with the Lady *Powis*, who after ſome petty Tryal of his Parts, procured his Liberty, and paid his Fees. But being immediately after clap'd up for Debt, they remov'd him into the *King's Bench*; where, being allow'd a weekly Subſiſtance, he was employ'd to trepan one *Stroud*, in order to undermine Mr. *Bedloe*, but not with equal Succeſs. Having compounded his Debts, amounting to near ſeven Hundred Pounds, Mrs. *Cellier* furniſh'd him with Mony to diſcharge them; and brought him into the Acquaintance of the Lady *Powis*, who promis'd to make him a Fortune, took Lodgings for him in *Drury-Lane*, employ'd him to get Prieſts out of Priſon, and ſent him on Errands to the Lord *Caſtlemain*, and other conſiderable *Papiſts.* He took Notes at the Tryal of the five Jeſuits, and that of Sir *George Wakeman*, and carry'd them to the Lords in the *Tower*, who encourag'd him to write Pamphlets; and thenceforth he was allow'd three Pounds a Week, beſides Diet. The Lord *Caſtlemain* particularly employ'd him to get *Knox* and *Lane*, two ordinary Men, out of the *Gate-Houſe*,

The MEAL-TUB *Plot.* Dangerfield *Principal.*

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House, who were to swear against *Oates*, designing to indict him first of Perjury, and then of Sodomy. By the Lords Orders, he was to go to the principal Coffee-Houses and disperse Pamphlets; and he receiv'd from *Nevil*, a reputed Priest, divers Papers and Letters to transcribe; among which were forty Lists of Names, each containing above Eight Hundred. These were privately to be left by their Agents throughout *England* in the Houses of *Nonconformists* and other Protestants; and then Search being made on other Pretences, when these dangerous Papers were found, the Persons mention'd wou'd be seiz'd for Treason.

His Exploits.

After these, and other Exploits, he tells us, That about the Beginning of *August*, lodging at Mrs. *Cellier*'s House, he was sent for to the *Tower*, where the Lord *Arundel*, in the Presence of the Lord *Powis*, ask'd him, *If for a good Reward he wou'd venture to kill the King*, mentioning two Thousand Pounds: But *Dangerfield* blushing at such a Motion, *Powis* put it off, and propos'd five Hundred Pounds, *If he wou'd kill the Earl of* Shaftsbury; which he promis'd to undertake: Whereupon they told him of one *Rigaut*, a *Virginia* Merchant, that wou'd advise with him about it, and secure him the Mony. And the next Day, waiting on the Lord *Castlemain*, he appear'd much inrag'd, saying, *Why were you so unwilling to do what you were taken out of Prison for?* Whereupon he made haste away; but Mrs. *Cellier* excus'd his *Lordship*'s Passion at that Time. Soon after he went to meet Sir *Robert Peyton* at *Gadbury*'s House, the Astrologer, where *Gadbury* appear'd very angry, because he refus'd to kill the King; adding, *That he had calculated his Nativity, and found him a fit Person for that Enterprize, and that he might come off with Safety.* Then the Countess of *Powis* dictated to him *Remarks of four Clubs in the Town*, and Names of several Persons, which Paper was afterwards found in the *Meal-Tub*; and by means of the Lord *Peterborough*, he was introduc'd to the Duke of *York*, and acquainted him with this *Presbyterian Plot*. Soon after the Duke gave him twenty Guineas with his own Hand, and brought him to the King; and having receiv'd Instructions from the Lady *Powis*, as to charging the Lord *Grey*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and others, he did all so well, that he thought his Majesty then believ'd him, being pleas'd to order him forty Pounds. About the same Time, in pursuance of the Lords Instructions, he went twice to murther the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, arm'd with a Dagger given him by Mrs. *Cellier*, pretending Business from Her and the Lady *Powis*; but was both Times prevented by Peoples coming, and his own guilty Fears; for which the Countess call'd him Coward, and Mrs. *Cellier* said, *She wou'd go, and let the World know, that some of her Sex were more brave than the Men:* But still cou'd not meet with a fair Opportunity. His last Exploit was his carrying some dangerous Papers to the Lodgings of Colonel *Roderick Mansel* in *Westminster*, which he privately pin'd behind his Beds-head; which he did under the Pretence of seeing Rooms that were to be Lett. Upon which he inform'd two Officers of the Custom-House to come there to search for Prohibited Goods to the Value of two Thousand Pounds; which they did upon the 22d of *October*, in the Colonel's Absence, attended by Him and one *Bedford*. The Officers finding nothing, he directed them to remove the Bed, and at last going himself behind it, discover'd the Papers; and precipitately cry'd out *Here is Treason!* The Officers carry'd the Papers with them, which were order'd to be return'd; but the Colonel in the mean time having notice, that such a Man had been concern'd in the Matter, he found *Dangerfield* out at Mrs. *Cellier*'s House, and caus'd him to be brought before the King and Council, where after

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a full Hearing, the Contrivance was detected, and the Gentleman ſent to *Newgate* on the 27th of *October*. 1679.

Two Days after, Sir *William Waller*, a moſt active Magiſtrate, ſearching *Cellier*'s Houſe, accidentally found the Paper Book ty'd with Ribbons, hid in a Meal-Tub, containing the Model of this new Plot; the Matter whereof was dictated by the Lady *Powis*, and prov'd by her Maid to be laid there by her Order, from whence it obtain'd the forementioned Name of *The Meal-Tub Plot*. It contain'd Remarks or chief Heads of Things, and Perſons to be charg'd; as particularly, the Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Eſſex*, *Hallifax*, *Radnor*, *Wharton*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and others, to be of *Counſel* in this Conſpiracy; the Duke of *Monmouth*, General; the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, and Lord *Grey*, Lieutenant-Generals; Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Colonel *Blood*, and Sir *William Waller*, Major-Generals; Colonel *Manſel*, Quarter-Maſter General, &c. To which were added Liſts of particular Perſons, uſually meeting in four Principal Clubs about the Town, too tedious to be mention'd here. *Dangerfield* now finding himſelf miſtaken, on the laſt of *October* made Application to the Lord Mayor, Sir *Robert Clayton*; before whom, and other Perſons of Quality, he made a large Confeſſion upon Oath, which was preſently tranſmitted to the King and Council. Upon this, and a further Examination of the ſeveral Perſons concern'd, the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was committed to the *Tower*, from whence he had been bail'd before, as having been charg'd only by *Oates*; Mrs. *Cellier* and Mr. *Rigault* to *Newgate*, and Aſtrologer *Gadbury* to the *Gate-Houſe*. And on the 4th of *November*, the Lady *Powis* being further examin'd, and divers Circumſtances prov'd againſt her, by others beſides *Dangerfield*, ſhe was by Order of the Board committed to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon in Conſpiring the Death of the King. *Knox* and *Lane* were likewiſe ſecured, for forming a Conſpiracy againſt the Reputation of Dr. *Oates*. This new Plot was a great Occaſion of the Diſguſts of the Lords *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, before hinted at; who finding themſelves mention'd in it, and yet left out of the ſecret Examinations about it, it ſo offended their high Spirits, that they made great Complaints, and declared that they wou'd retire from the World, and have nothing to do with Publick Affairs.

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The Heads of this Plot.

This dark Intrigue came ſeaſonably in for the Support of the Credit of the grand Plot; and tho' the Nation began to be weary'd and ſatiated with the Rumours of Helliſh Deſigns and Conſpiracies, yet this ſerv'd very much to keep up the old Heat and Fervour, which was now eaſily preſerv'd by every little Accident and Occaſion. Particularly, the 17th of *November*, commonly call'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s Day, when the Effigies of the Pope was uſually burnt by the People, was now celebrated with more than ordinary Pomp and Solemnity, and met with a more ſenſible Effect upon the People. The Proceſſion conſiſted of One perſonating the Dead Body of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, carry'd on a Horſe, with a Bell-Man to mind the People of his barbarous Murther; Prieſts in Copes with a large Silver Croſs, Carmelites and Gray Friars, and ſix Jeſuits; and after them Waiters, ſeveral Biſhops, ſome in Lawn-Sleeves, others adorn'd with Copes and Miters, and then ſix Cardinals, and after them the Pope on a fine Pageant, with Boys and Incenſe-Pots, &c. and behind him the Repreſentative of the Devil. In this Manner they march'd about five at Night from *Biſhop*'s-*Gate*, through the whole City to near *Temple-Bar*, attended with prodigious Multitudes of People; at which appointed Station, they committed the Effigies to the Flames of a very extraordinary Bone-Fire, which concluded the chargeable Show and Specta-

The Burning of the Pope.

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Spectacle. About Ten Days after the People were affected with a Sight of another Nature, which was the ſudden Arrival of the Duke of *Monmouth* from beyond the Seas; and tho' he enter'd the City about Midnight, upon the Watch ſpreading the News of it, the Bells immediately rung, and Bone-Fires were made through the City and Suburbs after a very diſtinguiſhing Manner.

Monmouth's Return.

And now it may be Time to conclude the old Year, as uſually, with the Deaths of ſome conſiderable Perſons; of which we ſhall begin with two Divines, both of the Presbyterian Stamp, but of a different Character, Mr. *Matthew Pool*, and Dr. *Robert Wild*. The Former had his Birth in *York*, his Education in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and his chief Reſidence in *London*, where he was Miniſter of St. *Michael's Quern*; but being ejected for his Nonconformity, he afterwards retired, and dy'd at *Amſterdam*. He was very much noted for his Learning, his ſtrict Piety, and his moſt uſeful Charity; but moſt juſtly celebrated for the Writing of thoſe admirable and elaborate Books, entituled *Synopſis Criticorum Bibliorum*, &c. for which, and other Works, he left behind him in *Holland* the Character of *Clariſſimus Criticus, & Caſuiſta*. The other Divine, Dr. *Wild*, was educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and became Rector of *Ayno* in *Northamptonſhire*, where he became celebrated for his facetious Wit, and his Poems which he wrote in behalf of the *Presbyterians*, as *John Cleaveland* did againſt them; being a Man of a peculiar Genius and Fancy, and the Occaſion of ſeveral other witty Writings, particularly that call'd *Moon-Shine*, by Mr. *John Echard*. Being likewiſe ejected by the *Bartholomew* Act in 1662, he liv'd privately, and dy'd at *Oundle* in the ſame County. The two next were eminent Phyſicians, *viz.* Dr. *John Smith*, and Dr. *Jaſper Needham*: The firſt was educated in *Braſenoſe* Colledge in *Oxford*, from whence he remov'd and ſettled in *London*, where he became one of the Colledge of Phyſicians, and ſignaliz'd Himſelf both in his Skill in Phyſick, and in other Pieces of Learning; ſo that he was juſtly ſtil'd *The Learned Phyſician*. The other, Dr. *Needham*, had his Education in *Peter-Houſe* Colledge in the other Univerſity, whence he removed to *Oxford*, where he made great Uſe of the famous Library there; he likewiſe ſettled at *London*, and became one of the Colledge of Phyſicians, and for ſeveral Years he made himſelf eminent for Practice till the Time of his Death.

The Deaths of Mr. Pool,

Dr. Wild,

Dr. Smith,

Dr. Needham,

After theſe we ſhall mention two Men of great, but very different Genius's, the Earl of *Orrery*, and Mr. *Thomas Hobbes*. The former was an *Iriſh* Noble-Man, by Name *Roger Boyle*, Brother to *Richard* Earl of *Burlington*, and *Robert* the famous Philoſopher and Vertuoſo; a Perſon, who living much in the Court, ſhew'd himſelf a very great States-Man, a Soldier and a Poet; and he prov'd himſelf ſo much the laſt, that it was obſerv'd that his Lordſhip's Reputation, joyn'd with the Earl of *Roſcomon*'s, was more than ſufficient to juſtify their Country's Character in Point of Wit. In the four Tragedies that he publiſh'd, not only the true *Engliſh* Courage is delineated to the Life; but likewiſe the very Infidels and Barbarians are taught by his Pen, not only Humanity, but the higheſt Morality and Virtue. The other, Mr. *Hobbes*, a Clergy-Man's Son, was born at *Malmsbury* in *Wilts*, from whence he obtain'd the Name of *Malmsburienſis*, and educated in *Magdalen Hall* in *Oxford*, where he took his Degree of Batchelor of Arts; from whence he was taken into the Earl of *Devonſhire*'s Family before he was twenty Years of Age; and ſoon after travelling with his Son into *France* and *Italy*, he not only improv'd himſelf by learning the modern Languages, but alſo very

The Earl of Orrery,

And Mr. Hobbes.

very much as to Men and Manners: After Variety of Travels abroad; where he became known to the moſt learned Men, and Returns into *England*, in the 63d Year of his Age he ſettled in the Houſe of his Patron the Earl of *Devonſhire*, where he liv'd many Years, in Eaſe and Plenty, rather as a Friend and Confident, than a Tutor or Inſtructor. He was one of a very extenſive Genius, improv'd by great Labour and Sedulity, and had the Reputation both Abroad and at Home of a great Philoſopher and Mathematician; and the preſent King, having learn'd Mathematicks of him, at his Reſtoration allow'd him a Penſion of a hundred Pounds a Year out of the Exchequer, tho' he was a Contemner of all Money and Riches. The Lord *Clarendon* ſays of him, 'It had 'always been a Lamentation among his Friends, that he ſpent too much 'Time in Thinking, and too little in Exerciſing thoſe Thoughts in the 'Company of other Men of the ſame, or of as good Faculties; for 'want whereof his Natural Conſtitution, with Age, contracted ſuch a 'Moroſity, that doubting and contradicting Men were never grateful 'to him.' As to his peculiar Notions in Religion and Policy, with which he infected ſo many ingenious Gentlemen, they are too difficult to be excus'd, and too dangerous to be palliated; of the Conſequences of which, either his Guilt or his Cowardiſe often made him very apprehenſive; ſo that his natural Fears, by which his whole Life ſeem'd to have been govern'd, increas'd with his Years, till he unwillingly left the World, and the noble Family, in the ninety firſt of his Age.

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Collections. *Wright. Care. Caſtlemain. Temple. Orleans. Gazettes.*

V. 1. All this Winter, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Leaders, Mens Minds were agitated by Pamphlets and Petitions; but none made more Noiſe, or had greater Effects, than that call'd *An Appeal from the Country to the City*; of which we are to take ſome little Notice. The Author deſires the chief Citizens to go up to the Top of the Monument, and fancy to themſelves theſe following Objects: 'Firſt, Imagine you 'ſee the whole Town in Flames, occaſion'd a ſecond Time by the ſame '*Popiſh* Malice which ſet it on Fire before. At the ſame Inſtant fancy, 'that amongſt the diſtracted Croud, you behold Troops of *Papiſts* ra-'viſhing your Wives and Daughters, daſhing your little Childrens Brains 'out againſt the Walls, Plundering your Houſes, and cutting your own 'Throats, by the Name of *Heretick Dogs*. Then repreſent to your 'Selves the *Tower* playing off its Cannon, and battering down the Hou-'ſes about your Ears. Alſo caſting your Eye towards *Smithfield*, ima-'gine you ſee your Father or your Mother, or ſome of your neareſt 'Relations, ty'd to a Stake in the midſt of Flames; when with Hands and 'Eyes lifted up to Heaven, they ſcream and cry out to that God, for 'whoſe Cauſe they die; which was a frequent Spectacle the laſt Time '*Popery* reign'd among us. Fancy you behold thoſe beautiful Churches, 'erected for the true Worſhip of God, abus'd and turn'd into *Idolatrous Temples*, to the Diſhonour of Chriſt, and Scandal of Religion; 'the Miniſters of God's Holy Word torn in pieces before your Eyes, 'and their beſt Friends not daring to ſpeak in their Behalf. The only 'Objects will be Women running with the Hair about their Ears, Men 'cover'd with Blood, and Children ſprawling under Horſes Feet, and 'only the Walls of Houſes left ſtanding. When thoſe that ſurvive this 'fatal Day, may ſigh and cry, *Here once ſtood my Houſe, there my Friends, and here my Kinſmen: But alas that Time is paſt.* The only 'Noiſe will then be, *O my Wife! O my Husband! O my deareſt Children!* In fine, what the Devil himſelf wou'd do, were he here upon 'Earth, will in his Abſence infallibly be acted by his Agents the *Papiſts*:

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An Appeal, &c.

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'Thoſe who had ſo much Ingratitude and Baſeneſs to attempt the Life 'of a Prince, ſo Indulgent to them, will hardly be leſs cruel to any of 'his *Proteſtant* Subjects.' After much arguing and exclaiming, for the Prevention of theſe Miſchiefs, he ſays at laſt, 'for which purpoſe no 'Perſon is fitter than his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, as well for 'Quality, Courage and Conduct, as for that his Life and Fortune de-'pends upon the ſame Bottom with Yours. He will ſtand by you, 'therefore ought you to ſtand by Him. And remember the old Rule 'is, *He who hath the worſt Title, ever makes the beſt King.*

Petitioning. While theſe and the like Pamphlets were ſhewing to the People, great Endeavours were us'd to procure a Multitude of Hands to Petitions which were framing in *London*, *Weſtminſter* and ſeveral Counties, to be preſented to the King for the Sitting of the Parliament on the 26th of *January*, according to the laſt Prorogation; which Manner of Petitioning being accounted unwarrantable and tumultuous, his Majeſty was pleas'd in Council, to order the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen 'To take 'Care in their ſeveral Stations of his Majeſty's Honour, and of the Peace 'and Safety of the City; and not to ſuffer ſuch Perſons that ſhou'd 'ſign ſuch Petitions, or go about to procure Hands to them, to go un-'puniſh'd; but that they ſhou'd proceed againſt them, or cauſe them to 'be brought before the Council-Board to be puniſh'd, according to a Re-'ſolution of all the Judges of *England*, *Secundo Jacobi.*' Two Days after his Majeſty was further pleas'd to iſſue out his Royal Proclamation, Containing, 'That whereas he hath been inform'd that divers evil diſpo-'ſed Perſons endeavour in ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom to frame Peti-'tions to his Majeſty for ſpecious Ends and Purpoſes relating to the Pub-'lick, and thereupon to collect and procure to the ſame the Hands and 'Subſcriptions of Multitudes of his Majeſty's Subjects; *which Proceed-'ings being contrary to the common and known Laws of this Land*, and 'tending to promote Diſcontents among the People, and to raiſe Sedi-'tion and Rebellion, his Majeſty doth therefore ſtrictly charge and com-'mand all and every of his loving Subjects of what Rank or Degree ſo-'ever, that they preſume not to agitate or promote any ſuch Subſcripti-'ons, nor in any ways join in any Petition of that manner to be pre-'ferr'd to his Majeſty, upon Peril of the utmoſt Rigour of the Law that 'may be inflicted for the ſame.' At the ſame Inſtant, his Majeſty iſ-ſu'd out another Proclamation, Declaring his Reſolution to Prorogue the Parliament from the 26th Day of *January* to the 11th of *November*.

Diſcourag'd by the King.

Notwithſtanding the Scope of theſe two Proclamations, the Buſineſs of Petitioning was zealouſly carried on; and many were prepared, and ſome preſented not long after. Particularly on the 13th of *January*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, accompanied with ſeveral eminent Citizens, preſented the following Petition from *Thouſands of his Majeſty's Subjects in* London, Weſtminſter, *and Parts adjacent*, ſhewing, 'That whereas there 'has been, and ſtill is, a moſt helliſh and damnable Plot, branched forth 'into the moſt horrid Villanies againſt your Majeſty's moſt Sacred Perſon, 'for which ſeveral of the principal Conſpirators ſtand now impeached by 'Parliament: Therefore in ſuch a time, when your Majeſty's Royal Per-'ſon, *&c.* are thus in moſt imminent Danger; your Majeſty's moſt duti-'ful and obedient Subjects, in the deepeſt Senſe of our Duty and Alle-'giance to your Majeſty, do moſt humbly and earneſtly pray, that the 'Parliament, which is Prorogu'd until the 26th Day of *January*, may 'then ſit to try the Offenders, and to redreſs all our Grievances, no o-'therwiſe to be redreſs'd.' To which his Majeſty anſwer'd, *That he*

Sir G. Gerard's Petition.

The King's Anſwer.

look'd

look'd upon himſelf to be the Head of the Government, and the only Judge of what was fit to be done in ſuch Caſes; and that he wou'd do what he thought moſt for the Good of himſelf and his People. Then turning to Sir *Gilbert*, he ſaid, *That he did not expect to find one of his Name, and particularly him, in ſuch a thing, and that he was ſorry for it.* Whereupon Sir *Gilbert* wou'd have ſaid ſomething to the King, but his Majeſty turn'd away, and wou'd not hear him. 1679/80. Car. 32 Ref. 20

Other Petitions.

A few Days after, the famous *Thomas Thynn* Eſquire, accompany'd by Sir *Walter St. John*, and Sir *Edward Hungerford*, preſented the *Wiltſhire* Petition to the ſame Effect, in the Name of that County. His Majeſty was pleas'd to ask them, *Whether they had their Directions from the Grand Jury?* Mr. *Thynn* anſwer'd, No: The King preſently reply'd, *Why ſay you then that you come from the County? You come from a Company of looſe diſaffected People*; adding, *What do you take me to be? And what do you take your ſelves to be? I admire that Gentlemen of your Eſtates ſhou'd animate People to Mutiny and Rebellion. You wou'd not take it well, I ſhou'd meddle with your Affairs; and I deſire you wou'd not meddle with mine, eſpecially with a Matter that is ſo Eſſential a part of my Prerogative.* Another Petition of the like nature, being preſented to him the Day following by Sir *Robert Barrington*, Colonel *Mildmay*, Mr. *Honywood*, *&c.* in the Names of themſelves, and others the Inhabitants of the County of *Eſſex*; the King's Anſwer was, *That he was extremely ſurpriz'd to ſee them meddle with Matters that ſo immediately concern'd the Crown and him, and that againſt the Senſe of the beſt and chiefeſt Men of the County; that he believ'd that ſome of thoſe that had ſign'd the Petition might mean well, but that they were abus'd by thoſe that did not.* To which he was pleas'd to add, *That he was not willing to call to mind things paſs'd; yet, that he cou'd not but remember the* Act of Oblivion, *tho' not as ſome did; that thoſe who had ſtood in need of that Act, wou'd do well not to take ſuch Courſes, as might need another; and that he very well remember'd* FORTY; and ſo turn'd away. And for the *Berkſhire* Gentlemen, and their Petition, which was preſented the ſame Day from their Quarter-Seſſions, the King in a more drolling manner ſaid, *That they wou'd agree that Matter over a Cup of Ale, when they met at* Windſor; *tho' he wonder'd that his* Neighbours *wou'd meddle with his Buſineſs.* And that the Nation, as well as thoſe Gentlemen, might not be ignorant of the Court Reſentments, theſe Anſwers were publickly inſerted in the *Gazettes*.

The King meets, and further Prorogues the Parliament.

2. However, the King reſolv'd to give a Meeting to his Parliament, upon the 26th of *January*, when coming to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he in a ſhort Speech let both Houſes know, 'That when he declared in Council his Intention of putting off the Par-'liament to a time ſo remote as *November*, it was not without mature 'Conſideration; that he cou'd not be perſwaded from any thing that 'had happen'd ſince (in reference to Affairs within the Kingdom) to al-'ter or repent of that Reſolution; That notwithſtanding, conſidering 'the preſent Danger which threatned ſome of our Neighbours and Al-'lies, he thought fit to appoint a Day for their Meeting again in *April*: 'Yet the Diſtractions and Jealouſies at home were of ſuch a Nature, 'and ſo heightned and improv'd by the Malice and Induſtry of ill Men, 'that he was unalterably of Opinion, *That a longer Interval of Parlia-'ment wou'd be abſolutely neceſſary for compoſing and quieting of Men's 'Minds*; in order to which, he was afraid the moſt proper Remedies 'wou'd prove ineffectual, without the Aſſiſtance of ſome further time:

1678/90. Car. 32 Ref. 20

'he reſolv'd therefore, that on the ſaid Meeting in *April* there ſhou'd 'be a further Prorogation, unleſs the Condition of our Allies Abroad 'did then require our immediate Aſſiſtance.' Hereupon the Lord-Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, Prorogu'd the Parliament to the 15th Day of *April* next.

The Duke of York ſent for.

Having ventur'd ſo far, two Days after, his Majeſty thought fit to declare in Council, 'That he had ſent for his Royal Highneſs, not having 'found ſuch Effect from his Abſence, as ſhou'd incline him to keep him 'longer from him; That ſome Queſtions had been ſtarted of late of ſuch 'a Nature, and of ſo great Concern to the Duke, as made it reaſonable to 'have him preſent at the next Seſſion of Parliament: And tho' his Ma-'jeſty wou'd take care to preſerve his Right, yet it might be for his Sa-'tisfaction to be here himſelf; and that his Majeſty was ſo well aſſur'd of 'the Duke's Compliance, that his Return ſhou'd have no ill Influence 'upon the Publick.

His Speech at his leaving Scotland.

According to this Invitation, on the 31ſt of *January* the Duke of *York* acquainted the Lords of the Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*, 'That 'he had receiv'd a Letter from the King, calling him very ſpeedily to 'Court; That tho' he did very chearfully obey his Majeſty's Commands, 'and went with much Joy to attend him, yet he cou'd not part with 'their Lordſhips ſo ſoon without a great deal of Reluctancy and Trou-'ble, having both at his Reception, and during the ſhort time of his 'Abode there, met with all poſſible Demonſtration of Civility and Kind-'neſs, both from the Nobility, Gentry, and from the Repreſentatives of 'the ſeveral Bodies of the Nation; particularly from the Council, of which 'he had ſo juſt a Reſentment, that he cou'd not in all his Life forget them, 'and ſhou'd not fail upon all Occaſions to meet their great Kindneſs and 'Affection ſhewn him, with all the Service he was capable to do them; 'That he wou'd acquaint his Majeſty, *That he had in* Scotland *a brave 'and loyal Nobility and Gentry, a regular Privy-Council, and the Judi-'catures fill'd with able Perſons well affected to his Majeſty's Service 'and Intereſt; and that he had obſerv'd the Diſaffected Party were no-'thing ſo conſiderable as their Friends in* England *ſtudied induſtriouſly to 'repreſent them to be.*' He then recommended to the Council the ſettling of the Differences between ſeveral Gentlemen of the *Highlands*, whom he always obſerv'd to be firm to his Majeſty's Intereſt. The Lord-Chancellor, in the Name of the Council, 'acknowledg'd the great Hap-'pineſs they had in his Preſence, Conduct and Advice, and declared 'how much devoted they all were to the Service of his Majeſty and his 'Royal Highneſs; and that they cou'd not expreſs their great Grief they 'had to part ſo ſoon with him, to whoſe Counſel and Preſence they 'ow'd ſo many Advantages.

The Chancellor's Reply.

Soon after this, the Duke, Dutcheſs, and all their Retinue, began their Voyage by Sea for *London*, where they arriv'd at the Privy-Stairs on the 24th of *February*, after a pompous manner, and with all the Signs of true Joy and hearty Welcome. At the ſame time there arriv'd a Letter from the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, ſubſcribed by above twenty of the chief Nobility, fill'd with Expreſſions of Loyalty and Commendations of his Royal Highneſs: 'Particularly they tell his Majeſty, no Breach of 'Peace, no Libel, no Paſquil, have been ever diſcover'd during his A-'bode here; ſo that this too ſhort time has been the moſt peaceable and 'ſerene part of our Life, and the happieſt Days we ever ſaw, except 'your Majeſty's miraculous Reſtitution.' In Concluſion they tell him, 'For which Happineſs we can make your Majeſty no other Return, ſave 'to aſſure you, that with our Hearts, our Lives, and our Fortunes, we 'will maintain your Sacred Majeſty and your Royal Succeſſors, in the

The Council's Letter to the King.

'ordinary

'ordinary Degrees of Succeſſion, according to the unalterable Right of 'Blood, which you and they derive only from God Almighty; and 'wiſh that his Royal Highneſs may meet every where that Satisfaction 'and Tranquillity that he has occaſion'd, and that Kindneſs and Affection 'which his Merit has rais'd in *Edinburgh*.' Two Days after his Arrival, his Royal Highneſs was attended by the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Recorder and Common Council of the City of *London*; at which time the Recorder having in all their Names congratulated his ſafe Arrival, they all kiſs'd the Hands both of the Duke and Dutcheſs. Soon after the King and his Royal Highneſs were entertain'd by Sir *Robert Clayton*, the Lord Mayor, at a magnificent Supper; at which Night the Citizens by their Bonfires, Illuminations, *&c.* expreſs'd a more than ordinary Joy, to the ſenſible Satisfaction of the two Royal Brothers. The next Day, being *March* 10, the King and his Brother ſet forwards for *New-market*, where they were both met by Two hundred of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the Duke in a particular manner congratulated on his Return from *Scotland*.

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The Reception of the Duke at London, *&c.*

In the mean time the contrary Party were very buſy and induſtrious; and before the King took his Journey, *Oates* and *Bedloe*, by way of Complaint to the King and Council, offer'd Articles of High Miſdemeanors againſt the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*: They had formerly declar'd, 'That they were unwilling to give any Evidence againſt any Papiſts, or 'concerning the late *Popiſh Plot*, in any Court where the ſaid Chief-Ju-'ſtice ſhou'd ſit as Judge;' and now they deſir'd he might be brought to condign Puniſhment. But that Judge's Anſwer to their Articles being openly heard and debated before his Majeſty in Council, his Lordſhip was vindicated in all Particulars by the King and the Council, and their Articles diſmiſs'd, and his Lordſhip left to take his Courſe at Law, as he ſhou'd think fit. And ſo the Matter reſted, till it cou'd be brought into the Parliament.

Complaints againſt the Lord Chief Juſtice.

However, Proſecutions were not yet laid aſide; and about the beginning of *Hilary* Term, Sir *Thomas Gaſcoigne*, a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman of Eighty five Years of Age, was arraign'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, upon an Information of High-Treaſon, in Conſpiring the Death of the King, and the Subverſion of the Government. The Jury were all *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen, and the Foreman Sir *Thomas Hodſon*. The chief Evidence againſt him was one *Balron*, who had formerly been Baily of his Coal-Pits, and one *Mowbray*, who had alſo belong'd to his Family: But their Teſtimonies, it ſeems, not being of that Weight or Credibility with the Jury as ſome expected, they brought in their Verdict not Guilty; whereupon the Priſoner was immediately diſcharg'd. Other inferior Tryals, and of a different Nature, happen'd in the ſame Term, and at the ſame Bench; as particularly *Thomas Whitfield*, *John Smallbones* and *William Laud*, being try'd for a Riot, in Tearing a Petition carried about to get Subſcriptions to it concerning the Sitting of the Parliament, were found not Guilty of the Riot; but only *Whitfield* Guilty of Tearing the Petition; but the Puniſhment due to that Crime, was not at that time declar'd by the Court. About the ſame time ſeveral Bookſellers, of the Country Party, were Indicted for Publiſhing ſeditious and ſcandalous Libels, as *Francis Smith*, and *Langley Curtis*, beſides *Henry Care* the Author; but above all, the Sentence againſt *Benjamin Harris*, the Publiſher of the *Weekly Domeſtick Intelligence*, is moſt obſervable, who having been found guilty of Vending the Pamphlet formerly mention'd, call'd *An Appeal from the Country to the City*, had Judgment on the laſt Day of the Term, 'To ſtand on the Pillory before 'the

Variety of Proſecutions.

1678/9. Car. 32 Ref. 20

'the old *Exchange*; to ſuffer Impriſonment for one Year, to find Sure-'ties for three Years good Behaviour, and to be fin'd five Hundred 'Pounds; and moreover the ſaid Appeal to be burnt by the Common-'Hang-Man.' And the better to prevent theſe Exorbitancies, not long after, all the Judges in *England*, having been demanded their Opinions, made their Report in Council, and declared for Law, 'That his Majeſty 'may prohibit the Printing and Publiſhing of all News-Books and Pamphlets 'of News whatſoever, not Licenc'd by his Majeſty's Authority, as mani-'feſtly tending to the Breach of the Peace, and Diſturbance of the King-'dom.' And accordingly the King iſſu'd out a Proclamation to ſuppreſs all News-Books and Pamphlets of that Nature.

1680. Car. 32 Ref. 21

Abhorrences.

3. And now it was that thoſe very Counties, which had been lately ſo active and zealous in promoting Petitions for the ſitting of the Parliament, ſeem'd to be aſham'd, and to fall into the contrary Practice of Abhorring. The City of *Weſtminſter* led the Way, whoſe Grand-Jury by their Publick and formal Act, at their Seſſions after *Eaſter*, diſown'd and abhorr'd the ſaid Action of promoting Petitions, and charg'd it on *certain Factious Perſons unknown to them:* This, and more to the ſame Purpoſe, they deſir'd their Steward, Mr. *Withers* of the *Middle-Temple*, to repreſent in their Names to his Majeſty; which he did with good Succeſs, and was Knighted for his Loyalty, by the Name of Sir *Francis Withers*. After this, there follow'd the like Addreſſes from the Counties of *Surrey*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Somerſet*, *Salop*, *Norfolk*, &c. which laſt mention'd County of *Norfolk*, had this further Acknowledgment in their Addreſs, *viz. Their Humble Thanks to his Majeſty for recalling his Royal Highneſs from* Flanders. Great Heats and Animoſities were created by theſe *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*, both in the City and Country, and they occaſion'd many Feuds and Quarrels in private Converſations; and about the ſame Time, and from this Cauſe, aroſe the pernicious Terms, and Diſtinctions of WHIG and TORY, both Exotick Names, which the Parties invidiouſly beſtow'd upon each other: All that adher'd to the Intereſt of the Crown and Lineal Succeſſion, were by the contrary Party branded with the Title given to the *Iriſh* Robbers; and they in Return, gave the others the Name of *Whigg*, or *Sour-Milk*, formerly appropriated to the *Scotch* Presbyterians, and rigid Covenanters: Two unhappy Denominations, too well remember'd at this Time.

The Riſe of WHIGG *and* TORY.

An Enquiry into the D. of Monmouth's *Legitimacy.*

The latter Party, being actuated by a great and ſubtle Head, about this Time propagated a dangerous and amuſing Rumour about the Town, concerning a *Black Box*, reported to be found in the Cuſtody, or at leaſt the Knowledge of Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, containing a Writing importing a Marriage, or a Contract of a Marriage between the King and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother. This Report being made when the ſaid Duke was the Darling of the People, the King was pleas'd to call an extraordinary Council on the 26th of *April*, in which he declared *the ſaid Report to be altogether falſe, and that he thought himſelf oblig'd in Honour and Conſcience to have the Matter throughly examin'd and ſearch'd into.* And for the fuller Satisfaction, Sir *Gilbert Gerard* was ſummon'd to appear; and being examin'd in Council, before the two Royal Brothers, and all the Judges of the Land, he anſwer'd upon Oath, *That he never had any ſuch Writing, as was reported, committed to his Charge, nor did he ever ſee or know of ſuch Writing:* To all which he ſubſcrib'd his Name. His Majeſty then declar'd, he was reſolv'd to uſe all poſſible Means to find out the Author of this Report; and accordingly a Committee of Council was order'd to ſit a conſiderable Time to examine into the

the Bottom of this Affair. After the ſtricteſt Enquiries made after Spreaders of this dangerous Report, his Majeſty publiſh'd a particular Declaration, on the 3d of *June*, in Confirmation of one made *January* 6th, and of another made *March* 3d, which was enter'd in the Council Books, and ſign'd by ſixteen Privy-Counſellors, viz. *That for the avoiding any Diſputes that might happen in Time to come, concerning the Succeſſion of the Crown, he did declare in the Preſence of Almighty God, that he never gave, nor made any Contract of Marriage, nor was marry'd to Mrs.* Walters *alias* Barlow, *the Duke of* Monmouth's *Mother, nor any other Woman whatſoever, but to his preſent Wife Queen* Catharine *then living.* Which Declaration was on the 15th of *June* Regiſter'd on Record in the High Court of Chancery, and all the great Lords of the Privy-Council, who were preſent when his Majeſty declar'd and ſign'd the ſame, atteſted the Action upon their corporal Oaths in open Court. The Lord Chancellor declaring at the ſame Time, *that this Declaration is not Inrol'd here to receive any Augmentation of Repute or Force from this Court; for it cannot receive more than it hath already; but only to be preſerv'd here as in a Repoſitory or Regiſtry: And he doubts not but it will alſo find a more noble Regiſtry than this, that is, the Hearts of all the Loyal Subjects of the Nation.* 1680. Car. 32 Reſ. 21

4. In *Eaſter* and *Trinity* Terms this Year, there happen'd ſeveral Proſecutions and Tryals, of which ſome Notice ought to be here taken. About the middle of *Eaſter*-Term, upon the Evidence of *Dangerfield*, a Bill of Indictment of High-Treaſon againſt the Counteſs of *Powis* was deliver'd to the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*; who not being ſatisfy'd with the Validity of the Evidence, after a long Examination, brought in the Bill, *Ignoramus.* About a Week after, *Richard Tasborough* Eſquire, a *Roman* Catholick, of *Flixton* in *Suffolk*, was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon in conſpiring the Death of the King; but upon a long Hearing, to no great Purpoſe, the Jury, without going from the Bar, brought him in Not Guilty, upon which he was diſcharg'd. Two Days after, the Lord *Stafford*, one of the five in the *Tower*, was brought to the ſame Bar, by *Habeas Corpus*, where complaining of his long Impriſonment, he mov'd for Bail; but being Impeach'd by Parliament, the Judges told him, he was not within the Benefit of the late *Habeas Corpus* Act, and ſo could not relieve him. But the Day following, Sir *Henry Tichburn*, the elder *Roper*, and *John Caryl* Eſquire, were bail'd at the ſame Bar, tho' accus'd of High-Treaſon; and the Reaſon given was, becauſe only Mr. *Oates*, one Witneſs, appear'd againſt them, wherefore they were inlarg'd upon Bail. On the laſt Day of the Term, the Counteſs of *Powis*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, and one *Beddingfield*, were abſolutely diſcharg'd of all Attendance. *Several Proſecutions.*

On the firſt Day of *Trinity* Term, Mrs. *Elizabeth Cellier*, formerly mention'd, was try'd for High-Treaſon at the *King's-Bench* Bar; the Indictment running in the uſual Form as againſt the reſt of the Plotters: But the Chief, and almoſt only Evidence againſt her, *Thomas Dangerfield*, being prov'd by Records then produc'd ſo great and infamous a Criminal, his Teſtimony was refus'd to be admitted by the Court, and chiefly in regard he ſtood outlaw'd of Felony, and Felony not being expreſs'd in his Pardon, ſhe was therefore found Not Guilty; and *Dangerfield* himſelf committed to Cuſtody, till he could find Bail to reverſe the Outlawry, to anſwer the Felony, and for his good Behaviour. But within a few Days after, the ſaid *Dangerfield* produc'd a *Newgate* Pardon, wherein all Felonies were pardon'd; and his Name being found therein, he was diſcharg'd. *Proceedings againſt Mrs.* Cellier.

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1680. Car. 32 Reſ. 20

As to Mrs. *Cellier*, ſhe ſhortly after publiſh'd a *Narrative* of her Tryal and Sufferings, under the Name of *Malice Defeated*, in which were found ſome ſevere Reflections upon Perſons, which were look'd upon as affronting to the Government: For which ſhe was try'd a ſecond Time, and found guilty of Publiſhing a Libel, and ſentenc'd to ſtand three Times in the Pillory, to pay a thouſand Pounds Fine, and to ſuffer Impriſonment till all was perform'd. Others that were to be try'd about the Plot, in regard the Attorney-General had not ſufficient Evidence againſt them, were ſome bail'd, and ſome abſolutely diſcharg'd, by vertue of the Act of late *Habeas Corpus*. Of the former ſort were the Lord *Aſton*, Sir *James Symonds*, *Edward Peters*, and *Needham*, with ſeveral others who were reputed Prieſts. Mr. *Howard*, Mr. *Hevening-ham*, both the *Ropers*, Sir *John Gaye*, and young *Langhorn*, were abſolutely diſcharg'd from their long Impriſonments, ſome having lain there three and twenty Months; and the Reaſon of their Diſcharge was, becauſe Mr. Attorney-General declared, that he had but one Witneſs againſt them. Sir *Anthony Dean*, and Mr. *Pepys*, were alſo at the ſame Time finally diſcharg'd from further Attendance.

The Tryal of the Earl of Caſtlemain.

The Tryal that made moſt Noiſe, was that of the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, Husband to the famous Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, who was arraign'd for High-Treaſon at the *King's-Bench* Bar, on the 23d of *June*, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, and a Jury of very conſiderable Gentlemen. The two Witneſſes againſt him were *Oates* and *Dangerfield*. The former ſwore to ſome treaſonable Correſpondencies carry'd on by Letters, *&c.* beyond the Seas, by his Lordſhip; and further, that he was acquainted with the great *April Conſult*, ſo often mention'd, and thereupon ſaid, *That now he would be reveng'd for the Injuries done him.* The ſame Evidence had formerly ſworn before the King and Council, and the two Houſes of Parliament, that he had ſeen a Divorce ſu'd out at *Rome*, by his Lordſhip, between Him and his Dutcheſs; but being now ſtrictly examin'd upon it, he began to faulter in that, and ſome other Particulars, in which he was much pinch'd by the Earl; ſo that he manifeſtly loſt Ground in this Tryal. As to *Dangerfield*, tho' he had been made a *Legal* Witneſs by his late Pardon, yet his Actions had been ſuch, that it could not make him a *Creditable* Witneſs; ſo the Jury, without examining ſo much into *Oates*'s Reputation, ſoon brought the Earl in Not Guilty, which was follow'd with great Shouts and Acclamations, to the Diſappointment and Mortification of many at that Time.

He is acquitted.

Oates's great Second and Aſſiſtant *Bedloe*, was now abſent, and within leſs than two Months after dy'd at *Briſtol*. Four Days before his Death, in his laſt Sickneſs, he was viſited by the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *North*, then in his Circuit, before whom he ſign'd the following Depoſitions: 'The 'Examinant ſaith, That the Duke of *York* hath been ſo far engag'd in 'the Plot, as he hath ſeen by Letters in Cardinal *Barbarini*'s Secreta-'ry's Study, that no Part that hath been prov'd againſt any Man already, 'that hath ſuffer'd, but that to the full thoſe Letters have made him 'guilty of it; all but what tended to the King's Death. And at *Rome* I 'ask'd Father *Anderton*, and Father *Lodge*, two Jeſuits, *What would 'the Duke do with his Brother when he was King?* And they anſwer'd 'me, *They would find a Means for that; they would give him no Trouble 'about it.* Then I told them, *I believ'd the Duke lov'd his Brother ſo 'well, he would ſuffer no Violence to be done to him.* They ſaid, *No: 'If the Duke could be brought to that, as he had been religiouſly to eve-'ry Thing elſe, they might do their Work; their other Buſineſs was rea-'dy, and they might do it preſently. But they knew they could not bring*

Bedloe's Depoſition and Death.

'*him*

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'*him to that Point*; *but they would take care for that themſelves. They* '*had not begun with him to leave him in ſuch Scruples as that. But they* '*would ſet him into his Throne*; *and there he ſhould reign blindfold three* '*or four Days*; *for they had ſetled ſome they ſhould pitch the Action upon,* '*ſhould clear their Party. And then he ſhould fly upon them with the* '*Sword of Revenge.* And this Examinant doth further add, That the 'Queen is not, to this Examinant's Knowledge, nor by any Thing that 'he could ever find out, any Way concern'd in the Murder of the King; 'but barely by her Letters conſenting and promiſing to contribute what 'Money ſhe could to the Introducing the Catholick Religion. Nay, 'it was a great while, and it made her weep before ſhe could be brought 'to that.' Beſides this Depoſition, he declar'd to the Lord Chief Juſtice upon the Faith of a dying Man, *That whatſoever he had teſtify'd concerning the Plot, was True: And that he had wrong'd no Man by his Teſtimony, but had teſtify'd rather under than over what was Truth*; And further, *That he had other Things to diſcover, which were of great Importance to the King, and the Country*, with other Matters of the like Nature. In Concluſion, his Lordſhip was *deſired to repreſent to his Majeſty his Condition, and that his Sickneſs was very Chargeable, and move his Majeſty on his Behalf for ſome Supply of Money for his Subſiſtance*; which he promis'd to do. But he dy'd ſoon after, on the 20th Day of *Auguſt*. We know not how to ſpeak ſoftly of the dying Words of one hardned by many Years Villanies; but muſt expreſly declare, that as to his publick Oaths, he did not only ſwear to the moſt ſhocking Improbabilities, but ſometimes chang'd, and othertimes contradicted his own Evidence. However, great Uſe was made of his laſt Words in the next Parliament, which came in very ſeaſonably for the Support of the Credit of the Plot, which was now in a declining Condition.

Diſturbances in London *about Sheriffs.*

5. During the Heat of theſe Times, the City of *London* felt the Effect, and was agitated with more than uſual Violence, in the Election of two Sheriffs. The Choice upon *Midſummer* Day fell upon Mr. *Slingsby Bethel* and Mr. *Henry Corniſh*, the former one of the *Committee of Safety* in the late Times, and both accounted Phanaticks by one Party, and Patriots by another; but ſince appearing uncapable to bear Office in any Corporation by a Statute in the 13th of this King, a new Election was appointed to be at *Guild-Hall* on *Wedneſday* the 14th of *July*. Before which Time, changing their Minds, theſe two qualify'd themſelves by Receiving the Sacrament, Abjuring the *Covenant*, &c. as appointed by the ſaid Act, and ſtood for a new Choice; againſt whom appear'd two other Competitors, Mr. *Box* and Mr. *Nicholſon*; and with ſuch a Strength, that they came to a Poll, a thing uncommon till this Time. During which, a Riotous Aſſault was committed on the Perſon of Sir *Simon Lewis*, one of the preſent Sheriffs, by *Osborn* a Draper, and others of *Bethel*'s Party; which being repreſented to the King the ſame Night, by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs in Perſon, he order'd a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to be iſſu'd out for the Tryal of the ſaid Riot. They continu'd Polling with great Noiſe 'till *Monday* following, and from thence by Adjournment to *Thurſday*; while the King in the mean Time was nobly entertain'd at Supper at Sheriff *Lewis*'s Houſe, on *Tueſday* the 20th of *July*, and went the next Day to *Windſor*.

Bethel *and* Corniſh *Elected.*

On the 29th of *July*, and not before, the Votes were declared at a Common-Hall then aſſembled at the *Guild-Hall*, to ſtand thus, *Bethel*, 2276; *Corniſh*, 2483; *Box*, 1428; *Nicholſon*, 1230. Whereupon the two firſt were declared choſen, with great and mighty Acclamations. At the

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ſame time an Addreſs was preſented to the Lord Mayor by *Thomas Papillon* Eſquire, in the Name of the Commons of the City, 'thereby diſowning all tumultuous and diſorderly Proceedings in their laſt Aſſembly, other than what might be the Effect of Emulation for his Majeſty's Service, and the Preſervation of their own juſt Rights; deſiring his Lordſhip to repreſent the ſame to the King, and that he wou'd in their Names humbly beſeech his Majeſty that the Parliament might ſpeedily aſſemble.' To which the Lord Mayor anſwer'd in a ſhort Speech, 'That he had not miſrepreſented any Thing touching their laſt Aſſembly to his Majeſty: That their Addreſs touching the Parliament might have been ſpared, in Regard the King had been pleas'd to declare to him, and aſſure him, That the Parliament ſhou'd ſit in *October* next; however he wou'd not be wanting with all Humility to lay the whole Matter before Him.' And within a few Days after, it was made known by a Publick Proclamation, That the Parliament ſhou'd Sit and do Buſineſs on the 21ſt Day of *October*; to the great Satisfaction of the prevailing Part of the City, who had choſen the very ſame Members they had in the laſt Parliament.

Proceedings in Council.

6. But before we come to the Meeting of this much expected Parliament, we are to take notice of the Proceedings this Summer of the Court and Miniſtry, and other Leading Men of the Times. After ſome Alterations in the Council, formerly mention'd, the firſt Digeſtion of Affairs was in a great meaſure manag'd by the Lord *Sunderland*, Mr. *Hyde*, and Mr. *Godolphin*, with whom Sir *William Temple* joyn'd occaſionally. The latter was offer'd the Place of Secretary *Coventry*, which, upon a Conſideration, he deſir'd to lay down; but upon his Refuſal it was given to Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, lately Ambaſſador at *Nimiguen*, and now Judge of the Admiralty. Sir *William*'s Attendance was chiefly upon the Account of the *Iriſh* Affairs, which in the Beginning of the Year happen'd to be the Subject of much Debate in the Council; The Lord Lieutenant the Duke of *Ormond*, and Council there, having tranſmitted ſeveral Acts over to *England*, both of Grace and Supplies, in Order to a Parliament to be held in *Ireland*. This brought the Earl of *Eſſex* again into Play, after ſo much Diſcontent, and ſo little Attendance for ſeveral Months at Conncil. He had formerly ſaid to Sir *William Temple*'s Brother, *That he had more Credit with the King than all the reſt of his Miniſters, or any Man in* England; and now he had the Opportunity to try the Extent of it. His Buſineſs was to undermine the Duke of *Ormond*, and get his Poſt; for his Eye and Heart had ever been bent upon his Return to the Government of *Ireland*; which made him ſteer all by that Compaſs, and purſue Court or Popular Humour, as he thought either moſt likely to obtain that End. Whenever the *Iriſh* Acts came into Council, he was ſure to be there; firſt raiſing many Difficulties in the particular Acts, and arraigning not only the Prudence, but Common Senſe of the Lord Lieutenant and Council there: Then Arguing againſt the Aſſembling a Parliament in that Kingdom; and at laſt Introducing Sir *James Sheen* to make Propoſals of Encreaſing the King's Revenue there near Eighty Thouſand Pounds a Year, upon a new Farm to himſelf and the Company he offer'd to be joyn'd with him. The Secret was, that if this fair Bait was ſwallow'd, Sir *James* was upon the Concluſion to declare, that he and his Company were ready to perform all the Conditions agreed on; but cou'd not do ſo great a Thing, unleſs my Lord *Eſſex* might be ſent over Lieutenant of *Ireland*. This plauſible Scheme, as it was ever ſupported by the Earl, ſo it was continually oppos'd by Sir *William Temple*, who found out

The Earl of Eſſex's Ambition.

out the Cheat of the whole Thing; and that this Farm, as it was drawn up, was not of the *Revenue*, but of the *Crown* of *Ireland:* And becauſe the Scheme was ſet on foot by the Earl of *Eſſex*, as a great *Maſter-piece of that Cunning*, which his Friends us'd to ſay was his Talent; a Talent, for which of all others Sir *William* had ever the greateſt Averſion. Tho' this was approv'd of by Mr. *Hyde*, and ſeveral of the Council, as very advantageous to the King, yet Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, by their Aſſiduity and Intereſt, laid the Matter ſo bare, and drew it to ſuch a Length, that the Earl with great Uneaſineſs ſeem'd to give over the Deſign at Court, and to reckon upon laying a ſurer Foundation for that Purpoſe, from the Credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. 1680. Car. 32 Reſ. 21

In order to prevent or allay all Diſtempers, and to prepare for an eaſy Seſſion of Parliament the next Winter, the Miniſters were reſolv'd upon all Meaſures that might effect it during the Summer; and, as one of the Chief, were reſolv'd to ſend Ambaſſadors and Envoys to *Spain*, *Denmark*, and other of the Confederate Nations, and enter with them into the ſtricteſt Meaſures for the Common Defence againſt the Power of *France*. Upon which Account Sir *William Temple* was nominated for Ambaſſador into *Spain*, but the King cou'd not well part with him before the Meeting of the Parliament. For as it approach'd, there daily appear'd new Symptoms of Diſcontent and Diſturbance. The Duke of *Monmouth*, as before mention'd, returning from *Holland* without Leave, never came to Court, but made ſeveral Progreſſes Weſtward and Northward, viſiting ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry as he knew were true to his Intereſt, and was receiv'd in many Places with unuſual Pomp and Ceremony; by which means he increas'd the Affection of the People, and in effect made himſelf the Head of thoſe who were diſcontented either with the Return of the Duke of *York*, or the Intermiſſion of the Parliament. In Acting this Part, he was guided by the penetrating Head of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who reſolv'd to blow up the Fire as high as he cou'd this Summer; ſo as to make the Neceſſity greater of the Parliament's Sitting at the Time appointed. And becauſe Boldneſs ſo well reſembles Strength, to encourage his Party with an Opinion of Both, he engag'd above a Dozen Lords and Gentlemen of Note, to go with him publickly to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and at the *King's-Bench* Bar to preſent the Duke of *York* as a *Popiſh* Recuſant, which they did by a Bill in Form. Thoſe that atteſted or ſign'd it were the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, the Lord *Brandon Gerard*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Scroop How*, Sir *William Cooper*, Sir *Thomas Wharton*, *John Trenchard* Eſquire, *Thomas Thynne* Eſquire, and *William Foreſter* Eſquire. Tho', by reaſon of the ſudden Diſmiſſion of the Grand Jury, the Matter had no Conſequence in the Forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the Minds of the People, and a ſtrong one upon the Paſſions of all thoſe that were ſo publickly engag'd in this bold Step againſt the Duke of *York*; which was indeed breaking all Meaſures with him, and entering into the deſperate Reſolution of either Ruining his Royal Highneſs, or Overthrowing Themſelves.

The D. of Monmouth's *Deſigns.*

The D. of York *preſented in* Weſtminſter-Hall.

Upon this ſurprizing Action, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had ſo eagerly purſu'd his Return to the Government of *Ireland*, began again to fall into Commerce with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; who ſaid to him in theſe ſhameleſs Words, *My Lord, if you will come in to Us, never trouble your Self, we'll make you Lieutenant of* Ireland. The Way to this Return was to oppoſe the Duke of *York*'s Stay in *England*, eſpecially du-

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ring the Seſſion of Parliament. The Lord *Halliſax*, tho' he fell not in with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, yet was glad to make fair Weather againſt the Parliament met, by his Oppoſitions to the Duke. The Lord *Sunderland* was ſtruck with the Boldneſs of the Preſentment in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Conſequence of Men being irretrievably engag'd in an Attempt wherein they were like to be ſeconded by the Humour of the Nation upon the Allarms of *Popery*; which made him conclude, the King wou'd not be able to ſupport his Brother any longer, but muſt be forc'd to deſert him at laſt; and he believ'd his Majeſty himſelf was of the ſame Opinion. Mr. *Godolphin* fell naturally into the ſame Thoughts with the Lord *Sunderland:* So that upon the Debate in Council, concerning the Duke's Stay, or Return into *Scotland* before the Parliament met, theſe Four joyn'd intirely in the Reaſons and Advices for his going away. And tho' the reſt of the Council were generally of the contrary Opinion, yet the King fell in with theſe Four, and concluded the Thing, both againſt the Duke's Will and his Friends. And ſo the Duke, having received new Aſſurances of his Brother's Steadineſs, departed for *Scotland* the very Day before the Meeting of the Parliament, leaving his Adverſaries in Appearance Maſters of the Field.

He retires to Scotland.

The FOURTH PARLIAMENT.

VI. 1. And now at laſt came the long expected Day, the 21ſt of *October*, being the ſame Day two Years of the Meeting of the laſt Seſſion of the long Parliament, which broke with the King, and therefore by ſome thought an Ominous Day. The King had provided againſt this Day with as much Precaution as reaſonably could be expected; and being now prepared, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers in his Royal Robes, with the uſual Solemnity, and ſending for the Houſe of Commons, he made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes; Rot. Parl. *Wright.* Collections. *Temple.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The ſeveral Prorogations I have made, have been very advantagious to our Neighbours, and very uſeful to Me; for I have employ'd that Time in Making and Perfecting an Alliance with the Crown of *Spain*, ſuitable to that which I had before with the *States* of the *United Provinces*, and they alſo had with *Spain*, conſiſting of mutual Obligations of Succour and Defence. I have all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that what was ſo much deſired by former Parliaments, muſt needs be very grateful to you now: For tho' ſome, perhaps, may wiſh theſe Meaſures had been taken ſooner; yet no Man can with Reaſon think that it is now too late; for they who deſire to make theſe Alliances, and they who deſire to break them, ſhew themſelves to be of another Opinion. And as theſe are the beſt Meaſures that could be taken for the Safety of *England*, and the Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*; ſo they cannot fail to attain their End, and to ſpread and improve themſelves further, if our Diviſions at Home, do not render our Friendſhip leſs conſiderable Abroad.

'To prevent thoſe as much as may be, I think fit to renew to you all the Aſſurances which can be deſired, That nothing ſhall be wanting on my Part to give you the fulleſt Satisfaction your Hearts can wiſh, for the Security of the *Proteſtant Religion*, which I am fully reſolv'd to Maintain againſt all the Conſpiracies of our Enemies, and to concur with you in any *New Remedies*, which ſhall be propos'd, that may conſiſt with the Preſerving the *Succeſſion of the Crown in its Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent*. And in Order to this, I do recommend it to you, to purſue the further Examination of the *Plot*, with a ſtrict and an impartial Enquiry. I do not think my Self Safe, nor you neither, till that Matter be gone through with; and therefore it will be neceſſa-

'ry

'ry that the Lords in the *Tower* be brought to their ſpeedy Tryal, that 1680.
'Juſtice may be done.

'I need not tell you what Danger the City of *Tangier* is in, nor of Car. 32
'what Importance it is to Us to preſerve it. I have, with a mighty Reſ. 21
'Charge and Expence, ſent a very conſiderable Relief thither; but con-
'ſtantly to maintain ſo great a Force as that War will require, and to
'make ſuch new Works and Fortifications, without which the Place
'will not be long Tenable, amounts to ſo vaſt a Sum, that without your
'Support, it will be impoſſible for Me to undergo it: Therefore I lay
'the Matter plainly before you, and do deſire your Advice and Aſſi-
'ſtance.

'But that which I value above all the Treaſure in the World, and
'which I am ſure will give me greater Strength and Reputation both at
'Home and Abroad, than any Treaſure can do, is, *A perfect Union a-*
'mong our Selves. Nothing but this can reſtore the Kingdom to that
'Strength and Vigour which it ſeems to have loſt, and raiſe us again to
'that Conſideration which *England* hath uſually had. All *Europe* have
'their Eyes upon this Aſſembly, and think their own Happineſs or Mi-
'ſery, as well as ours, will depend upon it. If we ſhould be ſo unhappy
'as to fall into ſuch a Miſunderſtanding among our Selves, as would ren-
'der our Friendſhip unſafe to truſt to, it will not be to be wonder'd at,
'if our Neighbours ſhould begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps
'ſuch as may be Fatal to Us.

'Let us therefore take care that we do not gratify our Enemies, and
'diſcourage our Friends, by any unſeaſonable Diſputes. If any ſuch do
'happen, the World will ſee it was no Fault of mine; for I have done
'all that was poſſible for me to do, to keep you in Peace while I live,
'and to leave you ſo when I dye. But from ſo great Prudence and ſo
'good Affection as Yours, I can fear nothing of this Kind; but do rely
'upon you All, that you will uſe your beſt Endeavours to bring this Par-
'liament to a good and happy Concluſion.

After this Speech, the Lord Chancellor, without making any Himſelf, by his Majeſty's Command, directed the Commons to return to their Houſe, and to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker: Which they accordingly did, and unanimouſly Elected *William Williams* Eſquire, of *Gray's-Inn*, Councellor at Law, and Recorder of *Cheſter*; who, the next Day, was preſented to his Majeſty ſeated on his Throne in the Houſe of Lords, and readily approv'd by him. One of the firſt Things the Commons did, was to purge their own Houſe of certain obnoxious Members; as Sir *Robert Cann*, a Burgeſs for *Briſtol*, having ſaid, *There was no Plot but a Presbyterian Plot*; and Sir *Francis Withins*, Head Steward of *Weſtminſter*, and one of the Burgeſſes for the ſame, for having been an *Abhorrer* of the late Petitions for the Parliament's Sitting. The firſt of theſe was expell'd the Houſe, and committed to the *Tower*, the other was only expell'd; but both were order'd to receive their Cenſure on their Knees. And ſeveral other Members were declared Guilty of the laſt mention'd Offence. While they were making theſe Inquiſitions, they were not ſatisfy'd in puniſhing their own Members, but took Notice of others that were without their Walls; and among the reſt, Sir *George Jeffreys* became the Object of their Diſpleaſure; who being Recorder of *London*, the King's Serjeant at Law, and Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, was for the foremention'd Crime, Voted *A Betrayer of the Rights of the Subject*, and an Addreſs order'd to be made to his Majeſty to remove him from all Publick Offices. At the ſame Time they order'd a very ſtrict Enquiry to be made after all ſuch Perſons as had been any Ways

Mr. Williams *choſen Speaker of the Commons.*

Members expell'd.

Adviſing

1680. Adviſing or Promoting the late Proclamation, Entituled, *A Proclamation againſt Tumultuous Petitioning.*

Car. 32 Ref. 21

From the Beginning of the Seſſion, their Minds were fill'd and heated with the Fears and Apprehenſions of *Popery*, *Plots* and *Conſpiracies*. And now all Sorts of Plot-Diſcoverers apply'd themſelves with their Narratives and Relations, and never fail'd of proportionable Encouragement. *Dangerfield* began with giving in his Information into the Houſe; and was ſoon after follow'd by *Jenniſon*, and *Dugdale*, and one *Turberville* a new Evidence, who had all ſomething Material or Surprizing to lay before the Aſſembly. *Bedloe*'s laſt Depoſition and Words before the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *North*, was order'd to be Printed; and as theſe were look'd upon as a great Strengthner of the Credit of the Plot, ſo his Death was accounted at this Time a great Misfortune; and his Widow was encourag'd to Petition the Houſe of Commons for a Maintenance, in Conſideration of her Husband's great Services to the Publick. Great Notice was likewiſe taken of Dr. *Tongue*, the firſt Mover in this great Affair, who was now by the Commons recommended to his Majeſty for the firſt good Eccleſiaſtical Preferment that fell in his Gift; but the Doctor was diſappointed of the Benefit, by leaving the World not long after, in the Month of *December* this Year. Beſides theſe Evidences at Home, there came a Company of others from *Ireland*, as *Hetherington*, *Murphey*, the two *Fitz-Geralds*, *&c.* who gave in their Informations of a Dangerous Plot in that Kingdom: Upon which Account, Dr. *Oliver Plunket*, the Titular Primate of *Ireland*, was now brought over to be try'd for High-Treaſon.

Plot-Diſcoverers incourag'd.

Tongue's Death.

As the Houſe of Commons proceeded with a reſiſtleſs Force againſt the Plot and Popery, ſo the King, rather than ſtem the Torrent, ſeem'd to fall in with them in a like Zeal againſt both; and therefore on the 30th of *October*, he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, *For the Incouragement of the further Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot*, in which he Declar'd 'His Princely Care for ſecuring the true *Proteſtant* Religion, and for ſatisfying 'the Minds of all his Loving Subjects therein; and that therefore he 'thought fit, for the more effectual Diſcovery and Suppreſſion of the 'moſt *Horrid and Execrable Popiſh Plot*, and the Incouragement of all 'Perſons who have any Knowledge thereof, to make Diſcovery of the 'ſame, to ſet forth his Royal Proclamation, hereby Promiſing and Aſſuring his free and gracious Pardon to all and every Perſon and Perſons, 'who within two Months next enſuing the Date of thoſe Preſents, 'ſhould come and give further Information and Evidence concerning 'the ſaid *Popiſh Plot*.

The King joyns in it.

2. But the greateſt Heats and Apprehenſions of the Houſe of Commons aroſe from his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, which were gradually carry'd to that Height, that nothing leſs than a total Exciſion could give Satisfaction. The firſt Debate began, *October* 26th, five Days after the Meeting of the Parliament, and was open'd by *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, who ſaid, 'That ſeeing by *God's Providence* and his *Majeſty's Favour*, 'they were aſſembled, to conſult and adviſe about the great Affairs of 'the Kingdom, it would be moſt conducive to begin with what was of 'moſt Conſequence both to the King and Country: It was his Opinion, 'That the Life of the King, the Safety of the Nation, and the *Proteſtant* 'Religion, were in great Danger from *Popery*; and that either that Parliament muſt ſuppreſs the Growth and Power thereof, or elſe *Popery* 'would ſoon deſtroy not only Parliaments, but all that was near and dear 'to them; therefore he humbly mov'd they might in the firſt Place 'take into Conſideration how to ſuppreſs *Popery*, and prevent a *Popiſh* Suc-

Debates about the Duke of York.

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'*Succeſſor.*' Way being made, Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſeconded the Motion, and in a long Speech related, 'How 'the *Popiſh* Party made it their utmoſt Endeavours, by their Diabolical 'Counſels, to weaken the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, in order to a general De- 'ſtruction of it, by engaging us in a War againſt *Holland*, as alſo divid- 'ing our Fleet under Prince *Rupert* and General *Monk*, with a Deſign 'to deſtroy them, as well as our Navy at *Chatham*: How, when the Ci- 'ty of *London* was burnt in 1666, that thoſe who were taken in carry- 'ing on that wicked Act, were generally diſcharg'd without Tryal: How 'they caus'd the Violation of the *Triple League*, and ſacrific'd the King's 'Honour to the *French*, not only by making Alliance with them, but 'by ſeizing the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, and then proclaiming War againſt 'them, while the *French* only prov'd Spectators of the two Nations 'Ruin: How the *Papiſts* in *Ireland* were diſpens'd with to wear Arms, 'to the great Danger, as well as Prejudice of the *Proteſtants* there: 'That the Government of *Scotland* was quite alter'd, the Uſe of Parlia- 'ments in a Manner aboliſh'd, and the Government of that Kingdom 'lodg'd in a *Commiſſioner* and a *Council*, beſides an *Army* of twenty Thou- 'ſand Men ſetled: That all Endeavours were us'd to divide the *Prote- 'ſtant* Intereſt, and to incourage the *Popiſh*, who were emboldned to act 'any Thing, contrary both to Law and Reaſon, by Help of the Duke 'of *York*, in Hopes of having him for King. Thus they were encou- 'rag'd by the *French* Ambaſſador too, who by his Frequency at Court 'ſeem'd to be rather one of the Family and the King's Houſhold, than 'a Foreign Ambaſſador; and by his free Recourſe to his Majeſty, rather 'a prime Miniſter of State of this Kingdom, than a Counſellor to 'another Prince; and the Truth of all had been confirm'd by *Coleman*'s 'Letters. Then he inferr'd, ſince all theſe Irregularities and Enormities 'proceeded from the *Popiſh* Party, ſupported by the Duke of *York*, 'it was high Time to think of ſome effectual Expedient to prevent *Po- 'pery* and a *Popiſh Succeſſor*. But ſince the Difficulties and Hazards 'he run were ſo great, and his King and Country had call'd him to this 'Service, he ſaid, *I am reſolv'd, that as my Father loſt his Life for King 'Charles the Firſt, ſo I will not be afraid to venture mine for King 'Charles the Second.*

Several other Members ſpoke to the ſame Effect, with a further Enumeration of Miſmanagements of the Affairs of the Kingdom, occaſion'd by the Papiſts and their Agents. But we do not find that any Member vindicated the Duke, or ſpoke in his Behalf, till the Houſe came to theſe two following Reſolves, upon the Second of *November*; '*Reſolved*, 'That the Duke of *York*'s being a *Papiſt*, and the Hopes of his coming 'ſuch to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Incourage- 'ment to the preſent Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and '*Proteſtant* Religion. *Reſolved*, That in Defence of the King's Per- 'ſon and Government, and *Proteſtant* Religion, this Houſe doth De- 'clare, *That they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and For- 'tunes, and that if his Majeſty ſhou'd come to any violent Death, which 'God forbid, they will revenge it to the utmoſt on the* Papiſts.' Upon which Colonel *Titus* and the Lord *Ruſſel* did ſeverally move that a Committee be appointed to bring in a Bill to diſable the Duke of *York* from Inheriting the Imperial Crown of this Realm: And Mr. *Harbord* zealouſly argu'd 'the Neceſſity of it, from the great Influence 'the Duke and his Party had upon the King, that Peace, War, Foreign 'Alliances, Meeting, Diſſolutions and Prorogations of Parliaments, Try- 'als at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, Reſolutions in Council, and other Things of 'Import-

Two Reſolves thereupon.

Further Debates.

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'Importance, had been influenc'd by a Popiſh Party: That ſome who 'had the Examination of the Plot, in which the King's Life and the Safety 'of the Nation was ſo much concern'd, had been kept off to Admira- 'tion, and the Witneſſes diſcourag'd even to Deſpair; all proceeding 'from no leſs Perſon than the Duke, for whoſe Perſon he had no ill Will, 'but rather a great Veneration, as deſcended from the Royal Family; 'but, he thought, it ought not to ſtand in Competition with his Duty 'to the King and Country, which cou'd never be ſafe, ſo long as By-In- 'tereſt was ſo predominant; therefore he was for the Bill.

On the other Side Mr. *William Garraway* ſtood up, and ſaid, 'That 'he was conſcious of the Danger of Popery, yet he hop'd the Prudence 'of the Houſe might find out ſome Expedients to ſecure the Nation, 'without the Bill of Excluſion; arguing, That the King had at the Open- 'ing of the Seſſion Declared, *That he wou'd conſent to any Thing that 'ſhou'd be offer'd for the Proteſtant Religion, provided it conſiſted with 'the Preſerving the Succeſſion in the due Legal Courſe of Deſcent*; and 'to proceed in the Bill propos'd, wou'd be a Means to diſoblige the King, 'and interrupt all other Affairs, which might at that Time be very un- 'fortunate to the Nation, and our Neighbours too. For his Part, he 'was more afraid of an Army without a General, than of a General 'without an Army; therefore he thought it moſt adviſeable, inſtead of 'this Bill to bring in another for Baniſhing all Papiſts out of the Na- 'tion, and other Bills for having frequent Parliaments, and to ſecure good 'Judges and Juſtices. He humbly mov'd that they wou'd try thoſe 'Ways, and not proceed with ſuch Severity againſt the Duke, ſeeing it 'was not conſiſtent with Juſtice to paſs ſuch a ſevere Sentence upon the 'Duke, who had not yet been heard, or found guilty.' To theſe Ob- jections Sir *Henry Capel* and Colonel *Titus* ſpoke ſucceſſively; and the former inſiſted 'That all other Bills, without the Excluſion, wou'd prove 'ineffectual, ſince they muſt be left in the unhappy Condition, of Con- 'teſting with the Influence of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor during the King's Life, 'and with the Power of a *Popiſh* King hereafter: And whereas it was 'ſaid, *Take away the Army, and you need not fear the General*, he an- 'ſwer'd, That the General that had the Power of a King, wou'd never 'want an Army.' The Colonel argu'd, 'That to proceed contrary to 'the King's Reſolution, of not Conſenting to the Succeſſion from its 'Legal Courſe of Deſcent, was not inconſiſtent with their Duties, nor 'void of Precedent. For it had oftentimes hapned, That Parliaments 'before now had offer'd ſuch Advice to the Kings of this Nation, as 'had not been grateful to them at firſt, and yet after mature Deliberati- 'on had been well reſented, and found abſolutely neceſſary: As when 'his Majeſty had been perſwaded to grant a Toleration in 1672, and to 'tell the Parliament in his Speech made to them, *That he wou'd ſtand 'by it, and make it good*; yet that Houſe of Commons finding it of dan- 'gerous Conſequence, and humbly offering ſuch their Advice to his 'Majeſty, he was pleas'd, notwithſtanding the ſaid Speech, to cancel 'the ſaid Declaration.' Other Things were alledg'd to prove the Inſe- curity under a *Popiſh* Prince; but nothing ſeem'd to have made a greater Impreſſion upon the Houſe, than a Belief that the King, by Importunity or Neceſſity, wou'd comply at laſt.

But that nothing might be wanting, a Perſon of Quality ſtood up, and reflected upon the Duke and the Earl of *Clarendon* for making up the Match for the King, as foreſeeing the Queen wou'd have no Children; and particularly on the Duke for the Loſs of the Earl of *Sandwich*, for clearing of Perſons taken in the Fire of *London*, the Death of Sir *Ed-*

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mund-bury Godfrey, &c. Whereupon he was ſomewhat interrupted by Mr. *Hyde*, who ſtood up to Vindicate the Honour of the Duke, and the Reputation of his Father; and as to the Bill, his Opinion was, 'That 'the bringing of it in wou'd be a great Hindrance to the Buſineſs of 'the Nation, without attaining its End: He declar'd, He was concern'd 'for the Juſtice of the Nation; for tho' the Duke deſerv'd great Morti-'fications, for giving ſuch Suſpicion of his Religion, and might reaſona-'bly expect not to come to the Crown, on ſuch Terms as formerly; yet 'he thought it very hard to offer at ſo great a Condemnation, without 'hearing the Perſon concern'd, or having had any preceding Proceſs: 'For his Part, he made it a great Queſtion, Whether it wou'd be Bind-'ing to him, or a great many other Loyal Perſons of this Nation; and 'if not, it might hereafter occaſion a Civil War. He farther ſaid, I 'I cou'd not apprehend our Caſe ſo deſperate, but that we might ſecure 'our ſelves ſome other Way, without *Overturning Foundations*; ſtill, 'he cou'd not fear a General without an Army; and mov'd for Expe-'dients.' Sir *Leoline Jenkins* ſeconded Mr. *Hyde*, and ſhew'd, 'That 'Expedients were more eligible than Extremity, and that he look'd on the 'Bill to be the greateſt Extremity imaginable, and the Paſſing of the 'Bill to be againſt both Law and Conſcience, and that nothing leſs than 'an Army cou'd be neceſſary to ſupport it: Therefore he humbly con-'ceiv'd, That the Tryal of Expedients might be made; for it was Time 'enough to proceed to Extremity, when all the Ways and Means were 'found inſufficient.

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In anſwer to theſe two Perſons, Mr. *Thomas Bennet* ſaid, 'That no 'Bill cou'd be againſt Law, nor this againſt Conſcience, unleſs it cou'd 'be made out, That we ought in Conſcience to bring in Popery. As 'to Expedients, he ſhou'd be glad to hear any Arguments to make them 'good; but he was affraid that when they came to be examin'd at the 'Bottom, they wou'd be found very inſufficient, and that they might 'as well think to catch a Lyon with a Mouſe-Trap, as to be ſecure 'againſt *Popery*, without the Excluſion Bill. That thoſe they were to 'deal with, cou'd not be bound by any Law or Contract whatſoever, 'much leſs cou'd their Words or Promiſes be depended upon: Did 'they ever keep any League or Contract that was made with *Prote-'ſtants*, longer than was neceſſary, in Order to cut their Throats? And 'if Laws cannot bind inferior Perſons, much leſs will they Princes of the 'Catholick Religion.' He afterwards ſaid, 'He was of Opinion, That 'ſuch an Engine might be contriv'd as ſhou'd give ſuch a Whirle 'to the *Popiſh* Intereſt, as that it ſhou'd never riſe up againſt us again; 'he knew of no Difficulty but the ſame which happen'd to *Archimedes*, 'where to fix it; and as long as there was a good King, he was not alto-'gether at a Loſs for that neither. As to the Fears of a Civil War, he 'ſaid he never fear'd a War in Favour of Idolatry, eſpecially when we 'had gotten a Law on our Side to defend our Religion.' This Gentle-man was ſeconded by Sir *Thomas Player*, one of the City Members, who ſaid, 'He had read in Scripture of one Man dying for a Nation, 'but never of Three Nations dying for One Man; which was like to 'be our Caſe.' He further told them, 'That he had been lately in Com-'pany with a great many Perſons, where he had heard the Duke ſo cry'd 'up, and the King ſo ſlighted, that he dreaded they had Thoughts of act-'ing over here, what was lately done in *Portugal*;' therefore he vehe-mently preſs'd to have the Bill go forwards.

On the contrary, Mr. *Edward Seymour*, after an Introduction, in which he complain'd *That he had been Shot at by Wind-Guns*, ſpoke

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thus; 'Sir, I muſt confeſs I am very much againſt the bringing in this 'Bill, for I think it a very unfortunate Thing, that whereas his Majeſty 'hath prohibited but *One Thing* only, that we ſhou'd ſo ſoon fall upon it. 'I do not ſee there is any Cauſe we ſhou'd fear *Popery* ſo much, as to 'make us run into ſuch an Extream. —Have we not had great Experi-'ence of the Duke's Love for his Nation; hath he not always ſquared his 'Actions by the exacteſt Rules of Juſtice and Moderation? Is there not 'a Poſſibility of being of the *Church*, and not of the *Court* of *Rome?* 'Hath he not bred up his Children in the *Proteſtant* Religion, and ſhew'd 'a great Reſpect for all Perſons of that Profeſſion? Wou'd it not be a 'dangerous Thing for Him (I mean in Point of Intereſt) to offer at any 'ſuch Alteration of the Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law? Can any Man ima-'gine that it can be attempted without great Hazard of utterly deſtroy-'ing both Himſelf and his Family? And can ſo undiſcreet an Attempt 'be expected from a Prince ſo abounding in Prudence and Wiſdom? But 'tho' we ſhou'd reſolve to have no Moderation in our Proceedings a-'gainſt *Papiſts*, yet I hope we ſhall have ſome for our ſelves. It cannot 'be imagin'd that ſuch a Law will bind all here in *England*, any in *Scot-'land*; and it is diſputed whether it will be binding in *Ireland*; ſo that 'in Probability, it will not only divide us amongſt our ſelves, but the 'Three Kingdoms one from the other, and occaſion a miſerable Civil 'War. For it cannot be imagin'd, that the Duke will ſubmit to it. And 'to diſinherit him for his Religion, is not only to act according to the '*Popiſh Principles*, but to give Cauſe for a War with all the *Catholick* 'Princes in *Europe*; and that muſt occaſion a *Standing Army*, from 'whom there will be more Danger of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, 'than from a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, or a *Popiſh King*.' To ſecond which Point Sir *R. Graham* made a long Diſcourſe, ſhewing the Dangers and Miſeries of a Civil War, by a full Account of thoſe between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; and that this Bill wou'd break the Union between the three Kingdoms, and totally cut off *Scotland*: Therefore if the Bill muſt be brought in, he deſir'd that the Succeſſor ſhou'd be nam'd, which he was ſure wou'd require a great deal of Conſideration.

In anſwer to theſe, and other Oppoſers, Sir *William Jones* ſaid, 'Sir, 'I am of Opinion that Expedients in Politicks, are like Mountebank-'Tricks in Phyſick; as the one does ſeldom Good to Bodies Natural, ſo 'nor the other in Bodies Politick. Government is a weighty Thing, and 'cannot be protected and ſupported but by ſuch Pillars as have neither 'Flaws nor Cracks, and plac'd on a ſure Foundation. I am affraid that 'all Expedients will be found to have far different Qualifications. I can-'not ſee how the Excluding any Perſon who hath a Right to the Suc-'ceſſion, depending upon Contingencies, ſhou'd occaſion a Civil War; 'but rather do think, that there is a great deal more Danger, not only 'of a Civil War, but of our Religion and Liberty too, if we ſhou'd not, 'and ſo have a *Popiſh King*: For I do believe, that ſuch a King wou'd 'ſoon have a *Popiſh Council*: For if there be Eleven to Seven now for 'the Intereſt of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, what may we not expect when we 'have a *Popiſh King?* And ſhou'd you not then have ſoon *Popiſh Judges*, '*Juſtices*, *Deputy Lieutenants*, *Commanders* at Sea and Land, nay and '*Popiſh Biſhops* too? For if there be none put into any of theſe Places 'now, that are for acting againſt a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, well may we expect 'that none ſhall be put in then, but what are for a *Popiſh King*.——This 'is not to diſinherit a Man for his Religion, but becauſe he has render'd 'himſelf uncapable to govern us, according to our Laws; which, whe-'ther it proceeded from his Religion, or any Thing elſe, is all one to us.

'His

'His being uncapable, is the Ground for our Proceedings, having no other Way to ſecure our ſelves. Upon the whole Matter, I do conclude, 'That a *Popiſh King* and a *Proteſtant Religion* are Irreconcilable, and we have no Reaſon to fear a Civil War, ſo long as we have a Law for our Defence, and a *Proteſtant King* to head us, which we cannot expect without paſſing ſome ſuch Bill under Debate, and therefore I humbly move it may be brought in. 1680. Car. 32 Ref. 21

Upon this, Mr. *Finch*, eldeſt Son to the Lord Chancellor, declar'd 'That the Buſineſs was of ſo high a Nature; that he cou'd not tell how 'to ſpeak of it without Fear and Trembling. To go about to alter the 'Succeſſion of the Crown, muſt be of great Concernment to all *Engliſh* 'Men, and therefore to be conſider'd with a great deal of Deliberation, 'for which the Juſtice, Prudence and Uſage of the Houſe call'd aloud. 'He ſaid he was not ſatisfy'd how they cou'd in Juſtice paſs any ſuch 'Bill as was propos'd; for he never heard of any Law which made an 'Opinion in Religion a Cauſe to be diſpoſſeſs'd of Right; in former 'Times it was not ſo, tho' there were Princes and Emperors that were 'Apoſtates: And Queen *Elizabeth* wou'd not allow of putting any ſuch 'Thing in practice, but rather choſe to proceed againſt the Queen of '*Scots*, according to the ſetled Laws of the Nation. This Nation had 'been ſo unfortunate as to cut off one King already, they ought to have 'a Care how they cut off the Right of another, *&c.*' Mr. *Boſcawen* immediately exclaim'd, 'Have not the *Papiſts* always proceeded againſt the '*Proteſtants* with a Barbarity ſurmounting the worſt of *Heathens?* And 'muſt we be ſo mighty careful how to proceed to hinder them from Ruling 'over us, as that we muſt ſtumble at every Straw, and be afraid of every 'Buſh? A Man that is in a Houſe that is on Fire, will leap out of a 'Window rather than be burnt; and ſo he inſiſted upon the Law of 'Self-Preſervation.' He was follow'd by Mr. *Trenchard*, who, among other Things, ſaid, 'Let it be never ſaid of this Houſe of Commons, 'that they were ſo ſtupify'd or negligent of their Duty to their Country, 'or ſo indifferent in their Religion, or Preſervation of their Liberties, as 'to forget ſo great a Concern. If, when we have done what we can, 'we ſhou'd be conquer'd by Force, or deceiv'd by ſuch little Arts and 'Tricks as may be us'd, a patient Submiſſion to God's Providence muſt 'follow. But to be the Occaſion of our own Deſtruction, by being ſupine, and inconſiderate, will never be anſwer'd to Poſterity.' In Concluſion of the Debate it was Reſolv'd, *That a Bill be brought in to diſable the Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm.*

A Bill brought in to diſable the Duke.

Which Bill was read the firſt Time upon the 4th of *November*, when Sir *Leoline Jenkins* ſtood up and directly argu'd,' 1. That it was contra- 'ry to Natural Juſtice, to condemn any Man before the Conviction, or 'the Hearing of him. 2. It was contrary to the Principles of our Re- 'ligion; to diſpoſſeſs a Man of his Right, becauſe he differs in Point of 'Faith. 3. He was of Opinion That the Kings of *England* had their 'Right from God alone, and that no Power upon Earth cou'd deprive 'them of it. 4. It was againſt the Oath of Allegiance, taken in its own 'Senſe, without *Jeſuitical* Evaſions; which binding all Perſons to the 'King, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, the Duke as Preſumptive Heir muſt be 'underſtood.' Other Members argu'd not only for the *Legality*, but for the *Expedience*, and even *Neceſſity* of ſuch a Bill, as the only probable Means of Preſerving the King, the Government and the *Proteſtant* Religion; and repeated ſome former Arguments: And ſo it was by a great Majority *Reſolved*, 'That the Bill ſhou'd be read a Second Time on *Sa*- 'turday Morning, the 6th of *November*.' At which Time it was likewiſe *Reſolved*, 'That the Bill be Committed to a Committee of the

New Debates upon it.

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'whole House. And that it be an Instruction to the said Committee, 'That the *Exclusion in the said Bill do extend to the Person of* James 'Duke of York *only*. And that this House will Resolve it self into a 'Committee of the whole House, on *Monday* Morning next at Ten a 'Clock, to proceed to the Consideration of the said Bill.' Accordingly, on *November* the 8th the House Resolved it self into a Committee; and after many Debates about several Amendments, and Clauses to be added, the Bill to disable *James* Duke of *York*, *&c.* was agreed and Reported to the House; and *Resolved*, 'That the said Bill, with the several Clauses 'and Amendments, be Engrossed.

The Bill Engro'sid.

How this Matter came to be carry'd on with so much impetuous Zeal, Sir *William Temple* has given a short Account, who says, The Parliament began with the general Knowledge of so many great Persons appearing so publickly against the Duke in *Westminster-Hall*, and so considerable Ones in the Court it self, and at the Council Table: Those of the first sort fell immediately into the Cabals of Lords and Commons, who fram'd the Bill of Exclusion; wherein they were desperately engag'd, not only, as they profes's'd upon, Opinion of National Ends, but likewise upon that of Self-Preservation, having before now irreparably broken all Measures with the Duke: The Generality of the House of Commons were carry'd, partly with the Plausibleness of the thing, calculated in Appearance only against *Popery*, without any private Ends as they pretended; and partly with the Opinion of the King's Compliance, upon the Observing such Lords of the Court being engag'd so far in sending away the Duke. All the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends drove it on violently; not doubting he wou'd come into the Duke's Place, tho' there was no immediate Provision for that. And all these Circumstances concurring, made so violent a Torrent for carrying this Bill, as nothing cou'd resist, or any Ways divert, and as it happens upon all Occasions, the Opposition made by three or four Men, made the Violence the Greater. Besides these general Circumstances, there were two more Particular and Personal, that seem'd to have a great Influence upon the House: One was, the Lord *Russel*'s setting himself, almost with Affectation, at the Head of this Affair; who was a Person in general Repute of an honest worthy Gentleman, without Tricks or private Ambition, and who was known to venture as great a Stake perhaps as any Subject of *England*. The other was Sir *William Jones* entring upon it so abruptly and desperately as he did, the first Day he came into the House; and he being a Person of great Vertue and Piety, and bearing the Name of the greatest Lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very wise Man; besides this, of a very rich, and of a wary, or rather timorous Nature; it made People generally conclude that the Thing was certain and safe, and wou'd at last be agreed on all Parts, whatever the Appearance was at Court.

The Chief Causes of it.

3. The King was very uneasy, and not a little provok'd at these Proceedings against his only Brother; but to shew his Resentment in the softest Manner, on the 10th of *November*, two Days after the Exclusion Bill was order'd to be Engross'd, he sent this Message to the Commons; *His Majesty desires this House, as well for the Satisfaction of his People, as of Himself, to expedite such Matters as are depending before them, relating to* Popery *and the* Plot; *and wou'd have them rest assured, That all Remedies they can tender to his Majesty conducing to those Ends, shall be very acceptable to Him; Provided they be such as may consist with Preserving the Succession of the Crown in its* Legal Course of Descent.

The King's Message to the Commons.

This

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Their Addreſs upon it.

This ſerv'd but to encreaſe the Heats of the Commons, who the next Day drew up the following Addreſs to the King: 'We your Majeſty's 'Loyal Subjects, *&c.* having taken into Conſideration your Majeſty's gra- 'cious Meſſage, do with all Thankfulneſs acknowledge your Majeſty's 'Care and Goodneſs, in inviting us to expedite ſuch Matters as are de- 'pending before us, relating to *Popery* and the *Plot*. And we do in all 'Humility repreſent to your Majeſty, That we are fully convinc'd, that 'it is highly incumbent upon us, in Diſcharge both of our Duty to your 'Majeſty, and of that great Truſt repos'd in us by thoſe we repreſent, 'to endeavour by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Ways the *Suppreſſion of* 'Popery within this your Kingdom, and the bringing to publick Juſtice 'all ſuch as ſhall be found Guilty of the *Horrid and Damnable Popiſh* 'Plot. And tho' the Time of our Sitting hath not much exceeded a 'Fortnight, yet we have in this Time not only made a conſiderable Pro- 'greſs in ſome Things which to us ſeem, and (when preſented to your 'Majeſty in a *Parliamentary Way*) will, we truſt, appear to your Ma- 'jeſty to be abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of your Majeſty's Perſon, 'the effectual Suppreſſion of *Popery*, and the Security of the Religion, 'Lives and Eſtates of your Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects: But even in 'Relation to the Tryals of the five Lords Impeach'd in Parliament for 'the *Execrable Popiſh Plot*, we have ſo far proceeded, as we doubt not 'but in ſhort Time we ſhall be ready for the ſame. But we cannot (with- 'out being unfaithful to your Majeſty, and to our Country, by whom 'we are entruſted) omit, upon this Occaſion, humbly to inform your 'Majeſty, That our *Difficulties*, even as to theſe *Tryals*, are much en- 'creas'd, by the evil and deſtructive Counſels of thoſe Perſons who ad- 'vis'd your Majeſty, firſt to the Prorogation, and then to the Diſſolu- 'tion of the laſt Parliament, at a Time when the Commons had taken 'great Pains about, and were prepared for thoſe *Tryals*; and by the like 'pernicious Counſels of thoſe who advis'd the many and long Prorога- 'tions of the preſent Parliament, before the ſame was permitted to ſit; 'whereby ſome of the Evidence which was prepared in the laſt Parlia- 'ment, may poſſibly (during ſo great an Interval) be forgotten or loſt, and 'ſome Perſons, who might probably have come in as Witneſſes, are ei- 'ther dead, have been taken off, or may have been diſcourag'd from giv- 'ing their Evidence. But of one miſchievous Conſequence of thoſe dan- 'gerous and unhappy Counſels, we are certainly and ſadly ſenſible, 'namely that the Teſtimony of a Material Witneſs [*Bedloe*] againſt e- 'very one of thoſe five Lords, (and who cou'd probably have diſcover'd, 'and brought in much other Evidence about the *Plot* in General, and 'thoſe Lords in Particular) cannot now be given *viva voce*, foraſmuch 'as that Witneſs is unfortunately dead, between the Calling and Sitting 'of the Parliament. To prevent the like, or greater Inconveniencies 'for the future, we make it our moſt humble Requeſt to your moſt Ex- 'cellent Majeſty, That, as you tender the Safety of your *Royal Perſon*, 'the Security of your *Loyal Subjects*, and the Preſervation of the true 'Proteſtant Religion, you will not ſuffer your ſelf to be prevail'd upon by 'the like Counſels, to do any Thing which may occaſion in *Conſequence* '(tho' we are aſſured never with your Majeſty's *Intention*) either the de- 'terring of a full and perfect Diſcovery and Examination of this moſt 'deteſtable *Plot*, or the Preventing the Conſpirators therein from being 'brought to ſpeedy and exemplary Juſtice and Puniſhment. And we hum- 'bly beſeech your Majeſty to reſt aſſured (notwithſtanding any Suggeſtions 'which may be made by Perſons, who for their own wicked Purpoſes 'contrive to create a Diſtruſt in your Majeſty of your People) That 'nothing is more in the Deſires, and ſhall be more the Endeavours of Us,

'your

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The Bill of Exclusion.

'your Faithful and Loyal Commons, than the *Promoting and Advancing* 'your *Majesty's true Happiness and Greatness.*

On the same Day they read the Ingrossed Bill, Intituled, *An Act for Securing the Protestant Religion, by Disenabling* James *Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.* This was both a Bill of Exclusion and Banishment, with the Penalty of High-Treason annex'd, not much differing from the other Bill brought in the last Parliament; only it had the Addition of this following Clause: 'And be it *further Enacted*, by the 'Authority aforesaid, That during the Life of the said *James* Duke of '*York*, this Act shall be given in Charge at every Assizes, and the gene-'ral Sessions of the Peace within the Kingdoms, Dominions and Territo-'ries aforesaid; and also shall be openly read in every Cathedral-Church, 'and Parish-Church, and Chappels within the foresaid Kingdoms, Do-'minions and Territories, by the several respective Parsons, Vicars, Cu-'rates and Readers thereof, who are hereby required immediately after 'Divine Service in the Forenoons to read the same Twice in every Year; 'that is to say, on the 25th of *December*, and upon *Easter* Day, during 'the Life of the said *James* Duke of *York*.

New Debates upon it.

Upon Reading this Bill, Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, among other things said, 'I desire you to consider, that this Prince is Brother to our present King, 'and Son to our late pious King *Charles* the First; for whose Memory 'this Nation hath a great Veneration; that this Prince is enrich'd with ex-'cellent Endowments, which he hath employ'd in the Service of this Na-'tion, by Fighting our Battels, and Defending of us from the Oppressi-'on of our Enemies, and is only guilty of this one Crime, which I hope 'upon a mature Deliberation, will not deserve so great a Condemnation. '——I wou'd once more remember you, that there are Laws already 'for the Punishment of the Crimes he is accus'd of, and therefore hum-'bly conceive you ought not to chastize him, by making a new Law, be-'fore any Hearing.' In Answer to him, another Member reflected up-on the Duke for the Breach of the Triple League, the Loss of the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Firing of *London*; and was going on more severely, when he was interrupted by the House. Mr. *Mountagu* desir'd that there might be a Proviso in the Bill, *That if the Duke shou'd turn Protestant, that then the Bill shou'd be void, and he not excluded from his Right.* Mr. *Hyde* was still warm against the Bill, and said, 'I do not know that 'any of the King's Murderers were condemn'd without being heard; 'and must we deal thus with the Brother of our King? It wou'd consist 'much better with the Justice of the House, to Impeach him, and Try 'him in a Formal Way, and then cut off his Head, if he deserves it. I 'will not offer to dispute the Power of Parliaments; but I question whe-'ther this Law, if made, wou'd be good in it self. Some Laws have a '*Natural Weakness* with them: I think that by which the old long Par-'liament carry'd on the Rebellion, was judg'd afterwards void in it self, 'because there was a Power given, which cou'd not be taken from the 'Crown. For ought I know, when you have made this Law, it may 'have the same Flaw in it, if not, I am confident there are a Loyal Par-'ty which will never obey, but will think themselves bound by their 'Oath of Allegiance, and Duty, to pay Obedience to the Duke, if ever 'he shou'd come to be King, which must occasion a Civil War.' Sir *William Jones* and Sir *Francis Winnington* made long Speeches, and both spoke as to the Oath of Allegiance: The Former insisted, that it cou'd never extend to the Successor during the King's Life, and the Latter look'd upon such a Notion as a dangerous Maxim, if ever the next Heir of the Crown

Crown ſhou'd raiſe a Rebellion; for he might thereby challenge Allegiance from the People as well as the King, which might be of pernicious Conſequence: And he further ask'd, 'Doth not the Act of the Thirteenth 'of Queen *Elizabeth* make it Treaſon, for any Man to ſay that the Par- 'liament cannot alter the Succeſſion.' Upon which Argument, Mr. *Finch* ſaid, 'I will not ſay that Acts of Parliament cannot diſpoſe of the Succeſſi- 'on, becauſe it was made Treaſon by the Statute in the 13th of *Eliza- 'beth:* But I will deny, that the Kings of *England* rule by vertue of any 'Statute-Law, as was ſuggeſted; for their Right is by ſo ancient a Pre- 'ſcription, as that it may juſtly be ſaid to be from God alone, and that 'no Power on Earth ought to diſpute it.' After a little longer Debate, the Bill paſs'd the Houſe by a very great Majority. 1680. Car. 32 Ref 21 *The Bill paſſes the Commons.*

4. In the mean time, the King, daily more uneaſy and perplex'd, endeavour'd to divert the Humours in the Houſe, by ſending the following Meſſage to them, on the 12th of *November: His Majeſty did in his Speech at the Opening of this Seſſion deſire the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Parliament in relation to* Tangier: *The Condition and Importance of the Place obliges his Majeſty to put this Houſe in mind again, that he relies upon them for the Support of it, without which it cannot be much longer preſerv'd. His Majeſty doth therefore very earneſtly recommend* Tangier *again to the due and ſpeedy Care and Conſideration of this Houſe.* *The King's ſecond Meſſage.*

Upon this Meſſage, there aroſe a warm Debate: Some objected, 'That 'it was a Duty incumbent on them to ſecure Things at home, on which 'their All depended, before they enter'd into an Expence of Time about 'Securing Things abroad; *Tangier* might be of great Importance to 'Trade, but not ſo manag'd as to be any Security to the *Proteſtant Re- 'ligion.* The *Portugueſe*, when they deliver'd it up, did Covenant to 'have one *Popiſh* Church remain there, for the Conveniency of Prieſts 'and Fryars: And tho' it was then agreed, that their Mortality ſhou'd 'not be ſupply'd, but after the Deceaſe of thoſe Perſons, the ſaid *Popiſh* 'Church might be demoliſh'd, or converted to a *Proteſtant* Uſe; yet 'things had been otherwiſe manag'd, and the *Papiſts* there were now 'more than ever: That my Lord *Bellaſis*, now a Priſoner in the *Tower* 'for the Plot, had been Governor of *Tangier*, and even ſtill the Soldiers 'and their Commanders were moſt of that Religion, ſo that the Place 'was but a kind of a Nurſery for a *Popiſh* Army.' Others argu'd, 'That 'they were indeed afraid of *Tangier*, but more afraid of a *Popiſh* Suc- 'ceſſor, and were for ſecuring the Ship before they diſpos'd of the Cab- 'bins: But they were unwilling to give any Mony, becauſe they remem- 'ber'd when above a Million was given for Ships, not one Ship was built; 'and above two Millions given for the *Triple League*, when it was ſoon 'employ'd for the Breaking of it; and above a Million given for an Actual 'War with *France*, when we were under private Obligations for Peace.' On the other Side ſome alledg'd the Importance of the Place, 'And that 'if we ſhou'd part with it, we ſhou'd loſe the two Millions we have laid 'out on the *Mold*; and there wou'd be as great an Outcry, as there was 'upon the Delivery of *Dunkirk* to the *French.*' Others again pleaded, 'That there was no need of raiſing new Forces for the Security of *Tan- 'gier*; ſince there were ſeveral Regiments, beſides the Guards, in Pay 'at home, which might be tranſported thither, with little Charge, and 'be maintain'd there, as cheap as here.' In Concluſion, the Houſe *Reſolved* to draw up an Addreſs, *Humbly repreſenting to his Majeſty, the* *Debates upon it.*

dangerous

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The Commons Addreſs, or Remonſtrance.

dangerous State and Condition of the Kingdom, in Anſwer to his Majeſty's Meſſage.

This Addreſs was long, and in effect a Remonſtrance of all the Grievances in the Reign, with relation to *Popery:* In Subſtance it contain'd theſe Particulars. 1. 'That *Tangier* had been ſeveral Times under the 'Command of *Popiſh* Governors: That the Supplies ſent thither, had 'been in a great Part made up of *Popiſh* Officers and Soldiers, and that 'the *Iriſh Papiſts* had been the moſt countenanc'd and encourag'd. '2. That here at home, the Endeavours and Attempts of the *Popiſh* Par'ty had been ſo bold and ſucceſsful, that it was a Matter of Admiration 'to them, and which they cou'd only aſcribe to an Over-ruling Provi'dence, That his Majeſty's Reign was ſtill continu'd over them, and that 'they were yet aſſembled to conſult the Means of their Preſervation. '3. That this bloody and reſtleſs Party had found Countenance and Pro'tection from the Laws made againſt them: That they had form'd 'Means to diſgrace their Oppoſers; and if they were Judges, Juſtices 'of the Peace, or other Magiſtrates, to have them turn'd out of Com'miſſion: So that after ſome Time, they became able to influence Mat'ters of State and Government; and thereby to Deſtroy thoſe they cou'd 'not corrupt. 4. The Continuance and Prorogation of Parliaments, had 'been accommodated to ſerve the Purpoſes of that Party. 5. Mony 'rais'd upon the People to ſupply his Majeſty's Extraordinary Occaſions, 'had, by the Prevalence of *Popiſh* Counſels, been employ'd to make War 'upon a *Proteſtant State*, and to advance and augment the dreadful Power 'of the *French* King. 6. That great Numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects 'were ſent into, and continu'd in, the Service of that King: And even 'the Miniſters of *England* were made Inſtruments to preſs the *States* of '*Holland* to accept of a Demand from the *French* King, of Admitting 'the Publick Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick* Religion. 7. That if 'ever any Command were given for the Laws to be put in Execution 'againſt the *Papiſts*, even from thence they gain'd Advantage to their 'Party, while the Edge of thoſe Laws was turn'd againſt *Proteſtant Diſ'ſenters*, and the *Papiſts* eſcap'd in a Manner untouch'd. 8. That the '*Teſt-Act* had little Effect; for the *Papiſts*, either by Diſpenſations ob'tain'd from *Rome*, ſubmitted to thoſe Teſts, and held their Offices 'Themſelves; or thoſe put in their Places were ſo favourable to the 'ſame Intereſts, that *Popery* it ſelf had rather gain'd than loſt Ground 'ſince that *Act*. 9. That a *Popiſh* Secretary, ſince executed for his Trea'ſons, had maintain'd a Correſpondence at *Rome*, and in the Courts of 'other Foreign Princes, *For the Subduing* (to uſe their own Words) '*that Peſtilent Hereſy which had ſo long Domineer'd over this Northern* '*World*. 10. That out of thoſe Counſels and Correſpondencies was 'hatch'd that Damnable and Helliſh *Plot*, by the good Providence of 'God brought to light about two Years ſince. 11. That when this Ac'curſed Conſpiracy was firſt diſcover'd, the *Papiſts* began to ſmother it, 'with the barbarous Murder of a Juſtice of Peace, within one of his Ma'jeſty's own Palaces. 12. That amidſt theſe Diſtractions and Fears, *Po'piſh* Officers for the Command of Forces were allow'd upon the Muſters, 'upon ſpecial Orders, Counter-ſign'd by a Secretary of State: And in 'like Manner, above Fifty new Commiſſions were granted about the 'ſame time to known *Papiſts*. 13. That when in the next Parliament, 'the Houſe of Commons were prepared to bring to a Legal Tryal the 'Principal Conſpirators in this Plot, that Parliament was firſt Prorogu'd, 'and then Diſſolv'd: And the Interval between the Calling and Sitting of 'this Parliament had been ſo long, that the *Papiſts* had gain'd Time and

'Advantage

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‘ Advantage of covering their paſt Crimes, and Practiſing them more ef-
‘ fectually. 14. That Witneſſes had been corrupted, not only by Pro-
‘ miſes of Reward, but of the Favour of his Majeſty's Brother. 15. That
‘ divers of the moſt conſiderable of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects had
‘ Crimes of the higheſt Nature forg'd againſt them, the Charge to be ſup-
‘ ported by Subornation and Perjury, that they might be deſtroy'd by
‘ Forms of Law and Juſtice. 16. That a Preſentment being prepared for the
‘ Grand Jury of *Middleſex*, againſt the Duke of *York*, the Grand Jury
‘ were in an unprecedented and illegal manner Diſcharg'd; and that with
‘ ſo much Haſte and Fear, leſt they ſhou'd finiſh that Preſentment, that
‘ they were prevented from Delivering many other Indictments by them
‘ at that Time found againſt other *Popiſh* Recuſants. 17. That becauſe
‘ a Pamphlet came forth Weekly, call'd, *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice*
‘ *from* Rome, expoſing *Popery* as ridiculous to the People, as it deſerv'd;
‘ a new and arbitrary Rule of Court was made in the *King's Bench* (ra-
‘ ther like a *Star-Chamber*, than a *Court of Law)* That the ſame ſhou'd
‘ not for the future be printed by any Perſon whatſoever. 18. That not-
‘ withſtanding all the Proclamations for the Baniſhing Papiſts from about
‘ this great City, and Reſidence from his Majeſty's Court, and the Par-
‘ liament; yet great Numbers of them, and of the moſt dangerous Sort,
‘ did daily reſort hither, and abide here.

Having gone through theſe Heads, they proceeded thus; ‘ Under theſe
‘ and other ſad Effects and Evidences of the Prevalency of *Popery*, and
‘ its Adherents, We your Majeſty's faithful Commons found this your
‘ Majeſty's diſtreſſed Kingdom, and other Parts of your Dominions la-
‘ bouring, when we aſſembled. And therefore from our Allegiance to
‘ your Majeſty, our Zeal to our Religion, our Faithfulneſs to our Coun-
‘ try, and our Care of Poſterity, we have lately, upon mature Delibera-
‘ tion, propos'd one Remedy of theſe great Evils, without which, in our
‘ Judgments, all others will prove vain and fruitleſs, and (like all deceit-
‘ ful Securities againſt certain Dangers) will rather expoſe your Majeſty's
‘ Perſon to the greateſt Hazard, and the People, together with all that's
‘ valuable to them as Men and Chriſtians, to utter Ruin and Deſtruction.
‘ We have taken this Occaſion of an Acceſs to your Majeſty's Royal Pre-
‘ ſence, humbly to lay before your Majeſty's great Judgment and Graci-
‘ ous Conſideration, this moſt dreadful Deſign of Introducing *Popery*, and,
‘ as neceſſary Conſequences of it, all other Calamities, into your Maje-
‘ ſty's Kingdoms. And if after all this, the private Suggeſtions of the
‘ ſubtle Accomplices of that Party and Deſign ſhou'd yet prevail, either
‘ to elude, or totally obſtruct the faithful Endeavours of Us your Com-
‘ mons for a happy Settlement of this Kingdom, We ſhall have this re-
‘ maining Comfort, That we have freed our ſelves from the Guilt of
‘ that Blood and Deſolation which is like to enſue. But our only Hope,
‘ next under God, is in your Sacred Majeſty, that by your great Wiſ-
‘ dom and Goodneſs we may be effectually ſecured from *Popery*, and
‘ all the Evils that attend it; and that none but Perſons of known Fide-
‘ lity to your Majeſty, and ſincere Affections to the *Proteſtant Religion*,
‘ may be put into any Employment, Civil or Military; that whilſt we
‘ ſhall give a Supply to *Tangier*, we may be aſſured we do not augment
‘ the Strength of our *Popiſh* Adverſaries, nor increaſe our own Dangers.
‘ Which Deſires of your Faithful Commons, if your Majeſty ſhall graci-
‘ ouſly vouchſafe to grant, we ſhall not only be ready to aſſiſt your Ma-
‘ jeſty in Defence of *Tangier*, but do whatſoever elſe ſhall be in our Power
‘ to enable your Majeſty to protect the *Proteſtant* Religion and Intereſt,
‘ at Home and Abroad, and to reſiſt and repel the Attempts of your Ma-
‘ jeſty's and the Kingdom's Enemies.

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The Exclusion Bill carry'd up to the Lords,

Within two Days after the drawing up this Remonstrance, which was very unacceptable at Court, upon the 15th of *November*, the Commons having compleated their grand Bill for Disinheriting the Duke of *York*, it was solemnly carry'd up to the House of Lords by *William* Lord *Russel*, attended by the Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and indeed by almost the whole House of Commons. Here it met with a very different Reception. The King himself was Resolv'd, and to all his Friends declar'd against the Bill before it came to be read: And tho' the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and about Fifteen more, were zealous and violent for it; yet most of the rest of the House were firm and positive against it; among whom the Lord *Hallifax* appear'd with great Resolution in the Head of all Debates. Upon the first reading of it indeed, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by two Votes only. Upon the second Reading it was strenuously Debated till Eleven a Clock at Night, the King being present all the whole Time; and then the House divided, the *No*'s being 63, the *Yea*'s but 30; the Bishops being 14, were all against it except three. And so the Bill, without any Conference, was thrown out, and totally quash'd, to the great Disappointment and Mortification of all the chief Promoters of this unweildy Attempt.

By whom it is thrown out.

Warm Proceedings of the Commons.

VII. 1. The Noise of this unexpected Turn soon flew about the Nation, and caus'd a Thousand warm Discourses, and strange Conjectures amongst all Sorts of People. As to the House of Commons, they were terribly inrag'd, and they soon began to fall upon Persons, as well as Things; and hearing that the Lord *Hallifax* had been active against the Exclusion-Bill, they Resolv'd an Address to his Majesty to remove him from his Council and Presence for ever. As to their own Member, Mr. *Edward Seymour*, they not only petition'd for the same Removal, but likewise agreed to Impeach him upon four Articles. Sir *Robert Peyton*, another Member, was brought upon his Knees, and Expell'd the House with very opprobrious Language. At the same time several Foremen of Grand Juries were sent for into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, for *Abhorring* the Petitioning for Sitting of the Parliament, which was now turn'd to a *Breach of Priviledge*. Upon this Account they first sent for Sir *Giles Philips*, and Mr. *Coleman* out of *Devonshire*; and they did the same by Captain *William Castle*, Mr. *John Hutchinson*, Mr. *Henry Walrond*, Mr. *William Stavel*, Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, Mr. *Thomas Staples*, and Sir *Thomas Holt*, Serjeant at Law. And because Sir *Francis North*, Chief-Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, Advised and was Assisting in drawing up the Proclamation against Petitioning for the Sitting of the Parliament, the Commons Voted, 'That it was a sufficient Ground for the 'House to proceed against him for High Crimes and Misdemeanors.' The like Vote pass'd against Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*; and Sir *Richard Weston*, one of the Barons of *Exchequer*. But for the Lord Chief-Justice *Scroggs*, they were so incens'd at him, that they resolv'd to Impeach him of High-Treason. To these Proceedings, we may add the Case of Mr. *Sheridan*, an *Irish* Gentleman of a good Family, who was kept five Weeks Prisoner, upon bare Suspicion, without any Crime or Breach of Privilege alledg'd; on which Commitment, when he brought his *Habeas Corpus*, according to the Act of Parliament, most of the Judges were so terrify'd by these Proceedings, that they did not dare to allow it.

Rot. Parl. *Castlemain.* Tryals. *W. K.* \ *Temple. Orleans. Wood. Burnet. Calamy. &c.*

The Tryal of the Lord Stafford.

But what caus'd the greatest Notice, and was carry'd on with the greatest Fervour, was the Prosecution of *William Howard*, Lord Viscount *Stafford*, one of the five *Popish* Lords in the *Tower*, an aged Peer, singled out

out from the reſt, and brought to his Tryal before the Lords in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, on the 30th of *November*, with all the uſual Forms and Solemnities. The Managers for the Commons, among whom were the moſt conſiderable Lawyers in the Houſe, open'd the Cauſe with great Copiouſneſs and Eloquence, 'they began with the *Plot* in General, and 'laid open the Malice, Wickedneſs and Horror, of ſo dreadful, bloody 'and Helliſh a Deſign: They ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the expreſs poſitive 'Oaths of the Witneſſes, upon whom the Credit of the Plot chiefly de-'pended: They expatiated upon *Coleman*'s Letters, and others, clearly 'proving the Deſigns and Activity of the Writers: They preſs'd home 'the execrable Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, charg'd upon the '*Papiſts*, as well by the Oaths of ſelf-acknowledg'd Partners in the Fact, 'as by a Letter ſent from *London* to *Tixall*, intimating this very Mur-'der the third Day after it was committed: They fully diſplay'd the 'Sham-Plots, and Counter-Contrivances, whereby the *Papiſts* wou'd 'have ſuborn'd the King's Evidence, and turn'd all the Guilt upon 'his Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects: They urg'd the Firing the City, 'the Burning the Navy, the Calling in *French* Armies, Wild-*Iriſh*, *Spa-'niſh* Pilgrims, *&c.* They recapitulated the ſeveral Tryals of *Ireland*, '*Whitebread*, *Langhorn*, &c. and alledg'd the Votes of both Houſes of 'Parliament declaring the Plot. To corroborate all which, they repeat-'ed the Cruelties of Queen *Mary*, the *French* and *Iriſh* Maſſacres, the 'Powder-Plot, *&c.* and they anatomiz'd the wicked Principles and 'Practices of Murdering, Lying, Equivocating, Forſwearing, Faith-Break-'ing, *&c.* imputed to the *Papiſts*, as held by them Lawful and Meri-'torious.' In ſum, nothing was omitted, or neglected through the whole Proceſs, but the leaſt Circumſtance fully enforc'd and advanc'd, with ſuch Art and Acuteneſs, as well anſwer'd to ſo great a Cauſe, proſecuted by ſo high an Authority, before ſo illuſtrious Judges, and ſo Auguſt an Aſſembly. 1680. Car. 32 Reſ. 21

Some Witneſſes were firſt produc'd to prove the Reality, or at leaſt the Probability of the Plot in general; but chiefly three appear'd againſt the Lord in particular, namely, *Dugdale*, *Oates*, and *Turberville*, the laſt ſaid to be both a profligate and an indigent Perſon. 1. *Dugdale* ſwore, 'That at a certain Meeting held at *Tixall* in *Staffordſhire*, about 'the End of *Auguſt*, or Beginning of *September*, 1678, the Lord *Staf-'ford*, with Lord *Aſton* and others, did in the Preſence of the Witneſs, 'give his full Conſent *to take away the King's Life, and introduce the 'Popiſh Religion*. That on the 20th or 21ſt of *September* in the Fore-'noon, the Lord ſent for the Witneſs to his Chamber, while he was 'Dreſſing; and, turning his Servants out, offer'd him five Hundred 'Pounds for his Charges and Encouragement, to take away the King's 'Life; and further told him, *He ſhou'd have free Pardon of all his Sins, 'and be Sainted; for the King had been Excommunicated, and was like-'wiſe a Traytor and a Rebel, and an Enemy to* Jeſus Chriſt.' 2. *Oates* ſwore, 'That in the Year 1677, both in *Spain* and at St. *Omers*, he ſaw 'ſeveral Letters, ſign'd *Stafford*, wherein his Lordſhip aſſured the *Je-'ſuits* of his Fidelity and Zeal in Promoting the Catholick Cauſe. That 'in 1678, being in *London*, his Lordſhip came to the Chamber of Father '*Fenwick*, ſince executed, and there in his Preſence receiv'd a Com-'miſſion from him, to be Pay-Maſter-General to the Army: Whereup-'on his Lordſhip ſaid, *he muſt of Neceſſity go down into the Country to 'take account how Affairs ſtood there; and did not doubt, but at his Re-'turn*, Grove *ſhou'd do the Buſineſs*. And, ſpeaking of the King, he 'further added, *He hath deceiv'd us a great while, and we can bear no 'longer*. 3. *Turberville* gave an Account of Diſobliging his Friends by 'leaving

Evidence againſt him.

Dugdale.

Oates,

And Turberville.

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'leaving his Fryars Habit at *Doway*; and thereupon went into *France*, 'in the Year 75, where at *Paris* getting Acquaintance with his Lord-'ſhip, he propos'd to the Witneſs a Way, both to retrieve his Credit 'with his Friends, and make himſelf happy, and this was by *Taking away* '*the Life of the King of* England, *who was a Heretick, and a Rebel a-*'*gainſt God Almighty*. That when he took leave of him, his Lord-'ſhip appointed to meet him at *London*; but he ſoon after return'd into '*France*, not being willing to undertake the Propoſals, and was diſcoun-'tenanc'd by his Friends, and reduc'd to Poverty.

His Defence. The accus'd Lord, in his Defence, alledg'd many Things to invalidate the Credit of the Plot, and particularly the Reputation of theſe three Witneſſes. Againſt *Dugdale*, he produc'd Evidence, 'That he was a 'Perſon of an infamous Life; That he had cheated the Lord *Aſton* his Ma-'ſter, and defrauded Work-Men and Servants of their Wages; that by 'his Extravagancies and Miſdemeanours, he had run himſelf into ſeveral 'Hundred Pounds Debt, for which he was thrown into Jail, and de-'ſpair'd of ever getting out from thence, otherwiſe than by making the 'pretended *Diſcoveries*. In the next Place, that he had directly per-'jur'd himſelf, in divers Parts and Circumſtances, as to Time and Place, 'in this and other Depoſitions: And further, he prov'd, That he had 'endeavour'd to ſuborn divers Perſons to make falſe Oaths, and ſo to 'ſtrengthen his own by other Men's Perjury. Againſt *Oates*, he inlarg-'ed upon the mighty Improbabilities, that ſo many great and rich Con-'ſpirators, who had truſted him with their greateſt Secrets, and whoſe 'Lives were at his Mercy, ſhould ſuffer him to be reduc'd to ſuch a 'wretched Degree of Beggary, as he was acknowledg'd to be when he 'made his firſt Diſcoveries. He likewiſe inſiſted upon his *Omiſſions*, *Ad-*'*ditions* and *Contradictions*, that plainly appear'd in his ſeveral Depoſiti-'ons about the *Plot*; and alſo upon his villainous Feigning himſelf to be 'of another Religion, by ſolemn Renunciations of his Faith, and by 'ſuch Sacraments on one ſide, and ſuch Abjurations and Execrations on 'the other, as render'd him unfit to be admitted for an Evidence againſt 'any Man living. As to *Turberville*, he urg'd that he was perjur'd in this, 'and many other of his Depoſitions; and that his *Narrative* had many Mi-'ſtakes and Blunders in it. He deny'd that He, or any of his Servants, ever 'ſaw him at *Paris*; and made ſome Remarks upon his Poverty and 'Want, his looſe Manner of Living, his ſhameful Curſing and Swearing; 'and particularly his uſing theſe Words, *God damn Me! there is no* '*Trade good now, but that of a* DISCOVERER.

It would be too long to mention all the Particulars of this Tryal, which laſted a whole Week, and in which great Skill and Dexterity was us'd by the Managers to ſupport the Credit and Reputation of the Wit-neſſes, among whom they believ'd there was no Contrivance or Confede-racy. *The Mana-gers Reply.* They argu'd, 'That they had made it plain and apparent in the 'Beginning of the Tryal, by the Teſtimony of ſix Witneſſes, by the De-'clarations of both Houſes of Parliament, by *Coleman*'s Letters, by the 'Tryal and Conviction of other Traytors, *That there was a general De-*'*ſign amongſt the* Papiſts, *to introduce their Religion, by Raiſing of Ar-*'*mies, Murdering the King, and Subverting the Government*. And as 'to his Lordſhip's particular Caſe, they had three Witneſſes, which ſuf-'ficiently prov'd him Guilty; and ſo expatiated upon the Danger of '*Popiſh* Principles, *&c.* His Lordſhip made two ſeveral Pathetick *Spee-ches*, beſides his Anſwers to the Witneſſes, and in Concluſion declared, *in the Preſence of God, of his Angels, of their Lordſhips, and all who heard him, That he was intirely Innocent of what was laid to his Charge*; *That he left it to their Lordſhips to do Juſtice, and with all Submiſſion*

reſign'd

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He is found Guilty.

reſign'd himſelf to them. After which, the Court gave final Judgment; and the Lord Chancellor, who was now Lord High-Steward, collecting the Votes, the Lord *Stafford* was pronounc'd Guilty by fifty five Votes againſt Thirty One. Upon his being told by the High-Steward, that he was found guilty, he calmly ſaid, *God's holy Name be praiſed!* And then being ask'd by the ſame Perſon, *What he could ſay for himſelf, why Judgment of Death ſhould not paſs upon him according to Law:* He reply'd, *My Lord, I have very little to ſay; I confeſs I am ſurpriz'd at it, for I did not expect it. But God's Will be done; I will not murmur at it. God forgive thoſe who have falſely ſworn againſt me!*

The Lord Chancellor's Speech upon it.

In Concluſion, the Lord Chancellor made this following Speech to his Lordſhip. 'That which remains now to be done, is very ſad on my 'Part; I have never given Sentence on any Man, and I am very ſorry I 'muſt begin with your Lordſhip, a Perſon of your Quality and Fortune, 'deſcended of Noble Anceſtors, a great Sufferer in the late Times, oblig'd 'to the Government for the Moderation you had in the Exerciſe of 'your Religion; oblig'd to the King's Father, and ſo much to this King: 'Yet you have gone about not only to conſult his Death, but even the 'Deſtroying of three whole Nations, both of Body and Soul, as far as in 'you lay; of which you ſtand Impeachd by the Commons, and have 'been found Guilty by the Lords. There have been many and great 'Conſpiracies againſt the Life of the King for the Deſtroying of the 'Government; and they have been carry'd on by Conſults, Letters and 'otherways; by the Burning of *London*, and the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, the Plot hath been carry'd on Abroad, at *White-Hall*, 'and *London*, and your Lordſhip hath been concern'd in them all, with 'a mixture of Malice: You have call'd the King *Heretick*, and ſaid, *He 'was an Enemy to God Almighty*; here the Proverb is verify'd, *Curſe 'not the King, tho' in the Inward Chamber, for the Birds of the Air 'will reveal it.* It hath pleas'd God to leave you to your ſelf, and *you 'have digg'd a Pit, and fallen into it your ſelf.* God never leaves any 'Man until they leave themſelves; think not ſtill well of your Religion, 'and let not blind Guides miſ-lead you; true Repentance is never too 'late, and be not perſwaded not to confeſs that Sin in Publick, which 'you poſſibly have been Abſolv'd of in Private: For whatſoever value you 'ſet on the Prayers of them you call Hereticks, yet I am ſure That both 'they that clear'd you, and thoſe that condemn'd you, are ſorry for 'your Condition. I will pray for your Lordſhip; and this is the laſt 'Time I muſt call you *My Lord.*' And ſo he pronounc'd Sentence of Death againſt him according to the uſual Form in Caſe of High-Treaſon.

Shortly after Sentence was paſs'd upon him, ſeveral of his Relations and Acquaintance, ſome out of Zeal againſt Popery, and others out of Kindneſs to his Lordſhip, were daily urgent with him to make Diſcoveries of all he knew, as the only Means to ſave his Life, regain the King's Favour, and obtain the Thanks of the Nation. His Reply was, *He was moſt willing and ready, out of a meer Senſe of Duty and Conſcience, without any Temporal View, to diſcover the utmoſt of what he knew, either to the King, or the Houſe of Lords, when ever they required it.* Of which the Lords being inform'd, they order'd his Appearance before them the next Day; at which Time he made his Acknowledgments to this Effect: 'That he thought it no Crime for any Man to wiſh his Neighbour 'might be of the ſame Religion wherein he himſelf hop'd to be ſav'd; 'nay to ſeek, and promote it by ſuch Ways and Means, as the Laws of 'God, and the Nation allow: That there had been at divers Times, and 'on ſeveral Occaſions, Endeavours us'd, and Overtures made to obtain 'an

His Diſcover/ made to the Lords.

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'an *Abrogation*, or at leaſt a *Mitigation* of Severities againſt *Catholicks*; 'but this to be procured no otherwiſe than by Legal and Parliamen-'tary Means: That he himſelf went to *Breda*, while the King was there, 'and propounded a Hundred thouſand Pounds in Behalf of the *Catho-'licks*, to take off the Penal Laws: That after the King came in, there 'was a Bill brought into the Houſe of Lords, in Favour of *Catholicks*, 'but it was oppos'd and quaſh'd by my Lord Chancellor *Hyde*. That 'there had likewiſe been fram'd by the Earl of *Briſtol* and others, in 'Order to the Propoſing of them in Parliament, ſeveral Forms of *Oaths*, 'contain'd in ſuch Terms as might fully expreſs all *Duty* and *Allegiance* 'to the King; yet not entangle Tender Conſciences with Clauſes and 'Proviſos, diſagreeable to *Faith*, and no ways belonging to *Loyalty*; but 'neither did this ſucceed. That afterwards he had offer'd ſome Pro-'poſals, as well to the Lord Chancellor at his Houſe at *Kenſigton*, as to 'the Duke of *York*, concerning ſome Legal Expedients, conducing to the 'Good, as he thought, both of *Catholicks* and the whole Nation; and alſo 'about Diſſolving the Long Parliament; the Subſtance of which he like-'wiſe communicated to the Lord *Shaftsbury*, who ſaid, *He doubted not 'but that there would come great Advantages to the King by it.* Theſe he 'avouch'd were the Chief, and only *Deſigns* he ever had, or knew of a-'mongſt *Catholicks*, for Promoting their Religion; of more than theſe, 'he proteſted before Almighty God, and their Lordſhips, he was whol-'ly ignorant.' But this Declaration not giving Satisfaction as to the *Plot*, his Lordſhip was remanded to the *Tower*.

Corniſh' *and* Bethell's *Application to the Commons.*

As the Day of Execution approach'd, the two famous Sheriffs, *Corniſh* and *Bethell*, began to be very ſcrupulous concerning the Sentence, which the King had chang'd from that of Hanging and Quartering, to that of Beheading; and thereupon apply'd themſelves to the Houſe of Commons with theſe following Queries; '1. Whether the King, being nei-'ther *Judge* nor *Party*, can order the Execution? 2. Whether the Lords 'can award the Execution? 3. Whether the King can diſpence with any 'Part of the Execution? 4. If the King can diſpence with ſome Part of 'the Execution, why not with all?' This Officiouſneſs was ſhocking to ſome upon the Debate; but Sir *William Jones* gave it a handſome Turn, ſaying, *This Houſe lyes under no Obligation to offer at any Oppoſition; eſpe-cially at a Time when ſuch a Diſpute may end in Preventing the Execution of the ſaid Lord* Stafford. Whereupon they came to this *Reſolve*, 'That 'this Houſe is content that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* do ex-'ecute *William* late Viſcount *Stafford*, by Severing his Head from his 'Body only.'

The Lord Stafford's *Speech upon the Scaffold.*

Accordingly, on the 29th of *December*, he was brought to a Scaffold upon *Tower-Hill*, in the Preſence of an incredible Number of Spectators; where finding the People more than uſually ſilent and attentive, he with a graceful Air, and audible Voice, pronounc'd a long and affecting Speech to them; in which he ſeveral Times proteſted his abſolute Innocence as to thoſe Crimes for which he ſtood condemn'd. Particularly, 'He did, upon his Death and Salvation aver, That he never ſpoke one 'Word either to *Oates* or *Turberville*, or to his knowledge ever ſaw 'them, till his Tryal; and for *Dugdale*, he never ſpoke to him, but about 'ſome trivial Matters, and then was never alone with him.' And to ſatisfy the World he cou'd make no Diſcovery relating to the Plot, he us'd this Argument; 'That whereas he might have ſav'd his Life, if he made any 'ſuch Diſcoveries; his not making of them, when he cou'd, was throw-'ing away his Life, and making himſelf guilty of Self-Murther; which 'he look'd upon as the moſt dangerous of all Sins. He likewiſe renounc'd 'all *Indulgences*, *Diſpenſations* and *Pardons*, that cou'd be given for

'Lies,

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'Lies, Oaths, and other Crimes *in future*; and declar'd That no Power 'on Earth cou'd allow him or any Man to lift up his Hand againſt the 'King.' The Subſtance of his Speech, and the manner of his ſpeaking was ſo moving, eſpecially when he came freely to forgive the Perjury of his Witneſſes, that many of the People pull'd off their Hats and bow'd, and others cry'd out, *God bleſs you, my Lord! We believe you, my Lord!* &c. Having laid his Head upon the Block, the Executioner took the Axe in his Hand, and after a ſhort Pauſe, lifted it up, as it were to take Aim, and laid it down again. A ſecond Time he did ſo, and ſigh'd; but the third Time he gave the fatal Blow, which ſever'd his Head from his Body; he being ſixty eight Years of Age. This Lord was the laſt Perſon we find that ſuffer'd Death for the *Popiſh Plot*, ſo far as it was confin'd to *England*; and tho' the Sufferers in that Plot were ſent out of the World by Witneſſes of very bad Reputation, yet it cannot be deny'd, that their Party had given too great an Occaſion of Suſpicion, and had been too buſy and induſtrious in Promoting and Propagating a *Religion* and a *Cauſe*, that was inconſiſtent with the Government and Genius of *England*.

His Execution.

2. While the Commons were on their full Career, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, on the 15th of *December*, and ſending for the Commons, he made this handſome Speech to both Houſes; 'My *Lords* 'and *Gentlemen*, At the Opening of the Parliament I did acquaint you 'with the Alliance I made with *Spain* and *Holland*, as the beſt Meaſures 'that cou'd be taken for the Safety of *England*, and the Repoſe of 'Chriſtendom. But I told you withal, *That if our Friendſhip became* 'unſafe to truſt to, it wou'd not be wonder'd at, if our Neighbours ſhou'd 'begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as might be Fatal to Us. 'I muſt now tell you, That our Allies cannot but ſee how little has 'been done ſince this Meeting, to encourage their Dependence upon 'us: And I find by them, That unleſs we can be ſo united at Home, as 'to make our Alliance valuable to them, it will not be poſſible to hinder 'them from ſeeking ſome other Refuge, and making ſuch new Friend-'ſhips, as will not be conſiſtent with our Safety. Conſider, that a Neg-'lect of this Opportunity is never to be repaired. I did likewiſe lay the 'Matter plainly before you, touching the Eſtate and Condition of *Tan-'gier*. I muſt now tell you again, That if that Place be thought worth 'the keeping, you muſt take ſuch Conſideration of it, that it may be 'ſpeedily ſupply'd; it being impoſſible for Me to prevent it, on an Ex-'pence ſo far above my Power. I did promiſe you *the fulleſt Satisfa-'ction your Hearts cou'd wiſh, for the Security of the Proteſtant Reli-'gion, and to concur with you in any Remedies, which might conſiſt with 'Preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and Legal Courſe of 'Deſcent:* I do again, with the ſame Reſervations, renew the ſame Promiſes to you. And being thus ready on my Part to do all that can 'reaſonably be expected from Me; I ſhou'd be glad to know from you, 'as ſoon as may be, how far I ſhall be aſſiſted by you, and what it is you 'deſire from Me.

The King's ſecond Speech to both Houſes.

The Commons, as was expected, did not go immediately upon his Majeſty's Speech, but Reſolv'd themſelves into a Grand Committee, how to ſecure the Kingdom againſt *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, the Technical Words of theſe Times. After ſome warm Debate, they *Reſolved*, 'That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That one Means to 'ſuppreſs *Popery*, is, That a Bill be brought in immediately, to Baniſh all 'the conſiderable *Papiſts* out of the Kingdom.' And upon a further Debate on the Miſchiefs and Dangers of *Popery*, They *Reſolv'd*, 'That it 'is

Several Reſolves of the Commons.

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'is the Opinion of this Committee, That as long as the *Papists* have any 'Hopes of the Duke of *York*'s ſucceeding the King in the Kingdoms of '*England* and *Ireland*, and Dominions thereunto belonging; the King's '*Perſon*, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Pro-* '*perties* of all his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects, are in apparent Danger 'of being deſtroy'd.' Then upon Reference made to an Act of Queen *Elizabeth* for an *Aſſociation*, to revenge her Death upon the *Papiſts*, they came to a like *Reſolution*, 'That it is the Opinion of the Committee, 'That a Bill be brought in for an *Aſſociation of all his Majeſty's Prote-* '*ſtant Subjects*, for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Defence of the '*Proteſtant* Religion, and the Preſervation of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Sub- 'jects, againſt all Invaſions and Oppoſitions; and for preventing the Duke of '*York*, or any other *Papiſt*, from ſucceeding to the Crown.' Two Days after, the Houſe went again upon Conſidering of Ways and Means to ſecure the Kingdom againſt *Popery* and Arbitrary Government; and after ſeveral Debates, came to theſe three Reſolves,' 1. That it is the Opinion of this 'Houſe, That a Bill be brought in, *For the more effectual Securing of* '*the Meetings and Sittings of Frequent Parliaments.* 2. That it is the 'Opinion of the Houſe, That a Bill be brought in, That the Judges may 'hold their Places and Salaries, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint.* 3. That it is 'the Opinion of the Houſe, That a Bill be brought in *againſt Illegal Ex-* '*action of Money upon the People, to make it High-Treaſon.*

After theſe Reſolves, they thought fit to read and conſider the King's laſt Speech; and after many ſevere Reflections upon the *French* Ambaſſador, and the *French* Women, and the Duke, and the Duke's Creatures, they Reſolv'd upon an Addreſs by Way of Anſwer to the Speech; in which Addreſs the Commons Repreſented, 'That this *Proteſtant* King- 'dom can never be ſafe, while there is any Hopes or Expectations of 'a *Popiſh* Succeſſor; and they beſeech his Majeſty, in his great Wiſdom 'to conſider, Whether, in caſe the Imperial Crown of this *Proteſtant* 'Kingdom ſhou'd Deſcend to the Duke of *York*; the Oppoſition which 'may poſſibly be made to his Poſſeſſing it, may not only Endanger the far- 'ther Deſcent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it ſelf? They 'therefore became humble Petitioners to his Sacred Majeſty, That in 'tender Commiſeration to his poor Proteſtant People, his Majeſty wou'd 'be graciouſly pleas'd to depart from the Reſervation in the ſaid Speech; 'and whenever a *Bill* ſhall be tender'd to his Majeſty in a Parliamentary 'Way, *To diſable the Duke of* York *from Inheriting the Crown*, his 'Majeſty will give his Royal Aſſent thereto: As alſo to another *Act*, 'whereby his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects may be enabled to *Aſſociate* '*themſelves, for the Defence of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Proteſtant* '*Religion, and the Security of his Kingdom.* And as ſome further Means 'for the Preſervation both of their Religion and Property, they are 'humble Suiters to his Majeſty, That from henceforth ſuch Perſons only 'may be Judges, as are Men of Ability, Integrity, and known Affecti- 'on to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and that they may hold both their Of- 'fices and Salaries, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint.* That no one may bear 'the Office of a Lord-Lieutenant, but who is a Perſon of Integrity, and 'known Affection to the *Proteſtant* Religion: That Deputy-Lieutenants 'and Juſtices of the Peace may be alſo qualify'd, and may be moreover 'Men of Ability, of Eſtates and Intereſt in their Country: That none 'may be employ'd as Military Officers, or Officers in his Majeſty's Fleet, 'but Men of known Experience, Courage, and Affection to the *Pro-* '*teſtant* Religion. And theſe their humble Requeſts being obtain'd, 'They ſhall on their Part, be ready to Aſſiſt his Majeſty, for the Pre- 'ſervation of *Tangier*, and for putting his Majeſty's Fleet into ſuch a 'Condition,

A new Addreſs from them.

'Condition, as it may preſerve his Majeſty's Soveraignty of the Seas, and 'be for the Defence of the Nation. 1680. Car. 32 Reſ. 21

3. The Commons receiv'd no Anſwer to this Addreſs till about a Fortnight after; Part of which Time they employ'd in endeavouring to relieve the *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, who were now thought to deſerve a particular Indulgence. Formerly it had been the Intereſt of the *Popiſh* Party to promote a Toleration to them, that they might ſhare in the Benefit; but now it was their Intereſt to encourage a ſevere Proſecution of them, to take off the Edge of the Laws againſt themſelves, and to turn the Zeal of the Church of *England* againſt thoſe who had rais'd ſuch Heats about the Plot. It is obſerv'd that the Bigottry of the *Scotch Presbyterians*, this Year, very much help'd to throw an *Odium* upon all of that Denomination in *England*. Several of them had rigidly aſſerted the Lawfulneſs of the Excommunication and killing of Kings, while the *Papiſts* were daily Renouncing or Diſowning thoſe Doctrines and Principles. For when *James Skeyn*, Brother to the Laird of *Skeyn*, *Archibald Steward*, and *John Spreull*, were on the 13th of *November* examin'd before his Majeſty's Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*, concerning the late Rebellion at *Bothwell-Bridge*, and *Airdsmoſſe*, the ſaid *James Skeyn* did own and declare, *That the Perſons concern'd in either of thoſe Actions were not Rebels: That the Burning of the Acts of Parliament, and the Proclamation made againſt the King, were juſt. That the Excommunication us'd againſt the King, and the Reaſons of it, were juſt: That the killing of the late Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews *was no Murder, but the Actors were upon their Duty. That there is a Declared War between thoſe that ſerve the Lord, and thoſe that ſerve the King, againſt the* Covenant: *That it is lawful to kill any of the King's Council and Soldiers, in Defence of the* Goſpel. *That the King being Excommunicated, and there being now a Lawful Declared War againſt him, on Account of the* Covenant, *it is lawful to kill him, and all thoſe who are in Oppoſition to the* Covenant. Another of them, *Archibald Steward*, confeſs'd he was in the Rebellion at *Airdsmoſſe*, and preſent at the Excommunication of the King, and the Burning of the Acts of Parliament: He declared, *The King was juſtly Excommunicated, and diſown'd the King's Authority, and thought himſelf not oblig'd to obey him.* And as the Diſſenters in *England* were made the more odious, by the violence of their Brethren in *Scotland*; ſo a conſiderable Number of the Church-Men, and eſpecially of the Clergy, fell under a Notion of being *Popiſhly affected*, becauſe they vigorouſly eſpous'd the Intereſt of the Court, in Oppoſing the *Aſſociation*, and the *Excluſion-Bill*: For which one Mr. *Richard Thomſon* a Miniſter in *Briſtol*, did ſo warmly diſtinguiſh himſelf, that the Houſe of Commons cenſur'd him, and ſent for him into Cuſtody; which turn'd only to his Merit and Preferment in Court. Under which Diſpoſition of the Clergy, many ſevere Reflections were made upon them in the Houſe of Commons.

The Fury of the Scotch *Conventiclers.*

However it was, the Commons thought it highly ſeaſonable at this Time, to give Eaſe to the *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, and on the 21ſt of *December* they read a Bill *For Uniting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects.* Upon the Debating of which, the firſt Gentleman that ſpoke, ſaid, *There were a ſort of Men, who wou'd neither be advis'd nor over-rul'd, but under the Pretence of Conſcience, break violently through all Laws whatſoever, to the great Diſturbance both of Church and State. Therefore he thought it more convenient to have a Law for Forcing the Diſſenters to yield to the Church, and not to force the Church to yield to them.* Another of the ſame ſide ſaid, *He was affraid, That if once the Government*

The Commons Debates about the Engliſh *Diſſenters.*

1680. Car. 32 Ref. 21

ſhou'd begin to yield to the Diſſenters, it wou'd be as in Forty One, nothing wou'd ſerve but an utter Subverſion; the Receiving of one Thing wou'd give Occaſion for Demanding more; and it wou'd be impoſſible to give them any Satisfaction, without laying all open, and running into Confuſion.

On the other ſide, a Gentleman ſtood up and ſpoke thus: *Sir, this Bill is intended for the Preſervation of the Church, and I am of Opinion, it is the beſt Bill that can be made in order thereto, our Circumſtances conſider'd. But I know not what Effect it may have, becauſe you are to deal with a ſtubborn ſort of People, who in many Things prefer their Humour before Reaſon, or their own Safety, or the Publick Good. But I think this a very good Time to try whether they will be drawn by the Cords of Love or no, and the Bill will be very agreeable to that Chriſtian Charity which our Church profeſſes; and I hope that in the Time of this imminent Danger, they will conſider their own Safety, and the Safety of the* Proteſtant *Religion, and not longer keep a foot the unhappy Diviſions among us, on which the* Papiſts *ground their Hopes: But rather, ſeeing the Church ſo far condeſcend, as to diſpenſe with the Surplice and thoſe other Things they ſcruple at, that they will ſubmit to the reſt that is enjoyn'd by Law, that ſo we may unite againſt the Common Enemy. But if this Bill ſhou'd not have the deſired Effect, but on the contrary, notwithſtanding this Condeſcenſion, they ſhou'd continue their Animoſities and Diſobedience to the Church, I think ſtill the Church will gain very much hereby, and leave that Party without Excuſe, and be a juſt Cauſe for the making of more coercive Laws.* He was ſeconded by another Gentleman who argu'd thus, *What real Love, Friendſhip or Obedience, can the Church expect from ſuch Perſons, as by the Execution of ſuch Laws may be forc'd to come to Church? How can they be depended on, or the Church be ſtrengthen'd by them? You may prevent their* Conventicles, *and force them either to come to Church, or pay Fines, or be impriſon'd; but you cannot expect that their Opinions or Affections ſhou'd be alter'd by ſuch Proceedings, without which the Church can never be the ſtronger.——Hath the* Oxford Act, *or that of the 35th of Queen* Elizabeth, *or any other againſt the Diſſenters, been executed in Favour of the Church? Are not the Diſſenters as many, if not more now, than ever? Is there any Thing more viſible, than that theſe Laws have been made uſe of to ſerve the* Popiſh *Intereſt, or as Engines rather for the State than the Church; when in the Year* 1670, *by the ſevere Execution of theſe Laws, all Meetings and Conventicles were prevented, and many Diſſenters came to Church, did not the Toleration happen thereupon? And if this Toleration had been intended for the Advantage of the* Proteſtant *Religion, why were not the Church-Men or Diſſenters of any kind, pleas'd with it? And if the* Oxford *Act, and other Laws againſt Diſſenters, were projected in Favour of the* Proteſtant *Religion, it was ſtrange that they were ſo much promoted by Sir* Thomas Clifford, *Sir* Solomon Swale, *and Sir* Roger Strickland, *who have ſince all appear'd to be Papiſts.*

The Events. In Concluſion, this Bill, tho' it was Committed, wou'd not paſs; but another was brought in, which is ſaid to have paſs'd both Houſes, and was privately convey'd away, when the King was to have paſs'd it: This was *For Exempting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, Diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from Penalty impoſed upon the Papiſts by the Act of the 35th of* Elizabeth. *A Reſolve.* The Commons concluded the old Year with this remarkable Vote, *Reſolved,* 'That no Member of this Houſe ſhall accept of any 'Office or Place of Profit from the Crown, without leave of this Houſe; 'nor any Promiſe of any ſuch Office or Place of Profit, during ſuch Time 'as he ſhall continue a Member of this Houſe.

4. All

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The King under great Difficulties.

4. All this Time, the King found himſelf under vaſt Difficulties, and particularly what Anſwer to give to the Commons laſt Addreſs. Expedients were conſider'd of, and Propoſals by Way of Diverſion, with relation to the Affairs Abroad; but the Commons were now ſo bent upon what they thought the Chief of their Home Concerns, that the Name of any Thing Foreign wou'd not be allow'd amongſt them; nay, the Mention of *Spaniſh* Leagues, Alliances with *Holland*, and the King's deſign'd Meaſures with other Confederates, were laugh'd at as *Court Tricks*, and too *Stale* to paſs any longer. Both Parties run exceeding high, and tho' they cou'd agree in nothing elſe, yet they did in that one Point of bringing Things to the laſt Extremity. The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and his Party, believ'd that the Points of Popular Diſcontents and Petitions, or at leaſt that of the King's Wants, wou'd at laſt bring the Court to their Mercy, in this or ſome other Parliament, therefore they wou'd in no degree recede. On the other Side, thoſe Miniſters who were paſt all Meaſures with the Houſe of Commons, thought there was no Way, but by their Heats, to bring the King to a full Diſlike, and conſequently to a Diſuſe of Parliaments; and by this Means the Duke of *York*'s Intereſt was now in the only Way to be ſecured.

Sir William Temple's *Opinion of them.*

Theſe Extreams were very apparent to Sir *William Temple*, in the laſt Debates in the Council, concerning the Anſwer his Majeſty ſhou'd return to the laſt Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, relating to the Excluſion. Sir *William* was of Opinion, 'That when both Houſes agreed upon an 'Addreſs to that Purpoſe, his Majeſty ſhou'd give them an Anſwer; but 'till then ſuſpend it, and not ſend a poſitive Reply to one Houſe upon 'ſo weighty an Occaſion, which, for what appear'd, might be contrary 'to the Senſe of the other. By this Means he cou'd be ſecure from the 'Neceſſity of any direct Breach with the Commons; ſince he knew well 'enough, the Lords wou'd not conſent to the Addreſs. And if the 'Parliament came to be Diſſolv'd, it were better for the King it ſhou'd 'break upon Differences between the two Houſes, than between his Ma'jeſty and them; For that wou'd give the Nation an Opinion, that he 'was reſolv'd to live without Parliaments hereafter; which perhaps might 'endanger the Peace at Home, but however wou'd ruin the Hopes of 'our Neighbours Abroad, who had no other of defending themſelves 'againſt *France*, but by the Power of *England*. That if this Parliament 'broke upon Diſputes between the two Houſes, it might yet be expe'cted he wou'd call another, and perhaps a Third, and agree with ſome 'of them; by which alone he cou'd be *Great* and Safe both at Home 'and Abroad. For it was between the *King* and his *Parliament*, as be'tween the *Mountain* and *Mahomet*, who told the People what Mira'cles he cou'd do when he was at the Top of the Mountain; and to 'that purpoſe, on ſuch a Day, he wou'd call it to him: He did ſo, but 'when the Mountain wou'd not come, he ſaid, *That if the Mountain 'wou'd not come to* Mahomet, *he wou'd go to the Mountain*; for unleſs 'they both met, no Wonders cou'd be done.' The King ſeem'd pleas'd with all he ſaid, and with the Compariſon; but thoſe of the Council that were chief in the private Meaſures taken at that Time, were for a poſitive Anſwer to be given to the Houſe of Commons, *let them take it how they pleas'd*; and accordingly they drew One up in private, and without the Knowledge of Sir *William Temple*.

After the Thing was finiſh'd, they had ſome doubt as to the Perſon that was to carry it to the Houſe of Commons: Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* was firſt charg'd with it; but he was thought too unacceptable to the Houſe,

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for a Meſſage that was like to prove ſo; and the next Morning the King wou'd have had Sir *Robert Carr*, or Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, to have carry'd it, but they both excus'd themſelves. Whereupon the King ſent for Sir *William Temple*, who had lately told his Majeſty, *He expected to be turn'd out of the Houſe in the Morning, and out of the Council in the Afternoon.* But not expecting this Order, Sir *William* freely anſwer'd his Majeſty, *That he did not very well underſtand why a Thing agreed upon laſt Night at the Council-Table, ſhou'd be alter'd in his Chamber; but however he was very willing to obey him; and rather, becauſe others had excus'd themſelves, and to ſhew his Majeſty that he intended to play no Popular Games.* Upon which he took the Paper, and with the ſame Freedom ſaid to the King, *That he was very ſenſible how much of his Confidence he formerly had, and how much he had loſt, without knowing the Occaſion; or elſe he might have had Part in the Conſulting this Change of what was laſt Night reſolv'd, as well as in Executing it; and he wou'd confeſs to his Majeſty, That he had not ſo good a Stomach in Buſineſs, as to be content with Swallowing what other People had Chew'd.* Upon which he departed, and deliver'd the Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons upon the 4th Day of *January*.

He carries the King's Meſſage to the Commons.

The Meſſage was not publickly read till three Days after, tho' the Tenour of it was ſufficiently known; for they were at this Time buſily employ'd in Enquiring into the Crimes and Miſdemeanours of the Judges and others, and particularly were drawing up Articles of Impeachment againſt the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, who was accus'd of Endeavouring to ſtifle the Belief of the Plot, Diſcouraging the King's Evidences, Diſmiſſing of the Grand Jury that ſhou'd have preſented the Duke of *York*, and of unjuſtly Proſecuting ſeveral Writers and Publiſhers of Pamphlets, as *Henry Care*, *George Broome*, *Edward Berry*, *Benjamin Harris*, *Francis Smith* Senior and Junior, *Jane Curtis*, &c. all which Crimes and Miſdemeanours, ought, in their Opinion, to be accounted Treaſon. So they determin'd their Impeachment, and order'd the Articles to be Ingroſs'd and carry'd up to the Lords, by the Lord *Cavendiſh*. On the other ſide the Lords were as obliging, in ſending at the ſame Time this Meſſage; ‘ *Reſolved*, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament ‘ aſſembled, That they do Declare, that they are fully ſatisfy'd, that ‘ there now is, and for divers Years laſt hath been, a horrid and Treaſon- ‘ able Plot, Contriv'd and Carry'd on by thoſe of the *Popiſh* Religion ‘ in *Ireland*, for Maſſacring the *Engliſh*, and Subverting the *Proteſtant* ‘ Religion, and the ancient Eſtabliſh'd Government in that Kingdom: To ‘ which their Lordſhips deſire the Concurrence of this Houſe.’ Upon this the Commons ſoon *Reſolv'd*, ‘ That the Houſe doth agree with the ‘ Lords in the ſaid Vote, with the Addition of theſe Words; *That* ‘ *the Duke of* York's *being a* Papiſt, *and the Expectation of his Coming* ‘ *to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Incourage-* ‘ *ment thereto, as well as to the Horrid* Popiſh Plot *in the Kingdom of* ‘ England.

The Lords Reſolve.

5. On *Friday*, the 7th of *January*, the Houſe of Commons thought fit to read the King's Meſſage and Anſwer to their laſt Addreſs, which did run in theſe Words: CHARLES REX, *His Majeſty receiv'd the Addreſs of this Houſe with all the Diſpoſition they cou'd wiſh to comply with their Reaſonable Deſires; but upon Peruſing it, he is ſorry to ſee their Thoughts ſo wholly fix'd upon the Bill of* Excluſion, *as to determine*, That all other Remedies for the Suppreſſing of *Popery* will be ineffectual: *His Majeſty is confirm'd in an Opinion againſt that Bill, by the Judgement of the Houſe of Lords, who Rejected it. He therefore thinks there*

The King's Meſſage in Anſwer to the Commons Addreſs.

there remains nothing more for him to ſay, in Anſwer to the Addreſs of this Houſe, but to Recommend to them the Conſideration of all Other Means *for the Preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion; *in which they have no Reaſon to doubt of his Concurrence, whenever they ſhall be preſented to him in a* Parliamentary Way: *And that they wou'd conſider the Preſent State of the* Kingdom, *as well as the Condition of* Chriſtendom, *in ſuch a Manner as may enable him to preſerve* Tangier, *and Secure the Alliances Abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at Home.* 1680/81. Car. 32 Reſ. 21

When Sir *William Temple* firſt appear'd with this Meſſage, Sir *William Jones*, having taken an Affection to him, was ſorry to ſee him upon ſuch an Occaſion; and told him, *That for Himſelf, he was old and infirm, and expected to die in a ſhort Time: But You*, added he, *will in all probability live to ſee the whole Kingdom lament the Conſequences of this Meſſage you have now brought us from the King.* Accordingly the Houſe of Commons receiv'd it with the utmoſt Reſentment, and not a little reflected upon the Houſe of Lords for throwing out the Excluſion Bill without ſo much as a Conference, or Propoſal of Expedients; and One ſaid, *If the King ſhou'd ask the Lords why they were of that Opinion, many of them would tell him, Becauſe he was of that Opinion, and becauſe they were aw'd by his Preſence.* They likewiſe reflected upon the Duke, and Sir *Francis Winnington* ſaid, *If he had ever conſulted the Books writ by his Grand-Father or Father, or their Declarations in Matters of Religion, he wou'd never have brought theſe Difficulties upon his King and Country: It was ſtrange he ſhou'd aim to get Heaven, by Proceedings ſo contrary to what his Father atteſted with his Blood.* Then they argu'd afreſh for the Excluſion of the Duke, and ſaid, *That a* Popiſh Head *on a* Proteſtant *Body wou'd be ſuch a Monſter in Nature, as wou'd neither be fit to preſerve, or be preſerved; and that therefore it wou'd as naturally follow, as Night did the Day, That either the Head will change the Body, or the Body the Head.* Then as to Expedients, which were much talk'd of, Colonel *Titus* alledg'd, *That to accept of them to ſecure the* Proteſtant *Religion, after ſuch a King had mounted the Throne, wou'd be as ſtrange as if there were a Lyon in the Lobby, and they ſhou'd Vote, That they wou'd rather ſecure themſelves by letting him in and Chaining him, than by Keeping him out.* *Warm Debates upon it.*

On the other Side, they were briskly oppos'd by Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Finch*, and Secretary *Jenkins*, who argu'd againſt the *Invalidity*, as well as the *Unreaſonableneſs* of the Bill, and endeavour'd to convince them of the *Folly* of Endeavouring to obtain a Thing, which they might be ſure the King and the Lords wou'd never grant. All which only ſo much the more enrag'd them, and in concluſion of the Debate, they came to theſe Three grand Reſolutions. 1. *Reſolved*, 'That it is the Opinion of this 'Houſe, That there is no Security or Safety for the *Proteſtant* Religion, 'the King's Life, or Government of this Nation, without Paſſing a Bill 'for Diſabling *James* Duke of *York* to Inherit the Imperial Crown of 'this Realm, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: 'And to rely upon any other Means and Remedies, is not only *Inſufficient*, but *Dangerous*. 2. *Reſolved*, That his Majeſty, in his laſt Meſſage, having aſſured this Houſe of his Readineſs to Concurr in all other 'Means for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, *This Houſe doth Declare*, That until a Bill be likewiſe Paſs'd for Excluding the 'Duke of *York*, this Houſe cannot give any Supply to his Majeſty, without Danger to his Majeſty's Perſon, extreme Hazard of the *Proteſtant* 'Religion, and Unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom the Houſe is intruſted. '3. *Reſolved*, That all Perſons who adviſ'd his Majeſty in his laſt 'Meſſage to this Houſe, to inſiſt upon an Opinion againſt the 'Bill for Excluding the Duke of *York*, have given pernicious Counſel *Three great Reſolves.*

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1680/81. Car. 32 Ref. 21

Addreſſes againſt Perſons.

'to his Majeſty, and are Promoters of *Popery*, and Enemies to the King 'and Kingdom.

Not thus ſatisfy'd, they proceeded to name ſeveral Perſons, whom they ſuppos'd had given ill Advice to his Majeſty; and they us'd ſeveral Arguments to prove That Addreſſes might be made, grounded on *Common Fame*, for their Removal. They inſiſted 'That it was an ancient Right, 'and conſtant Practice of the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, to 'make Addreſſes to the King, grounded on Common Fame, or Mo-'ral Certainty, for the Removing ſuch Counſellors or Officers, as they 'thought were pernicious to the Government.' The Reſult was, that beſides *George* Earl of *Hallifax*, they expreſly nam'd *Laurence Hyde* Eſquire, *Henry* Marquis of *Worceſter*, *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*, and *Lewis* Earl of *Feverſham*; and Voted an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, to remove them from all Offices of Honour and Profits, and from his Majeſty's Councils and Preſence for ever. And to proceed yet further, the Houſe enter'd into a Debate of Parliamentary Aids, and againſt all other Ways of Supplying the King's Occaſions, as tending to keeping off Parliaments, and exhauſting the Publick Treaſures, and contracting Debts, and Undermining the Government; and in Concluſion came to two Grand Reſolutions; 1. *Reſolved*, 'That whoſoever ſhall 'hereafter Lend, or cauſe to be Lent, by *Way of Advance*, any Money, 'upon the Branches of the King's Revenue, ariſing by *Cuſtom*, *Exciſe*, 'or *Hearth-Money*, ſhall be judg'd a Hinderer of the Sitting of Parlia-'ments, and be reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament. 2. *Reſolved*, That 'whoſoever ſhall Accept or Buy any Tally, or Anticipation, upon any 'Part of the King's Revenue; or whoever ſhall pay ſuch Tally hereafter 'to be ſtruck, ſhall be adjudg'd to hinder the Sitting of Parliaments, and 'be reſponſible therefore in Parliament.

Two more Reſolves.

6. Thus were Things carry'd to the utmoſt Extremity, and chiefly upon the Account of the Excluſion Bill, in the Proſecution of which they ſeem'd indefatigable. The Lord *Ruſſel*, upon the firſt Diſappointment in the other Houſe, grew ſo warm as to ſay, *That if his own Father had been one of thoſe that refus'd to paſs the Bill, he would have been the firſt Man that ſhould Impeach him of High-Treaſon:* Words of an high Nature, and not like to be ſoon forgotten. They all along acted like Men not without Hopes; and being ſtill perſuaded, that moſt of thoſe Peers that rejected the Bill did it to oblige the King, they apply'd themſelves to prevail upon his Majeſty's Reſolution by various Methods. Father *Orleans* tells us they made uſe of the Ladies, whom they had purchas'd with large Sums, to gain this important Point; and one of thoſe beautiful Creatures caſt herſelf at his Majeſty's Feet, to beg he would conſent to exclude the Duke; which, he ſaid, was a dangerous Tryal of Brotherly Affection, upon a Prince ſo open and yielding in that Particular. No Methods were left unattempted; and even a Memorial from *Holland* was ſent over by Mr. *Sydney*, the King's Envoy there, from the Penſioner *Fagel*, Repreſenting the ſad Conſequences abroad of the King's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the Danger of the Allies, and the *Proteſtant* Religion; and ſeeming to wiſh that the King would not break with them, tho' it were upon this grand Point. This was at firſt ſuppos'd to be the Contrivance of the Earl of *Sunderland*, Nephew to Mr. *Sydney*, and was accordingly reſented at Court.

The King tempted to yield.

All theſe only ſerv'd to exaſperate the King, and to cauſe thoſe about him to make Compariſons between this Year and Forty One, ſo that he might be out of Love with Parliaments. He now found that he could neither ſecure his Miniſters nor his Brother, nor hardly Himſelf; there-

fore

fore on *Monday* the 10th of *January* he resolv'd to put an End to the Session of Parliament. The Commons having private Notice of this, assembled early in the Morning, and before the Usher of the Black-Rod came in, they came to these Three great Resolutions: '1. *Resolved*, That 'whosoever advis'd his Majesty to Prorogue the Parliament, to any other Purpose than in Order to passing a Bill for the Exclusion of *James* 'Duke of *York*, is a Betrayer of the King, the Protestant Religion, and 'of the Kingdom of *England*, a Promoter of the *French* Interest, and a 'Pensioner of *France*. 2. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this House, 'That the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* 'and King *James*, against *Popish Recusants*, ought not to be extended a-'gainst *Protestant Dissenters*. 3. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of 'this House, that the Prosecution of *Protestant Dissenters* upon the Pe-'nal Laws, is at this Time grievous to the Subject, a Weakning the '*Protestant* Interest, an Encouragement to *Popery*, and dangerous to 'the Peace of the Kingdom.' After which the House of Commons were sent for up to the Lords; where his Majesty seated on his Throne, was pleas'd to give his Royal Assent to, 1. *An Act Prohibiting the Importation of Cattle from* Ireland. 2. *An Act for Supplying the late Act for Burying in Woollen:* And 3. to a *Private Act*, concerning Sir *Charles Houghton*. And then his Majesty was pleas'd to command the Lord Chancellor to Prorogue the Parliament till *Thursday* the 20th of this Instant *January*. And thus, in Effect, ended the Fourth Parliament in this Reign, after it had sate two Months, and near three Weeks.

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The Commons last Resolves.

The Parliament Prorogu'd.

On the Day of the Prorogation, the Commons had with their expiring Breath sent their kind Commendations and Thanks to the City of *London*; which so affected them, that on the 13th Instant, the Lord Mayor, Sir *Patience Ward*, with a Court of Common-Council, order'd a Petition to be drawn up, and presented to the King, setting forth, 'That 'whereas the Parliament had Convicted one of the five *Popish* Lords 'in the *Tower*, and were about to Convict the other Four of High-'Treason; That they had Impeach'd the Chief-Justice *Scroggs*, and were 'about to Impeach other Judges; and all this in Order to the Preserva-'tion of his Majesty's Life, the *Protestant* Religion, and the Govern-'ment of *England*: That they were extreamly surpriz'd to see the Par-'liament Prorogu'd in the Height of their Business: That their only 'Hopes were that this was done only in Order to bring such Affairs a-'bout again as were necessary to the Setling the Nation. They there-'fore pray'd, that his Majesty would be pleas'd to let the Parliament sit 'at the Day appointed, and so to continue till they had effected all the 'great Affairs before them.' To this Effect was the Petition, which was further order'd to be deliver'd that Night, or as soon as might be, by the Lord Mayor, attended by the new Recorder *George Treby* Esquire, and certain Members of the Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council. But this further provok'd the King, and hastned his Resolution of finally parting with his Parliament. Accordingly, two Days before the Time of their Meeting, he by Proclamation Dissolv'd the present Parliament: And in the same Proclamation, he declar'd his Intentions of Calling another Parliament to meet on the 21st Day of *March* next: but, being offended at the City of *London*, and hoping to meet with better Success by a Removal, he appointed *Oxford* to be the Place of their Meeting, where he had formerly, in the Year 1665, found the most imaginable Harmony in and between both Houses.

London *Petition.*

The Dissolution of the Fourth Parliament.

New Writs.

In this Year there dy'd several Persons of Note and Eminency, of various Qualities and Characters; among whom we shall begin with two of the Nobility, *Thomas Boteler* Earl of *Ossory*, and *John Wilmot* Earl of

The Deaths of the Earl of Ossory,

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of *Rocheſter*. The Firſt was an *Iriſh* Earl, and an *Engliſh* Baron, the Eldeſt Son of the preſent famous Duke of *Ormond*, a Perſon of invincible Courage and Bravery, who did Wonders in the Second *Dutch* War: His Eminent Loyalty and forward Zeal on all Occaſions to ſerve his King and Country, were manifeſted by many generous and gallant Actions; which, as they caus'd him to be honour'd and eſteem'd by all when living, made him alſo when dead to be generally lamented by the Court and Country, and many famous Elegies to be writ in Memory of ſo great and valiant a Commander. The other, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, was Son to *Wilmot* the General, ſo often mention'd in the laſt Volume, who having improv'd his firſt Studies by his Travels abroad, and diſplay'd his Courage in the firſt *Dutch* War, he appear'd at Court in the 18th Year of his Age, with all the Advantages and Accompliſhments of Body and Mind; a handſome and graceful Perſon, a polite and gentile Behaviour, a Wit and Pregnancy of Fancy not to be imitated, in which, as to ſome Particulars, he ſeem'd to outdo the beſt of the ancient and modern Poets, of which he ſhew'd himſelf a great Maſter. But being gradually corrupted by the Pleaſures of the Court, and the Charms of the Company, as the Duke of *Buckingham*, &c. the Heat and Vivacity of his Temper tranſported him to the utmoſt Exceſſes and Extravagancies of Thought and Invention; ſo that for keen Satyr, and unlimited Senſuality, he was diſtinguiſh'd in the moſt knowing and voluptuous Court in the World. At length his Body being worn, and ſeiz'd with a lingering Sickneſs, he was made ſenſible of his miſerable Condition, and at laſt, contrary to the Expectation and Belief of his lewd Companions, became a ſolemn and ſignal Penitent; being carry'd off in his Prime, the 32d Year of his Age.

The Earl of Rocheſter,

Dr. Alleſtry. After theſe Noblemen, we ſhall mention four or five Divines, and firſt Dr. *Richard Alleſtry*, educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, where beſides his Learning, he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Loyalty to the late King, for which he was a great Sufferer, and ſometime an Exile with the preſent King. After the Reſtoration, he was made Canon of *Chriſt-Church*, and *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity, and laſt of all, Provoſt of *Eaton* College; in all which Places he ſhew'd himſelf a Perſon richly furniſh'd with all variety of choice ſolid Learning, requiſite to recommend him to the more intelligent World, for one of the moſt eminent Divines and Preachers in the Age. The next was Dr. *James Duport*, who had his Education in *Magdalen* College in *Cambridge* Univerſity, of which College he was for ſome time Maſter, and afterwards Dean of *Peterborough*: He was a conſiderable and noted Scholar, and particularly an extraordinary *Grecian*, as to which he manifeſted his Faculties in ſeveral Pieces, eſpecially his celebrated Paraphraſe upon the *Pſalms*, and the Book of *Job*. The Third was Mr. *Joſeph Glanvill*, an *Oxonian*, and Fellow of the *Royal-Society*, Chaplain to the King, and Rector of the great Church in *Bathe*; he was a great Philoſopher and Virtuoſo, and very much diſplay'd his Parts and Talents in publiſhing ſeveral Books of curious and uncommon Subjects, in which he ſhew'd a rich and warm Fancy, a Quickneſs and Facility of Writing, with a notable Way of Argumentation: He propagated ſome Notions and Opinions in Theology and Philoſophy, which were thought not very ſound in One, or very certain in the Other; and he particularly diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by teaching the Nature of Immaterial Subſtances, Apparitions, Witchcraft, and other Matters above the Credibility of ſeveral of the Age. The Fourth was Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, Batchelor of Divinity, a *Presbyterian* Divine, firſt educated in *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, then remov'd to *New-College* in *Oxford*, and afterwards to *Dublin*, in the Family of *Henry*

Dr. Duport.

Mr. Glanvill,

Mr. Charnock.

Henry Cromwell. Returning into *England*, he refus'd Conformity with the Church of *England* according to the *Bartholomew Act*; and after ſome Time, he became Paſtor of a Congregation in *London*, where he was much admired for his ſolid and judicious Preaching, in which he ſhew'd great Parts, a ſtrong Reaſon, a ſound Judgment, together with a curious Fancy; and what was ſtill more valuable, his Love and Charity was as extenſive as his Knowledge; which made him take in whatſoever was amiable in any Perſon or Thing, that came within the Compaſs of it. 1680/81. Car. 32 Reſ. 21

After theſe, we may mention a Fifth, *viz.* Mr. *Chriſtopher Davenport*, a Native of *Coventry*, who after a ſhort continuance in *Merton* College in *Oxford*, went over into *Flanders*, where turning Papiſt, he enter'd into the Order of the *Franciſcans* in the Reign of King *James*; and after ſome Travels, he became a noted Miſſionary in *England*, where he went by the Name of *Franciſcus à Sancta Clara*, and at length was made one of the Chaplains to the late Queen *Henrietta Maria*, when he became particularly known to Archbiſhop *Laud*, and his Acquaintance was made one Article againſt that Prelate. He likewiſe became Theologiſt and chief Chaplain to the preſent Queen *Catharine*, and was ſeveral times made Provincial Miniſter of his Order for the Kingdom of *England*. After his Settlement in *England*, where he continu'd going and coming more than fifty Years, he did extraordinary Service to the *Romiſh* Church, by gaining Diſciples, raiſing Moneys, writing of Books, and by his unweary'd Endeavours in exerting his great Learning and Abilities in carrying on the general Cauſe of his Party. At laſt he dy'd at *Somerſet-Houſe* in Peace and Quiet, in the 83d Year of his Age. *Mr.* Davenport,

We have three other extraordinary, but very different Perſons ſtill to mention; the firſt, Mr. *Samuel Butler*, of *Worceſterſhire* by Birth, and of *Cambridge* by Education, from whence he was taken into the Service of the Counteſs of *Kent*; in whoſe Family he for ſeveral Years exercis'd his Parts in Painting, Muſick and Poetry, ſo as to be taken notice of by the moſt eminent in thoſe Accompliſhments. Afterwards he was ſucceſſively made Secretary to the Lord *Carbury*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, when he made himſelf famous for that admirable Poem call'd *Hudibras*, in which he ſurprizingly diſplay'd the ſublimeſt Wit and nobleſt Thoughts in a Dreſs ſo Humorſom and Comical, that it became the chief Entertainment of the King and Court, and all that had a Taſte for the moſt refin'd Ridicule and Satyr. But at length, this Man having the Enjoyment of more Wit than he knew how to manage, and more Pleaſures than he knew how to maintain, became in effect neglected, and dy'd almoſt in Obſcurity. *Mr.* Butler,

The ſecond was *Harry Marten*, the Regicide, often mention'd in this Hiſtory, a Perſon moſt deeply ingag'd in all the late Miſeries in the Kingdom, and in the moſt infamous and bloody Part of them, and all with ſuch a merry and careleſs Air, as is ſcarce to be credited upon ſuch a melancholy Occaſion. His natural Parts, his ſharp Repartees, and his exceeding apt Inſtances, made him not only the Sport and Diverſion, but very often the Manager and Director of the Commons in the Long Parliament. Having ſpent a noble Paternal Eſtate, and vaſt Sums, gain'd by Plunder, or given by Parliaments, upon his Debaucheries, he was upon the Reſtoration condemn'd to dye; but in Concluſion confin'd to *Chepſtow* Caſtle in *Monmouthſhire*, where he continu'd Priſoner for twenty Years, in a poor wretched Condition, being glad to receive a Pot of Ale from any that wou'd give it him; and thus low in Spirits, and his Wit exhauſted, he dy'd ſuddenly with Meat in his Mouth, in the 78th Year of his Age. Harry Marten,

The laſt was Sir *Peter Lely*, the renowned Painter of the Age, a *German* by Birth, who began his Education in *Holland*, and compleated it in *England*, where he was highly eſteem'd by the *And Sir* Peter Lely.

late and the preſent King; the latter of whom made him his Painter, and gave him the Honour of Knighthood. He excell'd in the Correctneſs of his Drawing, and the Beauty of his Colouring; but eſpecially in the graceful Airs of his Figures, the pleaſing Variety of his Poſtures, and his genteel Negligence and looſe Manner of Draperies. Beſides the King, he was extreamly reſpected by all the Perſons of Eminence in the Kingdom; and indeed ſo diſtinguiſhing were his Natural Parts, and alſo his acquired Knowledge, that it wou'd be hard to determine whether he was a better Painter, or a more accompliſh'd Gentleman. While he was continually improving in his Art, he was ſnatcht away by an Apoplectick Fit, in the 63d Year of his Age.

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VIII. 1. The Nation was at this Time in the greateſt Ferment, and the King under no leſs Difficulties and Perplexities: But tho' his Majeſty knew not how to Diſſolve his Parliament without Calling another in the ſame Proclamation, yet as ſoon as he had given the Blow, he began to fall into new Meaſures and Contrivances, and to ſhew that he did not ſo much value the Agreeing with his Parliaments, eſpecially if the next ſhou'd not anſwer his Wants and Expectations. And firſt he made ſeveral Removes and Alterations in his Council, and particularly the Earl of *Sunderland* was remov'd both from the Council and his Secretary's Place, who had voted for the Excluſion Bill not only againſt the King's Mind, but his expreſs Command; which caus'd the Commons to hope that he wou'd not have done ſo, unleſs he believ'd the King intended to comply with them at laſt. About the ſame Time the Names of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Salisbury* and Sir *William Temple*, were ſtruck out of the Council Book, as Perſons not proper for the preſent Times; tho' Sir *William* tells us that he had juſt then retired of Himſelf, not expecting to be further ſerviceable to his Majeſty's Affairs. In the Room of the Earl of *Sunderland*, the right honourable *Edward* Earl of *Conway* was made one of the principal Secretaries of Sate, and took his Place in the Council, on the 2d of *February*. About the ſame Time the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and the Earl of *Alesbury*, were ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy Council, and took their Places at the Board. Shortly after, Sir *Robert Sawyer* was ſworn his Majeſty's Attorney-General, in the Room of Sir *Creſwell Levinz*, who was made one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*, in the Place of Sir *Thomas Ellis* deceas'd. And not long after that, the Earl of *Craven* was likewiſe ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council.

Temple. Wright. Collections. Coke. Fitz-Harris Hawkins.

Several Alterations in Court.

On the other Side, both City and Country were buſily and warmly employ'd in the Election of Members to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament. The City of *London* led the Way, and ſet an Example; when the Election was made at *Guild-Hall* on the 4th of *February*, and the Choice fix'd upon by the Common-Hall, were their old Members, Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Thomas Player*, *Thomas Pilkington*, and *William Love* Eſquires. As ſoon as the Election was over, an extraordinary Paper was preſented to theſe Four in the Name of the Citizens of *London* then aſſembled in Common-Hall, containing a 'Return of their moſt hearty Thanks for 'their faithful and unweary'd Endeavours, in the two laſt Parliaments, 'to ſearch into and diſcover the Depth of the *Popiſh Plot*, to preſerve 'his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the well Eſta-'bliſh'd Government of this Realm, to ſecure the Meeting and Sitting 'of frequent Parliaments, to aſſert our undoubted Rights of Petitioning, 'and to puniſh ſuch as have betray'd thoſe Rights, to promote the long 'wiſh'd-for Union of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects, to Repeal the 'thirty fifth of *Elizabeth*, and the *Corporation* Act; and more eſpecial-'ly

New Elections.

London *Inſtructions.*

'ly for their aſſiduous Endeavours in Promoting the Bill of Excluſion of '*James* Duke of *York*.' In fine they concluded, 'That being confident-'ly aſſur'd that They, the ſaid Members for the City, will never conſent 'to the Granting any Money-Supply, till they have effectually ſecured 'them againſt *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, they reſolv'd, by God's Af-'ſiſtance, to ſtand by their ſaid Members, with their Lives and Fortunes.' In the like Manner were the former Members of Parliament again choſen, in moſt Places in the Kingdom; and in many, ſuch like Papers of Addreſs preſented to them, in their reſpective Countries, as had been done to their Members by the Commonalty of *London*. And the Zeal was now ſo great, that, contrary to the Cuſtom of the Members treating the Country, now the Country in moſt Places treated them, or at leaſt every Man bore his own Charges.

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2. The greateſt Uneaſineſs and Diſappointment to the prevailing Party in the Elections, was the Place of their Meeting, *Oxford*, the Diſtance of which might naturally cauſe a Diminution of their Power and Influence. Therefore it was reſolv'd by ſeveral of the Nobility to draw up a formal Petition againſt that Place; which was early deliver'd to the King by the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, who introduc'd it by this following Speech: May it pleaſe your Majeſty, *The Lords here preſent, together with divers other Peers of the Realm, taking notice that by your late Proclamation, your Majeſty had declar'd an Intention of Calling a* Parliament *at* Oxford; *and obſerving from Hiſtory and Records, how unfortunate many Aſſemblies have been, when call'd at a Place remote from the Capital City; as particularly the Congreſs in* Henry *the Second's Time at* Clarendon; *Three ſeveral Parliaments at* Oxford *in* Henry *the Third's Time, and at* Coventry *in* Henry *the Sixth's Time; with divers others which have prov'd very fatal to thoſe Kings, and have been follow'd with great Miſchief on the whole Kingdom: And conſidering the preſent Poſture of Affairs, the many Jealouſies and Diſcontents which are amongſt the People, we have great Cauſe to apprehend, that the Conſequences of a Parliament now at* Oxford *may be as fatal to your Majeſty and the Nation, as thoſe others mention'd have been to the then Reigning Kings. And therefore we do conceive, that we cannot anſwer it to God, to your Majeſty, or to the People, if we, being Peers of the Realm, ſhould not on ſo important an Occaſion humbly offer our Advice to your Majeſty; That if poſſible, your Majeſty may be prevail'd with, to alter this (as we apprehend)* Unſeaſonable Reſolution. *The Grounds and Reaſons of our Opinion are contain'd in this our* Petition, *which we humbly preſent to your Majeſty.*

The Earl of Eſſex's Speech to the King.

The Petition it ſelf conſiſted very much of a Recapitulation of the Misfortunes attending the untimely Prorogations, Diſſolutions, and Diſcontinuations of Parliaments of late, at a time when his Majeſty's Perſon, and the whole Nation was in imminent Danger from the *Papiſts:* And 'now at laſt his Majeſty had been prevail'd to call another Parliament at '*Oxford*, where neither Lords nor Commons cou'd be in Safety, but 'wou'd be daily expos'd to the Sword of the *Papiſts*, and their Adhe-'rents, of whom too many had crept into his Majeſty's *Guards:* The 'Liberty of Speaking according to their Conſciences wou'd be thereby 'deſtroy'd, and the Validity of their Acts and Proceedings left diſputa-'ble: The Straitneſs of the Place no ways admitted of ſuch a Concourſe 'of Perſons, as now follow'd every Parliament; and the Witneſſes which 'were neceſſary to give Evidence upon the Commons Impeachment, were 'unable to bear the Charges of ſuch a Journey, and unwilling to truſt 'themſelves under the Protection of a Parliament, that was it ſelf 'evidently under the Power of *Guards* and *Soldiers*. In Concluſion,

The Petition againſt Sitting at Oxford.

1680/81. Car. 33 Reſ. 21

'they pray'd that the Parliament might, as uſually, ſit at *Weſtminſter*, 'where they might Conſult and Act with *Safety* and *Freedom*.' This Petition was ſubſcrib'd by ſixteen Lords, *viz. Monmouth, Kent, Huntington, Bedford, Salisbury, Clare, Stamford, Eſſex, Shaftsbury, Mordant, Evers, Paget, Grey, Herbert, Howard* and *Delamer*. The King gave no Anſwer that we find, but frown'd upon the Deliverers of this Petition, and perſiſted in his Reſolution of Holding the Parliament at *Oxford*.

Libels.

3. All this while Libels, Pamphlets, and ſtrange Stories flew about the City and Country, being for the moſt part publiſh'd and diſpers'd by *Francis Smith, Benjamin Harris, Langly Curtis*, &c. In Oppoſition to which, and in Favour of the King and Court, there Weekly came out a notable Paper call'd *Heraclitus Ridens*, written by unknown Perſons, and fill'd with uncommon Wit and Humour, which continu'd for a Year and a Half with no ſmall Succeſs. But at this Time none made greater Noiſe, or caus'd more Enquiries, than a Libel written by an *Iriſh* Papiſt call'd *Fitz-Harris*, the Deſign of which was by ſome look'd upon as a ſecond *Meal-Tub-Plot*. The Myſtery of this, as of many villainous Projects, is hard to be unfolded; but the Main of what we know of it, is to this Effect. Mr. *Edward Fitz-Harris*, the Son of Sir *Edward Fitz-Harris* of *Ireland*, was a particular Correſpondent with the intriguing Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and her favourite Woman, Mrs. *Wall*, and likewiſe with the Confeſſor of the *French* Ambaſſador; and the Dutcheſs had ſeveral Times ſupply'd him with Money, and once with two Hundred and fifty Pounds, either for ſecret Service, or Charity, as it was differently reported. *Fitz-Harris*, having been acquainted with one *Everard* beyond Sea, where they were both in the *French* King's Service, about the Beginning of *February*, after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, he renew'd his Acquaintance with that Gentleman, and repreſented the Advantages he might receive by forſaking the *Engliſh*, and entering himſelf into the *French* and *Popiſh* Intereſt; and particularly that it wou'd be very conducive to that Intereſt, if he wou'd publiſh a Pamphlet, which might ſo reflect upon the King, as ſhou'd alienate both Him and his People, and break the Union between them. Tho' *Everard* did not give a full conſent to this, yet *Fitz-Harris*, upon the 21ſt of *February*, gave him ſome Heads by Word of Mouth to draw up ſuch a Pamphlet: Which Procedure caus'd *Everard* to acquaint ſeveral with the Project, and particularly one Mr. *Smith* and Sir *William Waller*, whom he engag'd in a conceal'd Manner, to be at an appointed Place to hear the further Diſcourſe between them, which was the next Day; and whither the Former came, where he heard *Fitz-Harris* give his Inſtructions to this purpoſe: 'That the King and Royal Family ſhou'd be traduc'd, as being *Pa-* 'piſts, and *arbitrarily affected* from the Beginning; That King *Charles* 'the Firſt had a Hand in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, and that *Charles* the Second 'did countenance the ſame, by preferring *Fitz-Gerald, Fitz-Patrick*, 'and *Mount-Garret*, who were engag'd in the ſaid Rebellion: That the 'Act forbidding to call the King a *Papiſt*, was to ſtop Mens Mouths 'when he ſhou'd encline to further *Popery*; which appear'd by his ad-'hering ſo cloſely to the Duke of *York*'s Intereſt, and hindering him from 'being proceeded againſt by the Parliament, and hindering the Officers 'put in by the Duke to be turn'd out; and for that the Privy-Counſellors and Juſtices of the Peace, who were for the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, 'were turn'd out of all Places of Truſt: That it was as much in the Power 'of the People, to Depoſe a *Popiſh Poſſeſſor*, as a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, and 'ſeeing there was no Hopes, that the Parliament, when they met at 'Oxford,

The Caſe of Fitz-Harris.

His Project.

'*Oxford*, cou'd do any Good, the People were bound to provide for Themſelves. 1680/81.

This being finiſh'd, they agreed to meet the next Day upon the ſame Buſineſs; and *Everard* ſent Sir *William Waller* a Letter to meet there in a conceal'd Manner, and take notice of Paſſages; to whom *Everard*, upon his coming, gave two Copies of the foreſaid Inſtructions, which Sir *William* mark'd. Soon after *Fitz-Harris* came in, and enquired of *Everard* what he had done; who anſwer'd, *He had drawn two Copies of the Buſineſs*, and pray'd *Fitz-Harris* to ſee *how he lik'd them*: Who, upon Peruſal, alter'd one of them; yet thought it not full enough, but wou'd have it fair wrote over for the *French* Ambaſſador's Confeſſor. After which, *Everard* deſired to give him Inſtructions in Writing; which *Fitz-Harris* did, and in that Paper wrote this Paſſage, *That it was in the People's Power to depoſe a Popiſh Poſſeſſor, as well as a Popiſh Succeſſor*, and other Treaſonable Heads, and left the ſame with him. And next Day *Fitz-Harris* came again for a fair Copy writ out, which *Everard* deliver'd to him, who thereupon promis'd him a Recompence, which was to be the Entrance into the Buſineſs, and that *Everard* ſhou'd be brought into the *Cabal*, where ſeveral Proteſtants and Parliament Men were to give an Account to the *French* Ambaſſador of what was tranſacted. But before *Fitz-Harris* was to receive the Libel, he was to go to the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, between whom and the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, before this, he had carry'd ſeveral Meſſages, and went a great Way towards bringing his Lordſhip over to the Court Intereſt, who had been an open Enemy to it. This was ſo well purſu'd by *Fitz-Harris*, that the Lord waited ſeveral Times upon the Dutcheſs, and found the King there; and the Night before the Lord *Stafford*'s Sentence, *Fitz-Harris* came to him from the King, and told his Lordſhip, *That his Majeſty wou'd take it as a great Reſignation to his Will and Pleaſure, if his Lordſhip wou'd go the next Day and vote for my Lord* Stafford. Car. 33 Reſ. 21 *The Diſcovery of it.*

But to take ſome Notice of the Libel it ſelf, it was Entituled, *The true Engliſh-Man ſpeaking plain Engliſh*, and began thus: 'Sir, I thank 'you for *The Character of a Popiſh Succeſſor*, which you ſent me; where- 'in our juſt Fears, and the Grounds of them, are juſtly ſet out. But I 'am in greater Fear of the preſent Poſſeſſor; Why do we frighten our 'ſelves about the Evil that is to come, not looking to that which is at 'hand? We wou'd cut off the budding Weed, and let the Poyſonous 'Root lye ſtill; we wou'd ſtop the Channel of our Evils, and let the 'Fountain ſtill run: My Meaning is this. Can *Pylades* know and Act all 'theſe bloody Conſpiracies, and not impart them to his dear *Oreſtes*? 'If *James* be conſcious and guilty, *Charles* is ſo too: Believe me, theſe 'two Brethren in Iniquity are in Confederacy with the *Pope* and *French* 'to introduce *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, as all their Actions 'demonſtrate: The Parliament, *Magna Charta*, and Liberty of the Sub- 'ject are as heavy Yoaks, which they wou'd caſt off to be as abſolute as 'their Brother of *France*; and if this can be prov'd to be their only Aim 'and Endeavour, why ſhou'd not every true *Britain* be a *Quaker* thus 'far? Let the *Engliſh* riſe, and move as one Man to Self-Defence, to o- 'pen Action, and fling off their intolerable Riders; *Blow the Trumpet*, 'ſtand on your Guard, and withſtand them as Bears and Tygers. And 'ſince there can be no Truſt given to this goodly Couple of *Popiſh* Bre- 'thren, nor no Relief expected from a Parliament, truſt to your Swords, 'in Defence of your Lives, Laws, Religion and Properties, like the 'ſtout Earl of old, who told his King, *That if he cou'd not be defended by* 'Magna Charta, *he wou'd be reliev'd by* Longa Spada.' After many virulent Reflections upon the *Scotch* Race, all in a Republican Strain, ſpeaking *The Libel it ſelf.*

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1680/81. Car. 33 Ref. 21

ing of the preſent King, he proceeds thus: 'Is it not manifeſt therefore, 'That *Scotch* Oaths, *Breda* Promiſes, *Proteſtant* Profeſſion, Liberty of 'Conſcience, War with *France*, ſaving of *Flanders*, is all to delude *Pro-* 'teſtant Subjects? Is it not apparent that Breaking of Leagues, *Dutch* 'Wars, *Smyrna* Fleet, *French* Meaſures to favour their Conqueſts, Loſs 'of Ships, War in *Chriſtendom*, Blood of *Proteſtants*, Reprieving of '*Popiſh* Traytors, is all in Earneſt, and done in Favour of *Popery*? And 'are not his fair Speeches, his true *Proteſtant* Love to Parliaments juſt 'Rights, and *Engliſh* Liberties, his pretended Ignorance of the *Plot*, 'and his Hanging Traytors to ſerve a Turn, but in meer Jeſt? Are not 'his great Debaucheries, his Whoring Courtiers, *Popiſh* Councils, Cheat- 'ing Rogues, Helliſh Plottings, his ſaving of Traytors, his *French* Pen- 'ſioners, his Neſts of Whores, and Swarms of Baſtards, his Macks, his 'Cut-Throats, his horrid Murthers, his Burning of *London*, his Sham- 'Plotting, his ſubborn'd Villians, his *Popiſh* Officers, his Struglings for a '*Popiſh Succeſſor*, his Agreements with *France*, his frequent Diſſolutions 'of Parliaments, his Buying of Voices, and his falſe Returns, all of them 'Deſigns to ruin us in good Earneſt, and in favour of *Arbitrary Govern-* '*ment*,' &c.

The Deſign of it.

This Libel, as is ſaid, was to have been promoted in the Name of the Nonconformiſts and Diſſenters, and fix'd upon them; and was to be diſpers'd by the Penny-Poſt, to the Proteſting Lords, and Leading Men in the Houſe of Commons, who were immediately thereupon to be taken up and ſearch'd. *Everard* affirm'd, That the Court had a Hand in it, and that the King had given *Fitz-Harris* Money, and promis'd him more if it met with Succeſs: And this was the more credited, becauſe the King himſelf had told Sheriff *Corniſh*, *That* Fitz-Harris, *three Months before his Apprehenſion, had been with Him, and acquainted him he was in Purſuit of a Plot, which very much related to his Perſon and Govern-ment*, &c. And that upon Sir *William Waller*'s acquainting the King with the aforeſaid Particulars he had taken while he was conceal'd; tho' his Majeſty thank'd him for it, and commanded Secretary *Jenkins* to iſ- ſue out a Warrant for the Apprehenſion of *Fitz-Harris*, and that Sir *William* ſhou'd take care of the Execution of it: Yet he was no ſooner gone but Sir *William* declar'd, He was inform'd by two Worthy Gentle- men, *That the King was highly offended with him, ſaying, He had broken all his Meaſures; and that he wou'd one Way or other have him taken off.* However Sir *William* was ſo induſtrious, that in a little Time he took *Fitz-Harris*, and committed him to *Newgate*, in which Place he continu'd a few Days.

Fitz-Harris *ſeized and put in* Newgate.

Being in this Place, fetter'd, monyleſs and friendleſs, and his Wife and Family in a ſtarving Condition, he was ſtrangely tempted by ſeveral in- ſinuating Examinations, as we are inform'd from his dying Confeſſion. Particularly the two Sheriffs, *Bethel* and *Corniſh* came to him, with a Token from the Lord *Howard*, which he knew to be true, and brought Heads from *Everard*, accuſing him of being a Court Emiſſary, employ'd by the King to put the Libel into Proteſtant's Houſes; which he utterly deny'd. They told him *he was to be try'd within three or four Days, that the People wou'd proſecute him, and the Parliament Impeach him, and that nothing wou'd ſave his Life but Diſcovering the Popiſh Plot:* And then they encourag'd him from the Lord *Howard. That if he wou'd declare that he believ'd ſo much of the Plot as amounted to the Introducing the King; or if he cou'd find out any that wou'd charge the Queen, his Royal Highneſs, or make ſo much as a plauſible Story to confirm the Plot, the Parliament wou'd reſtore him to his Father's Eſtate, with the Profits thereof ſince the Reſtoration.* Finding himſelf in a miſera-

His ſtrict Examination.

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ble Condition, he ſoon began to ſhew a Compliance, and to harken to the particular Inſtructions they brought, which they ſaid *came from forty Lords and Commons, who met that Day in order to addreſs the King in his Behalf, if he ſhou'd confirm their Inſtructions*: And they made uſe of the Name of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others, to ſhew him the Advantages he might gain by ſo doing. Upon which he drew up a formal Story, and *Narrative* concerning the Plot, but moſtly relating to the general Heads publickly known: But *Corniſh* told him, *Theſe were Things cry'd about the Streets two Years ago.* Upon anſwering, *He cou'd ſay no more*, He told him, *He was ſorry for him with all his Heart, but thought he cou'd ſay more if he wou'd*; and preſs'd him hard to ſpeak to ſeveral Heads, relating to the Queen, the Duke, the Earl of *Danby*, and other Perſons of Quality, *without which there was no Hopes of Life.* But giving no Satisfaction, he was ſoon after as ſtrictly examin'd by Sir *Robert Clayton*, and the Recorder Sir *George Treby*. Sir *Robert* ask'd him *what he cou'd ſay to Juſtice* Godfrey's *Murder*. He anſwer'd *ſomething*. Upon which he reply'd, *It may be you are in a Confuſion; recollect your ſelf.* Sir *George* kept him three Hours, preſs'd him about *Godfrey*'s Death; and declar'd, *unleſs he cou'd ſpeak to that Murder, he cou'd ſay Nothing.* Then ſaying ſomething he had heard from others, he ask'd him, *If he cou'd ſay no more?* He reply'd, *Is not this enough to ſave my Life? Am I not Rogue enough?* Hereupon the Recorder ſwore *God's Wounds! What were you ever but a Rogue?* Then he enter'd upon the Heads of the Examination, and told him *all this wou'd not ſave his Life, unleſs he wou'd ſpeak to the* Libel, *which was a Court-Trick; and it was not for Nothing that he had been ſo often ſeen at the Lady* Portſmouth's. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* likewiſe examin'd him, and told him, *That he knew more of theſe Matters than any Man.* But before they cou'd effect their Deſigns, he was upon the 11th of *March*, ſuddenly taken out of their Hands, by Orders from above, and ſent cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*.

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He is remov'd to the Tower

Gazettes. *Hornby.* Rot. Parl. *Wright. MSS.*

IX. I. All this ſerv'd to heap up new Fewel againſt the Meeting of the new Parliament, the Time of which was approaching, with the warmeſt Diſcourſes, and the higheſt Expectation of the Kingdom. The King and Court might well foreſee a Storm from ſeveral plain Appearances; however his Majeſty reſolv'd to try an Experiment, and to meet his Parliament with all the outward Marks of Openneſs and Kindneſs. In Order to which, on the 14th of *March*, he left *Windſor-Caſtle*, and Meeting with his Royal Conſort, they were ſolemnly receiv'd at the Confines of *Oxfordſhire* by the High Sheriff *Gregory*, and at *Wheatly* by the Lord *Norris*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and conducted with great Pomp, and a mighty Appearance of Gentry, to the City of *Oxford*. Here they were receiv'd and preſented by the Mayor *Bowel*, and Body of the City, at the *Eaſt-Gate*; and from thence attended with loud Acclamations, and all imaginable Demonſtrations of Joy, to *Chriſt-Church*. The next Day, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Halton* Provoſt of *Queen*'s Colledge, with the Body of the Univerſity, attended their Majeſties, with *Latin* and *Engliſh* Speeches, and had the Honour to kiſs their Hands; preſenting to the King at the ſame Time a large *Oxford* Bible, and to the Queen, the Cuts belonging to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity. In Sum, their Reception here was with ſo much Satisfaction, that it was expreſs'd in the Account given by the Publick, 'That this 'Univerſity was no leſs renowned Abroad, as well as at Home, for its 'Loyalty and Duty to his Majeſty, than for its Learning and Sound Re-'ligion: In a Word, that his Majeſty had met in that Place, with all the 'Demon-

The King goes to meet

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'Demonſtrations poſſible of Duty and Joy, at his having honour'd them 'with his Royal Preſence.' The Place was ſoon fill'd and crowded with Strangers; for on the other ſide, the Members of Parliament brought vaſt Retinues to the Meeting. Thoſe for the City of *London*, came with a numerous Body of well arm'd Horſe, having Ribbands in their Hats, with theſe Words woven in them, *No* POPERY, *No* SLAVERY! And many others of the Members were attended in the like Manner, as apprehending ſome extraordinary Deſigns of the *Papiſts* againſt them; ſo that at length, the Manner of their Aſſembling look'd more like the Rendezvous of a Country Militia, than the regular Meeting of a Parliament.

The FIFTH PARLIAMENT.

The 21ſt Day of *March* being come, there began the fifth and laſt Parliament in this Reign, at the City of *Oxford*; where the Gallery at the Publick *Schools* was prepared for the Lords, and the *Convocation*-Houſe for the Commons. Both Houſes being met, the King adorn'd with his Royal Robes, and ſeated on the Throne, made this following remarkable Speech to them:

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The unwarrantable Pro-'ceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons, were the Occaſion of my Part-'ing with the laſt Parliament; for I, who will never uſe *Arbitrary Go-'vernment* my Self, am reſolv'd not to ſuffer it in Others. I am unwilling 'to mention Particulars, becauſe I am deſirous to forget Faults; but 'whoſoever ſhall calmly conſider what Offers I have formerly made, and 'what Aſſurances I renew'd to the laſt Parliament; how I recommended 'Nothing ſo much to them, as the Alliances I had made for Preſervation 'of the General Peace in *Chriſtendom*, and the further Examination of 'the *Popiſh Plot*, and how I deſir'd their Advice and Aſſiſtance concern-'ing the Preſervation of *Tangier*; and ſhall then reflect upon the ſtrange 'unſuitable Returns made to ſuch Propoſitions, by Men that were call'd 'together to *Conſult*; perhaps, may wonder more, that I had Patience 'ſo long, than that at laſt I grew weary of their Proceedings. I have 'thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much to you, that I may not have any 'new Occaſion given me to remember more of the late Miſcarriages: 'It is much my Intereſt, and it ſhall be as much My Care as Yours, to 'preſerve the Liberty of the Subject; becauſe the Crown can never be 'ſafe when That is in Danger: And I wou'd have you likewiſe be convinc'd, 'That neither your *Liberties* and *Properties* can ſubſiſt long, when the 'juſt *Rights* and *Prerogatives* of the Crown are invaded, or the Honour 'of the Government brought low, and into Diſreputation.

'I let you ſee, by my calling this Parliament ſo ſoon, That no Irregula-'rities in Parliament ſhall make me out of love with them; and by this 'Means, offer you another Opportunity of Providing for our Security 'here, by giving that Countenance and Protection to our Neighbours 'and Allies, which you cannot but know they expect from Us, and ex-'tremely ſtand in need of at this Inſtant; And at the ſame Time give one 'Evidence more, That I have not neglected my Part, to give that Ge-'neral Satisfaction and Security, which, by the Bleſſing of God, may 'be attain'd, if You, on your Parts, bring ſuitable Diſpoſitions towards 'it: And that the juſt Care you ought to have of *Religion*, be not ſo 'manag'd and improv'd into *Unneceſſary Fears*, as may be made a Pre-'tence for Changing the *Foundation* of the Government. I hope the 'Example of the ill Succeſs of former Heats, will diſpoſe you to a bet-'ter Temper; and not ſo much inveigh againſt what is paſt, as to conſi-'der what is beſt to be done in the preſent Conjuncture. The farther 'Proſecution of the *Plot*; the Tryal of the Lords in the *Tower*; the 'Providing a more ſpeedy Conviction of *Recuſants*; and, if it be pra-'cticable, the Ridding our ſelves quite of that *Party*, that have any con-

'ſiderable

'ſiderable Authority or Intereſt amongſt them, are Things, tho' of the 1680 81
'higheſt Importance, that hardly need to be recommended to you, they are
'ſo obvious to every Man's Conſideration, and ſo neceſſary for our Se- Car. 33
'curity. But I muſt needs deſire you, not to lay ſo much Weight upon Ref. 21
'any One *Expedient* againſt *Popery*, as to determine that all Other are
'*Ineffectual*; And among all your Cares for Religion, remember, That
'without the *Safety* and *Dignity* of the *Monarchy*, neither *Religion* nor
'*Property* can be preſerv'd.

'What I have formerly, and ſo often Declared touching the *Succeſſion*,
'I cannot depart from. But to remove all Reaſonable Fears that may
'ariſe from the Poſſibility of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*'s coming to the Crown;
'if *Means* can be found, that in ſuch a Caſe the Adminiſtration of the
'Government may remain in *Proteſtant's* Hands; I ſhall be ready to
'hearken to any ſuch *Expedient*, by which the *Religion* might be pre-
'ſerv'd, and the *Monarchy* not deſtroy'd. I muſt therefore earneſtly
'recommend to you, To provide for the *Religion* and *Government* to-
'gether, with Regard to one another, becauſe they ſupport each other:
'And let us be united at Home, that we may recover the Eſteem and
'Conſideration we us'd to have Abroad. I conclude with this one Ad-
'vice to You, *That the Rules and Meaſures of all your Votes, may be*
'the known and eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Land; which neither can, nor
'ought to be departed from, nor chang'd, but by Act of Parliament:
'And I may the more reaſonably require, That you make the Laws of
'the Land your *Rule*, becauſe *I am reſolv'd they ſhall be mine.*

Upon finiſhing this Speech, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, directed the Commons to return to their Houſe, and to chuſe a Speaker. Which they accordingly did, unanimouſly electing *William Williams* of *Grays-Inn* Eſquire, Counſellor at Law, and Recorder of *Cheſter*, who had been Speaker in the laſt Parliament. When the Commons preſented him to his Majeſty, on *Tueſday* the 22d of *March*, he made this Speech to the King: '*May it pleaſe your Majeſty*, The 'Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament Aſſembled, with Duty 'and Loyalty agreeable to Themſelves and the Perſons whom they Re- 'preſent, have in Obedience to your Royal Pleaſure, for the Diſpoſing 'of themſelves in that great Aſſembly for your Majeſty's Service, conſi- 'der'd of a Speaker; and, to manifeſt to your Majeſty, and the World, '*That they are not inclinable to Changes*, have with one Voice Elected 'Me their Speaker, having had the Honour to ſerve your Majeſty and 'the Commons in that Truſt, in the laſt Parliament. With all Humility, 'I preſume again, by their Commands, to ſtand before your Majeſty, to 'receive your Pleaſure, with a Head and Heart full of Loyalty to your 'Sacred Perſon; arm'd with a ſetled Reſolution, never to depart from 'your well known, ancient and eſtabliſh'd Government.'

The Commons Speaker's Speeches to the King.

Tho' the King was not pleas'd with one Expreſſion in the Speech, which diſcover'd a ſort of a Petulancy, yet he thought fit by the Lord Chancellor to approve of the Election, in the uſual Form. Upon which the new Speaker made this further Speech: '*Moſt gracious Sovereign*, 'Natural Allegiance commands Loyalty to your Majeſty from every 'Subject. Your ſingular Grace and Favour to Me, in the laſt Parlia- 'ment, continu'd by the Honour I have in this, add more than Dutiful- 'neſs and Obedience to my Loyalty. I am ſet in the firſt Station of 'your Commons for Truſt and Quality; an High and ſlippery 'Place! It requires a ſteddy Head, and a well-pois'd Body in him that 'will ſtand firm there. Uprightneſs is the ſafe Poſture, and beſt Policy, 'and ſhall be mine in this Place, guarded with this Opinion, That your 'Majeſty's Service in this Truſt, is one and the ſame with the Service of

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‘ your Commons, and that they are no more to be divided than your ‘ Crown and Sceptre. They truly ſerve the Crown and Country, which ‘ ſhall be my Care and Induſtry, who make the Safety of your Sacred ‘ Perſon, the Defence and Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion, the Sup- ‘ port of your Majeſty's Government, the Maintenance of the Laws, and ‘ Preſervation of the ancient Conſtitutions of Parliament, one and the ‘ ſame undivided Intereſt, one and the ſame Safety, one and the ſame ‘ inſeparable Security for your Self and People. Theſe are the Deſires ‘ of all good Men, but muſt be the Effects of Good Counſels. For the Ena- ‘ bling of your Majeſty's Great Council now in Parliament aſſembled, ‘ to compleat this bleſſed Eſtabliſhment, with all Humility I Addreſs ‘ to your Majeſty, in the Name and on the Behalf of the Commons in ‘ Parliament; 1. *That We and our Servants may be free in our Perſons* ‘ *and Eſtates, from Arreſts, and other Diſturbances.* 2. *That in our De-* ‘ *bates, Liberty and Freedom of Speech be allow'd us.* 3. *That, as Occa-* ‘ *ſion ſhall require, your Majeſty will vouchſafe us Acceſs to your Royal* ‘ *Perſon.* I take leave to joyn this humble Petition for my Self, *That* ‘ *nothing by me, in Weakneſs, or through Inadvertency, ſaid or done, may* ‘ *turn to the Prejudice of the Commons; and that my Behaviour and Pro-* ‘ *ceedings may receive a benign and favourable Interpretation with your* ‘ *Gracious Majeſty.*

The Chancellor's Speech to him.

Upon this, the Lord Chancellor, by Command from his Majeſty, made this Return to the Speaker: *Mr.* Speaker, *All your* Petitions *are fully and freely granted by his Majeſty, in as* large *and* ample *a manner, as ever any Houſe of Commons yet enjoy'd them: the King is very ſure, the Wiſdom of this Houſe of Commons will make as prudent an* Uſe *of them, as any of your Anceſtors ever did. Your own particular* Petition *is grateful to the King too; becauſe he knows you will be as careful to avoid Miſtakes, as his Majeſty is ready to forgive them. And now, Mr.* Speaker, *theſe Preliminaries being thus over, the King deſires you would haſten to the reſt that are Neceſſary to be diſpatcht, before we can enter into Buſineſs; that ſo we may husband Time, which is now more neceſſary than ever; and he hopes that this Parliament will come to a very happy and proſperous Concluſion: And, that it may do ſo, God Almighty direct and proſper all your Conſultations.*

The Proceedings of the Commons.

2. The Houſe of Commons ſoon ſhew'd their Reſolutions to begin where the laſt Houſe ended, and to bring in theſe three Particulars under their Debates; Firſt, the Preparing a Bill againſt the Succeſſion of the Duke of *York*; the Second, the taking the Bill of the Repeal of the Act of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, out of the Houſe of Lords; and the Third, a Proſecution againſt the Impeach'd Lords in the *Tower*; to which was added a Fourth, that was new, a particular Enquiry into the dark Proceedings of *Fitz-Harris*, before mention'd. They ſpent the three firſt Days in chuſing their Speaker, and confirming him, and in taking ſuch Oaths as the Law directs; ſo that it was *Thurſday* the 24th of *March* before they enter'd upon any material Buſineſs. On which Day, the Debates began with a Motion for Printing the Votes; which by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* was oppos'd as *againſt the Gravity of that Aſſembly*; That *no great Aſſembly in Chriſtendom did it*; That again, *It was againſt their Gravity, and a ſort of Appeal to the People.* But the Members on the other ſide argu'd, *That Printing their Votes was like true* Engliſh-men, *who are not aſham'd of what they do; and that the People whom they Repreſent, may have a true Account of their Proceedings*; and ſo the Reſolution paſs'd for Printing.

This

This being obtain'd, another Motion was made, to Enquire into the Miſcarriage of the Bill for Repeal of the Act of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, how it came to be ſlipt over in the laſt Parliament, and not preſented for the Royal Aſſent? *Which*, ſaid the Mover, *I look upon as a Breach of the Conſtitution of the Government.* But the further Debate of this Matter was Adjourn'd to the next Day. While another Motion was made, 'That for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the 'King's Perſon, a Bill be brought in, to prevent a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, and 'in particular againſt *James* Duke of *York*; and that it be the ſame Bill 'which paſs'd the laſt Parliament.' Upon which Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* ſtood up and ſaid, *I muſt give my Negative to this Motion; and my Reaſon why I do ſo, is, becauſe the King hath declared in his Speech, That as to the Point of altering the Succeſſion, he cannot depart from what he has ſo often declared: The King has given his Vote againſt it, and therefore I muſt do ſo too.* It was further argu'd, 'That the King's Speech gave 'them a Latitude for Expedients; and therefore they ſhould not have 'the Bill any more put to the Hazard of Rejection, but think of ſome 'Expedients.' Upon mentioning of the King's Speech, *B. W.* ſaid, *They who adviſ'd the King's Speech, muſt anſwer for it. The Words of the Speech are,* If any other Way can be found out, *&c. I think thoſe about the King have done enough to ruin Him and Us: But I would have the King ſee, we are ſo far from putting him upon that Streſs, that we would help him out. I think that Speech they read to us, to have Nothing of the King's in it: He is a better Man, and a better* Proteſtant *than to do it of Himſelf: Therefore I would not put on a Reſolution as flat and as ſhort as that is in the King's Speech. The King has gone ſo far as this Reſolution in his Speech comes to, in his* Declaration about Diſſenters *formerly; and yet from the Reaſons from hence, he was perſwaded to revoke it. If Perſons have been ſo prevalent as to put the King upon this Speech, let me ſee thoſe Perſons ſo forward in bringing the King into a Thing, to help him out; if they do not, I hope the King will lay the Blame at their Doors, and not at Ours.* Notwithſtanding this Warmth, the Houſe came to that Temper, as to agree, 'That in Order to pay the 'King all the Reſpect that might be, they would ſet a-part a Time to 'conſider of Expedients, and accordingly they appointed *Saturday* the '26th for the Debate of them.

1680/81. Car. 33 Reſ. 21

Debates about the Excluſion Bill

The next Day the Commons began upon a Motion that was made for Returning Thanks to thoſe Places, who had generouſly and without Expence choſen their Members; and the Members ſo freely Elected, were ordered to ſend their particular Thanks to thoſe that choſe them. Then they proceeded to reſume Yeſterday's Debate upon the Loſs of the Bill for Repeal of the Act of the 35th of *Elizabeth.* Upon which Sir *William Jones* ſtood up, and ſaid, *This Matter deſerves mature Conſideration, whether in Reſpect of the Loſs of the Bill, or the Shaking of the very Conſtitution of Parliament. The Bill that is loſt, is of great Moment, and of great Service to the Country, and perhaps to their Lives, in the Time of a* Popiſh Succeſſor. *Thoſe Men that hinder'd the Paſſing the Bill, had a Proſpect of that; and if it be ſent up again, we are like to meet with great Oppoſition. But be the Bill what it will, the* Precedent *is of the higheſt Conſequence: The King has his* Negative *to all Bills; but I never knew that the Clerk of the Parliament had a* Negative.—— *No Man that knows Law or Hiſtory, but can tell that to Bills Grateful and Popular, the King gives his Conſent to them: But if this Way be found out, that Bills ſhall be thrown by, it may be hereafter ſaid,* they were forgot, and laid by; *and ſo we ſhall never know whether the King would paſs them or no. If this be ſuffer'd, 'tis in vain to ſpend Time here, &c.*

About the Diſſenters.

1680/81. Car. 33 Ref. 21

In Concluſion, the Buſineſs was referr'd to a Conference with the Lords, concerning the Conſtitution of Parliaments, in Matters relating to Paſſing of Bills.

About Fitz-Harris.

They next read the Account of *Fitz-Harris*, formerly mention'd, together with the Libel he wrote againſt the King and Government. Upon the whole, they thought the Matter ſo full of Knavery and Subtlety, and of that Conſequence to the Publick, that for the better Enquiry, they reſolv'd to Impeach the ſaid *Fitz-Harris* of High-Treaſon; and accordingly they appointed Secretary *Jenkins* Himſelf to carry up the Impeachment to the Houſe of Lords. Whether conſcious of the Myſtery, or fearful of Offending, he directly refus'd, and ſaid, *The ſending him upon that Meſſage, reflected upon the King his Maſter, and let them do what they wou'd to him, he wou'd not go.* This caus'd a new Ferment; but being threatned by the Houſe, and adviſ'd by his Friends, he

He is Impeached.

ſaid at laſt, *he was ready to obey the Order of the Houſe, and was ſorry his Words had given Offence*; and went up with the Meſſage. Upon which Colonel *Birch*, ſaid, *We ought all to give God Thanks for this Diſcovery of* Fitz-Harris, *next to the firſt Diſcovery of the Plot. It is a great Service to the Nation, and it is not the firſt that Sir* William Waller *has done. If ever the Thanks of the Houſe was deſerv'd, it is for this Diſcovery; and I move that Sir* William Waller *may have the Thanks of this Houſe*; which was accordingly obtain'd and done.

1681. Car. 33 Ref. 21

3. On *Saturday* the 26th of *March*, came on the great Buſineſs of the *Excluſion*, which began with the Reading a Paper of Expedients, which we do not find was ever yet publiſh'd in Print, and therefore the more convenient to be inſerted. It was Entituled, *Heads of the Expedient propos'd, in lieu of the former Bill for Excluding* James *Duke of* York; *viz.*

Expedients inſtead of the Excluſion Bill.

'1. That the Duke of *York* be baniſh'd, during his Life, five hundred Miles from *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories to them belonging. 2. That the whole Government, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, ſhall, upon the Demiſe of the King, be veſted in a Regent, for ſuch Time as the Duke of *York* ſhall ſurvive. 3. That the Regent be the Princeſs of *Orange*; and in Caſe of her Deceaſe without Iſſue, or with Iſſue in Minority, then the Lady *Anne*. 4. That if the Duke have a Son Educated a *Proteſtant*, then the ſaid Princeſſes reſpectively ſhall ſucceed in the Regency, during the Minority of ſuch Son, and no longer: Which obviates an incurable Abſurdity in the former Bill of Excluſion. 5. That the Regent do nominate the Privy-Counſel, and they to be, or not to be approv'd in Parliament, as ſhall be judg'd Safeſt, upon directing the Drawing up of this intended Act. 6. That notwithſtanding theſe Kingdoms (out of Reſpect to the Royal Family and Monarchy it ſelf) may be govern'd by the ſaid Regent, in the Name and Style of *James* the Second, *&c.* yet it ſhall by this intended Act be made Capital for any to take up Arms on his Behalf, or by his Commiſſion, not ſign'd by the ſaid Regent, or granted by Lawful Authority deriv'd from, and under ſuch Regent; or to maintain an Opinion, That the Retaining the ſaid Name and Style, ſhall in this Caſe purge the Diſabilities impos'd by this Act, or elude the Force thereof. 7. That Commiſſioners be forthwith ſent to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, to take their Oaths, That they will take upon them the Execution of this Act, and that their Oaths be here Recorded. 8. That all Officers, Civil and Military, forthwith take Oaths to obſerve this Act, from Time to Time, as in the Act for the *Teſt*. 9. That his Majeſty wou'd graciouſly declare to Call a Parliament in *Scotland*, in Order to Paſſing the like Act there, and recommend the ſame; and

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'the like to be done in *Ireland*, if thought neceſſary. 10. That in Caſe the 'ſaid Duke ſhall come into any of theſe Kingdoms, then ſhall he be *ipſo facto* 'Excluded, and ſhall ſuffer, as in the former Bill; and the Sovereignty 'ſhall be forthwith inveſted in the Regent, upon ſuch his Coming into 'any of theſe Kingdoms. 11. That all conſiderable *Papiſts* be Baniſh'd 'by Name. 12. That all their Fraudulent Conveyances be defeated. '13. That their Children be Educated in the *Proteſtant* Religion. By 'this Means theſe Three Kingdoms will be United in the Defence of the '*Proteſtant* Religion, his Majeſty's Perſon, and Government; and a ſure 'Foundation laid of an effectual League with *Holland*, and conſequently 'with the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, in Oppoſition to the growing Greatneſs 'of *France*.

1681. Car. 33 Ref. 21

Upon this Matter the Houſe fell into a long Debate, and ſoon ſhew'd it ſelf more inclinable to the old Bill, than to any new Expedients. A Regency was much argu'd, as the beſt Expedient to preſerve the Monarchy; upon which Subject Sir *W. Poultney* ſpoke thus. *Conſider what is a* Regency; *I never heard of it, but of a Prince in Poſſeſſion, in* Minority, *or* Lunacy; *and it has generally been very unfortunate: But to talk of a* Regency in futuro *in Condition and Limitation of Time, I never heard of. This* Expedient *does not anſwer the King's Speech, nor your former Bill; they make the King but a* Shadow, *and they divide* Perſon *from* Power; *our Law will not endure it. The* Perſon *divided from the* Power, *both will be courted. The King leads you to conſider* Expedients, *but ſuch as will conſiſt with the Safety and Dignity of* Monarchy. *This muſt be two Kings at the ſame Time, one by* Law, *and another by* Right. —*The former Bill has been under Conſideration of all the People of* England, *and perhaps all the* Proteſtants *of* Europe; *all the Wits of Learned Men have made their Objections againſt it, yet notwithſtanding all People are ſtill of the ſame Mind. And now we run upon the moſt miſ-ſhapen Thing, which it may be two or three Years before we underſtand it; and we may expect to have an Operation of it, no Body knows when.* Mr. *H. C.* appear'd more for Expedients, and argu'd, *If the Excluſion of the Duke be the beſt Way to preſerve Religion, this Houſe cannot do it alone; If we cannot have that beſt Way, we are guilty to our Country, if we take none. If a Man be Sick, and ſo order'd that Nothing muſt be taken but by Direction of Three Phyſicians, and Two are for giving him the* Jeſuits Powder, *and One againſt it, and he thinks he does the Duty of his Profeſſion; but they all Three not agreeing, muſt the Patient take Nothing? And we are but one Part of the Legiſlative Power.— When Men preſs ſo faſt, they may come late into their Inn by tyring their Horſes. Let a Grand Committee try* Expedients, *elſe 'tis not* Conſultare, *but* Dicere. In Anſwer to the Simile of the three Phyſicians, Mr. *J. S.* ſaid, *If the Caſe be ſuch, that the Two, in the Judgment of the Third, did offer Nothing to the Sick Man but what was Mortal, he ought not to venture upon his own Diſreputation in joyning with them.* And another, call'd *T. B.* ſaid, *Expedients had been mov'd for already, as the* Jeſuit's Powder *for an Ague; but our Diſeaſe is a Pleuriſy, and we muſt let Blood.* Sir *William Jones* and Sir *Francis Winnington* were immoveably for the former Bill of Excluſion, and none appear'd ſo directly againſt it as Colonel *Legg*, who urg'd the Dangers of a Republick, and told them, when his Father was in Priſon in the late Troubles, an eminent Man, then in Power, in Diſcourſe with him, ſaid, *I have oblig'd you, and if the King come in, as I believe he will, then think of Me: Look to your Selves when you are in the Saddle again; if once you divide, Adieu to Monarchy for ever.* As to Expedients, the longer they were urg'd, the more they were exploded. *One compared them to Cucumbers, which after*

Debates upon them.

1681. Car. 33 Ref 21

after they were well dreſs'd, were to be thrown away. Another ſaid, *It ſeems to me, as if a Man that ſcorch'd his Shins at the Fire, inſtead of removing himſelf further off, ſhou'd ſend for a Maſon to remove the Chimney back. —If I am to leap over a River, I had rather have no Staff, than a broken one. I ſee no Remedy to ſave Religion, unleſs Excluding the Duke.* In Concluſion the Bill was order'd to be brought in, on *Monday* Morning, the next Day of Meeting.

And upon Fitz-Harris.

As ſoon as they had finiſh'd this Matter, and been well heated with it, they were ſuddenly inflam'd by another; An Account brought to the Houſe, That the Lords had finally thrown out the Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris*, and had directed That he ſhou'd be Proſecuted at Common Law. This was ſuch a Diſappointment and Surprize, juſt at their Riſing, that they knew not how to digeſt. Sir *Thomas Littleton* cry'd out, *I ſee by the Lords refuſing this Impeachment, no further Uſe of a Parliament: They will be a Court, or not a Court, to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe.*— Sir *William Jones* did not only exclaim againſt the other Houſe, but againſt the Biſhops in particular, Declaring, *They had no Right to Vote in this Caſe.* Serjeant *Maynard* ſaid, *That their All was at Stake; and if they muſt not proſecute,* Holland *and* Flanders *muſt ſubmit to the* French, *and they run over all.* After a few warm Speeches, they came to theſe Three Grand Reſolutions: '1. *Reſolved*, That it is the undoubted Right 'of the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, to Impeach before the Lords 'in Parliament any Peer or Commoner, for Treaſon, or any other Crime 'or Miſdemeanor; And that the Refuſal of the Lords to proceed in Par-'liament upon ſuch Impeachment, is a Denyal of Juſtice, and a Violati-'on of the Conſtitution of Parliaments. 2. *Reſolved*, That in the Caſe 'of *Edward Fitz-Harris*, who by the Commons had been Impeach'd 'of High-Treaſon before the Lords, with a Declaration, *That in conve-'nient Time they would bring up the Articles againſt him*, for the Lords 'to Reſolve, *That the ſaid* Fitz-Harris *ſhall be proceeded with according 'to the Courſe of Common Law, and not by Way of Impeachment at this 'Time*, is a Denial of Juſtice, and a Violation of the Conſtitution of Par-'liaments, and an Obſtruction to the further Diſcovery of the *Popiſh 'Plot*, and of great Danger to his Majeſty's Perſon, and the *Proteſtant* 'Religion. 3. *Reſolved*, That for any Inferior Court to proceed againſt '*Edward Fitz-Harris*, or any other Perſon lying under an Impeach-'ment in Parliament, for the ſame Crimes for which He or They ſtand 'Impeach'd, is a high Breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.

Three great Reſolves.

The Excluſion Bill read.

On *Monday* the 28th of *March*, the Excluſion Bill was read; upon which Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* ſtood up, and fearleſly ſaid, *No Bill was ever offer'd in Parliament of the like Nature, ſo much againſt the Juſtice of the Nation; It condemns a Man unheard, and by a Law made* Ex poſt Facto; *not only againſt the Fundamental Juſtice, but againſt the Wiſdom of the Nation, and will introduce a Change of Government. If the Duke will try to cut this Law with his Sword, if he overcome, he will have the ſame Power to ſet aſide all Laws, both for* Religion *and* Property; *the Power will be in the Hands of the Conqueror, and certainly he will change the Government. It is againſt the Religion, and Oaths of the Nation,* &c. *Poſſibly I am too tedious, and not willingly heard. If the Bill be againſt the* Religion, *oblig'd by* Oaths, *againſt the* Government *and the* Wildom *of the Nation, I hope you will throw it out.* Whereupon Mr. *T. B.* ſaid, *Mr. Secretary has mov'd to throw out the Bill, and deſir'd to be heard patiently; I find no Body Seconds him, pray let him go on and Second Himſelf.* And ſo the Bill was order'd a Second Reading. They were reſuming the Debate about *Fitz-Harris*, when on a ſudden the Uſher of the Black-Rod commanded their Attendance

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in the Houſe of Lords, where they found the King in his Robes, who told them, *He perceiv'd there were great Heats between the Lords and the Commons; and their Beginnings had been ſuch, as he cou'd expect no good Succeſs of this Parliament, and therefore thought fit to Diſſolve them:* And accordingly the Lord Chancellor declar'd the Parliament Diſſolv'd, after it had ſat but ſeven Days. The King immediately took Coach, and drove with all ſpeed to *Windſor*, leaving both Houſes in an Amaze, and the City of *Oxford* in a perfect Conſternation; and ſo the next Morning poſted to *White-Hall*, ſeeming extremely pleas'd he had made his Eſcape, as it were, and got a Deliverance from his Fifth and Laſt Parliament. 1681. Car. 33 Reſ. 21 *The Fifth Parliament Diſſolv'd.*

CHAP. IV.

From the Diſſolution of the Fifth and Laſt Parliament, to the Firſt Diſcovery of that Call'd, The Rye-Houſe-Plot.

Containing the Space of One Year, and Ten Weeks.

Collections. *Jones. Dryden.* Gazettes. *Wright. L'Eſtrange.* Tryals. *Hawles. Hawkins. MSS.*

I. 1. THE ſudden Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, with its natural Conſequences, ſhew'd an unuſual Courage in the King, and gave a remarkable Turn to the Fate of the Nation. It open'd a Paſſage to a more independent Adminiſtration, and a leſs unactive Government than before; ſo that his Majeſty had both a Pretence and an Opportunity, for the Remainder of his Reign, to act more like an Abſolute Monarch, than ever he had done ſince the Reſtoration. All which ſeem'd to have its Riſe from the inſuperable Fears and Apprehenſions of the *Popiſh Plot*, and in Conſequence of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, which gave ſuch terrible Diſquiets to the King, and which he found gradually to diminiſh in the Intervals of Parliament, and afterwards to diſappear upon the Diſuſe of them. He likewiſe found that his greateſt Conceſſions wou'd not anſwer his Purpoſes, but more was, and ſtill wou'd be expected; and therefore he ſeem'd reſolv'd to exert his Authority, to retrench and retrieve his Extravagancies, to husband his Revenues, and to ſupply his Neceſſities by other than Parliamentary Methods: And being tired out with the endleſs Stories of the Plot, and ſatiated, if not infected, with the Blood he had ſhed of Thoſe whom he look'd upon as Innocent, he grew ſtill more tricking and artful in his Proceedings, and more ſanguinary in his Temper, eſpecially againſt the Popular Proſecutors; and that Good-Nature, which had ſometime made him accounted *The Delight of Mankind*, ſeem'd ſenſibly to leſſen, and a more regular Revenge, or Retaliation to take place, upon ſeveral Occaſions and Things that happen'd in the remaining Part of his Reign. How juſt his Reſentments were, is hard to determine, having been ſo differently repreſented by the Heats and Humours of Parties; but we may ſafely ſay that he had met with hard Uſage, and great Provocations from ſome Leaders, whoſe Aims were little known to their Followers; of which the far greater Part of the Nation in Time became ſo ſenſible, as to give their moſt publick Teſtimonies of it: So that, notwithſtanding ſome Severities that had been unuſual to his Nature, and former Practice, for ſome Time before he dy'd, he *The King's general Proceedings, and Succeſs.*

1681. Car. 33 Ref. 22

His DECLARATION, *to be read in all Churches.* I.

he not only gain'd more Authority and Reverence, but more Love and Affection, than he had met with for ſeveral Years before.

Whatever his Intentions were as to his future Government, he began with Art and Smoothneſs, and to pave the Way by a well-penn'd *Declaration to all his Loving Subjects, touching the* Cauſes *and* Reaſons *that mov'd him to Diſſolve the two laſt Parliaments*, as follows: 'It was with 'exceeding great Trouble, that We were brought to the *Diſſolving* of 'the two laſt Parliaments, without more Benefit to our People by the '*Calling of them*: But having done our Part, in giving ſo many Oppor-'tunities of Providing for their Good, it cannot be juſtly imputed to Us, 'that the Succeſs hath not anſwer'd our Expectations. We cannot at 'this Time but take notice of the particular Cauſes of our Diſſatisfaction, 'which at the Beginning of the laſt Parliament We did recommend to 'their Care to avoid, and expected We ſhou'd have had no new Cauſe 'to remember them.

'We open'd the laſt Parliament, which was held at *Weſtminſter*, with 'as gracious Expreſſions of our Readineſs to ſatisfy the Deſires of our 'good Subjects, and to ſecure them againſt all their juſt Fears, as the 'weighty Conſideration, either of Preſerving the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, 'and the Liberty and Property of our Subjects at Home, or of Support-'ing our Neighbours and Allies Abroad, cou'd fill our Heart with, or 'poſſibly require from Us. And We do ſolemnly declare, That we did 'intend, as far as wou'd have conſiſted with the very Being of the Go-'vernment, to have comply'd with *Any Thing*, that cou'd have been pro-'pos'd to Us, to accompliſh thoſe Ends. We ask'd of them the *Support-'ing the Alliances We had made for the Preſervation of the General 'Peace in Chriſtendom*; We recommended to them the *Further Exami-'nation of the Plot*; We deſired their *Advice and Aſſiſtance concerning 'the Preſervation of* Tangier; We offer'd to concur in any *Remedies 'that cou'd be propos'd for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, that 'might conſiſt with Preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due 'and legal Courſe of Deſcent:* To all which we met with moſt unſuita-'ble Returns from the Houſe of Commons; *Addreſſes*, in the Nature of '*Remonſtrances*, rather than of *Anſwers*; Arbitrary *Orders* for taking 'our Subjects into Cuſtody, for Matters that had no Relation to Privi-'leges of Parliament; ſtrange Illegal *Votes*, declaring divers Eminent Per-'ſons to be *Enemies to the King and Kingdom*, without any Order or 'Proceſs of Law, any Hearing of their Defence, or any Proof ſo much 'as offer'd againſt them.

'Beſides theſe Proceedings, they voted as followeth on the 7th of *Ja-'nuary* [*the two Reſolves againſt Lending of Mony, and Buying any Tally 'of Anticipation.*] Which Votes, inſtead of giving Us Aſſiſtance to ſupport 'our Allies, or enable Us to preſerve *Tangier*, tended rather to diſable 'us from contributing to Either, by our Revenue or Credit; not only 'expoſing Us to all Dangers that might happen either at Home or Abroad; 'but endeavouring to deprive Us of the Poſſibility of Supporting the 'Government it ſelf, and to reduce Us to a more helpleſs Condition than 'the Meaneſt of our Subjects. And on the 10th of the ſame Month they 'paſs'd another Vote [*Againſt the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters 'upon the Penal Laws*]. By which Vote, without any Regard to the 'Laws eſtabliſh'd, they aſſum'd to themſelves a Power of *Suſpending Acts 'of Parliament*. Whereas our Judges and Miniſters of Juſtice, neither 'can, nor ought, in Reverence to the *Votes* of either or both the Houſes, 'break the Oaths they have taken, for the due and impartial Execution 'of our Laws; which by Experience have been found to be the beſt Sup-'port, both of the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, and of the *Peace of the King-*

'*dom.*

'*dom.* Theſe were ſome of the *Unwarrantable Proceedings* of that Houſe of Commons, which were the Occaſion of our Parting with that Parliament. 1681. Car. 33 Reſ. 22 2.

'Which we had no ſooner Diſſolv'd, but we caus'd another to be forthwith Aſſembled at *Oxford*; at the Opening of which, We thought it neceſſary to give them Warning of the Errors of the former, in hopes to have prevented the like Miſcarriages: And We required of Them *to make the Laws of the Land their Rule; as We did, and do reſolve, they ſhall be Ours.* We further added, *That What We had formerly and ſo often declared concerning the* Succeſſion, *We wou'd not depart from; but to remove all Reaſonable Fears that might ariſe from the Poſſibility of a* Popiſh Succeſſor's *coming to the Crown, if* Means *cou'd be found, that in ſuch a Caſe the Adminiſtration of the Government might remain in* Proteſtants *Hands, We were ready to hearken to any* Expedient, *by which the* Religion *Eſtabliſh'd might be preſerv'd, and the* Monarchy *not deſtroy'd.* But contrary to our Offers and Expectation, We ſaw, that no *Expedient* wou'd be entertain'd, but that of a *Total Excluſion*, which We had ſo often declar'd, *was a Point, that in our own Royal Judgment, ſo nearly concern'd us both in Honour, Juſtice and Conſcience, that we cou'd never conſent to it.* In ſhort, we cannot, after the ſad Experience We have had of the late Civil Wars, that murder'd our Father of Bleſſed Memory, and ruin'd the Monarchy, conſent to a Law, that ſhall eſtabliſh another moſt Unnatural War, or at leaſt make it neceſſary to maintain a *Standing Force* for the Preſerving the Government and Peace of the Kingdom. And We have Reaſon to believe, by what paſs'd in the laſt Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, that if We cou'd have been brought to give our Conſent to a Bill of *Excluſion*, the Intent was, not to reſt there, but to paſs further, and to attempt ſome other great and important Changes, even in the Preſent.

'The Buſineſs of *Fitz-Harris*, who was Impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons of High-Treaſon, and by the Houſe of Lords referr'd to the *Ordinary Courſe of Law*, was on a ſudden carry'd on to that Extremity, by the Votes which the Commons paſs'd on the 26th of *March* laſt, that there was no Poſſibility left of Reconciliation. [*Here the three forerecited Votes were inſerted.*] It was a Matter extremely ſenſible to Us, to find an *Impeachment* made uſe of to delay a *Tryal*, that We had directed againſt a profeſs'd *Papiſt*, charg'd with Treaſons againſt Us, of an Extraordinary Nature: And certainly the Houſe of Peers did themſelves Right in Refuſing to give Countenance to ſuch a Proceeding. But when either of the Houſes are ſo far tranſported, as to Vote the Proceedings of the Other to be a *Denyal of Juſtice, a Violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments, of Danger to our Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion*, without Conferences firſt had to examine upon what Grounds ſuch Proceedings were made, and how far they might be juſtify'd; This puts the two Houſes out of Capacity of Tranſacting Buſineſs together, and conſequently is the greateſt Violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments. This was the Caſe; and every Day's Continuance being like to produce new Inſtances of further Heat and Anger between the two Houſes, to the Diſappointment of all Publick Ends for which they were Called, We found it neceſſary to put an End to this Parliament likewiſe.

'But notwithſtanding all this, let not the reſtleſs Malice of ill Men, who are labouring to poyſon our People, ſome out of Fondneſs for their old beloved *Common-Wealth* Principles, and ſome out of Anger at their being diſappointed in the particular Deſigns they had for the Accom- 3.

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'plishment of their own Ambition and Greatneſs, perſuade any of our 'good Subjects, *That we intend to lay aſide the Uſe of Parliaments:* For 'We do ſtill Declare, That no Irregularities in Parliaments, ſhall ever 'make us out of Love with Parliaments; which We look upon as the 'beſt Method for Healing the Diſtempers of the Kingdom, and the On-'ly Means to preſerve the Monarchy in that due Credit and Reſpect which 'it ought to have both at Home and Abroad. And for this Cauſe 'We are reſolv'd, by the Bleſſing of God, to have frequent Parliaments; 'and both in and out of Parliament, to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to 'extirpate *Popery*, and to redreſs all the Grievances of our good Subjects, 'and in all Things to govern according to the Laws of the Kingdom. 'And We hope that a little Time will ſo far open the Eyes of all our 'good Subjects, that our next Meeting in Parliament ſhall perfect all that 'Settlement and Peace, which ſhall be found wanting either in Church 'or State. To which, as We ſhall contribute our utmoſt Endeavours, ſo 'We aſſure our Self, That we ſhall be aſſiſted therein by the Loyalty 'and good Affections of all thoſe who conſider the Riſe and Progreſs of 'the late Troubles and Confuſions, and deſire to preſerve their Country 'from a Relapſe. And who cannot but remember, that *Religion*, *Liber-'ty* and *Property* were all loſt and gone, when the *Monarchy* was ſhaken 'off; and cou'd never be reviv'd, till that was Reſtored. *Given at our 'Court at* White-Hall, *the 8th Day of* April, 1681.

On the ſame Day, it was Order'd by his Majeſty in Council, *That the ſaid Declaration be forthwith Printed and Publiſh'd, and Read in all Churches and Chappels throughout this Kingdom*; which for the moſt part was Chearfully obey'd, and with remarkable Succeſs. To weaken the natural Effects of a Thing ſo Popular, there came out two celebrated Pieces, the Firſt Entituled, *A Juſt and Modeſt Vindication of the Proceed-ings of the two laſt Parliaments*, aſcrib'd to the ingenious Pen of Sir *William Jones*. In which he tells us 'That the Peers at *Oxford* were ſo to-'tally ignorant of the Counſel, that they never once thought of a Diſſo-'lution till they heard it pronounc'd; but the Dutcheſs of *Mazarine* had 'better Intelligence, and publiſh'd the News at St. *James*'s many Hours 'before it was done.' As to the Declaration, he ſays, 'That tho' the 'King did not communicate this Paper to the Council till *Friday* the 8th 'of *April*, yet Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, read it over 'three Days before, and demanded of a Gentleman there his Opinion of 'it.' He ſuppoſes it to be of a *French* Extract, and charges it with having *Galliciſms* in it, and particularly that Expreſſion, *That it was a Mat-ter extremely ſenſible to Us*; 'a Form of Speech peculiar to the *French*, 'and unknown to any other Nation.' He blames the mean Condeſcen-ſion of the King, yet he likewiſe queſtions the Validity of the *Decla-ration*; 'ſince no King of *England* before, as King, ever ſpoke to his Sub-'jects, but either Perſonally in Parliament, or under the Broad Seal of '*England*; whereas this *Declaration* was only ſign'd by a Clerk of the 'Council, and therefore void of Authority.' He expoſtulates, 'That We 'have had Miniſters heretofore ſo bold, as to accuſe a pretended *Factio-'ous Party* in the Houſe, but never did any go ſo high as openly to Re-'preſent the whole Houſe of Commons as a *Faction*; much leſs to cauſe 'them to be Denounc'd ſo in all the Churches of the Kingdom, that ſo 'the People might look upon it as a kind of *Excommunication*.' The ſecond Piece was call'd *A Letter from a Perſon of Quality to his Friend, concerning his Majeſty's late Declaration*, &c. the Author of which ve-ry freely tells us, 'That there never was more Occaſion for a Parliament, 'than at the Opening of the laſt, held at *Weſtminſter*; never had People 'juſter Fears, nor of weightier Conſideration, to be ſecured againſt; ne-

Reflections upon it.

ver

'ver were our *Liberties* and *Properties* more in Danger; nor the *Pro-* 1681.
'teſtant Religion more expos'd to an utter Extirpation both at Home
'and Abroad.' Speaking of the Perſon of the King, he informs us, 'In Car. 33
'his *Private Capacity* as a Man, he can only Eat and Drink, and perform Reſ 22
'ſome other Acts of Nature; but that all his Actings without Himſelf, are
'only as a King, and in his *Politick Capacity* he ought not to Marry,
'Love, Hate, make War, Friendſhip or Peace, but as King, and agree-
'able to the People, and their Intereſt he governs.' And as to the Lords rejecting *Fitz-Harris*'s Impeachment, he ſays *Their Votes wou'd not have born a Conference.* This Author was ſoon after laſh'd by the Satyrical *Anſwer.* Pen of Mr. *John Dryden*, who undertook to expoſe the Exorbitancies of Him and his Friends, and to vindicate the Honour and Dignity of the Houſe of Lords, as to the Caſe of *Fitz-Harris*, and to ſhew that they ought in ſuch Matters to be ſole Judges. Without which, he ſays, *The Number of Impeachments wou'd be ſo increaſed, that the Peers wou'd have no time for any other Buſineſs of the Publick.* Again, *The Commons may make Spaniels of the Lords, throw them a Man, and bid them go Judge, as we command a Dog to Fetch and Carry.*

As both Parties had now appeal'd to the People, ſo it ſoon appear'd which met with the greateſt Succeſs: The King's *Declaration* having been read in all Churches, and enforc'd by frequent Argumentations, it rais'd a Spirit of Indignation againſt particular Perſons, and produc'd innumerable Addreſſes of Thanks and Congratulations, which, for ſeveral Months, *Many Addreſſes of Thanks for it.* flow'd from all Parts of the Nations, Counties, Corporations, *&c.* moſt of them engaging their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, for the *Preſervation of his Majeſty's Government in Church and State as by Law Eſtabliſh'd.* Among theſe Loyal Addreſſes, that from *Norwich* was obſerv'd to run higheſt for the King's Prerogative, and a little reflecting upon the Exorbitancies of the late Houſes of Commons: But, as if it were a notorious Scandal to the Parliament, the Grand Jury of *Middleſex* preſented it at the *King's-Bench* as a publick Libel; but with no Diſcouragement to the prevailing Party, who more zealouſly continu'd their Addreſſes. It wou'd be too tedious to enumerate all, which weekly fill'd the *Gazettes*, and to mention how kindly they were receiv'd by the King, who never ſuffer'd thoſe that brought them to depart without ſome gracious Mark of his Favour. The Reception was quite otherwiſe to ſome others, who took upon them in their Petitions to direct his Majeſty about the Calling and Continuance of Parliaments. It is obſervable that the City of *London* was divided in theſe Matters; Moſt of the Court of Aldermen, and ſome of the Common-Council, had drawn up a Loyal Addreſs, as the whole Borough of *Southwark* had done before; which they preſented to the King at *Windſor* by the Hands of Sir *William Turner* and Sir *John Moor*, with diſtinguiſhing Countenance and Favour: But another Party in the City having compos'd a far different Petition, both for Form and Matter, and being the ſame Day carry'd to *Windſor* by the Lord Mayor, one Alderman, and the Recorder, they were refus'd Admittance to the King's Preſence, but order'd to attend the Council at *Hampton-Court* the *Thurſday* following, where they receiv'd a Reprimand from the Lord Chancellor, and a further Mortification by the kind Reception of the Lieutenancy of *London*, who that Day came with the Offers of their *Lives and Fortunes*; among whom was Sir *George Jeffryes* the King's Servant, and late Recorder of *London*, who appear'd with his Sword on, as one of the ſaid Lieutenancy.

And as theſe Addreſſes prevail'd, all the contrary News Papers call'd *Domeſtick Intelligence*, *&c.* and Weekly Printed for *Francis Smith*, *Benjamin Harris* and *Langly Curtis*, were by Order of Council, as was

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Mr. Lestrange and Mr. Dryden draw their Pens.

reported, put down and silenced: And the foremention'd *Francis Smith*, called *Elephant Smith*, the most notorious Vender of such Papers, was committed to *Newgate*. To answer and expose these and the like Papers and Pamphlets, and to vindicate the present Government against all Opposers, Mr. *Roger L'Estrange* enter'd the Lists; and joining in the same Design with *Heraclitus Ridens*, before mention'd, he began to publish his *Observators*, soon after the Appearance of the King's *Declaration*; a Work that continu'd a long time, made a great Noise, and had no small Influence upon the Nation; and particularly serv'd to keep up the Divisions and Distinctions of *Whigg*, *Tory* and *Trimmer*, and to lay open the Faults of two of them with the utmost Sharpness and Severity. This Gentleman, having been a strict Cavalier, and a grand Sufferer, ever stood up as a Champion for his Party, for which he was attack'd by Variety and Numbers of Adversaries; in all which Encounters he shew'd he cou'd fence with great Quickness, Cunning and Dexterity, so as sometimes to wound and disarm, and other times to drive his Enemy out of the Field. Yet it has since appear'd plain, that both he and they often fought in the Dark, or in a very uncertain Light; particularly in that great Point of the King's Religion, or rather Inclination to Popery, in which both the Offender and Defender were perhaps equally ignorant; the one charging and the other clearing him without any Knowledge. However it was, he with *Heraclitus*, and some others back'd with Legal Authority, not only maintain'd their Ground this Reign, but are thought to have stemmed the Tide of a popular Current, which, with a little more help, might probably have over-run the Nation. In order to promote the same Design, this Year there appeared a celebrated Poem, call'd *Absalom* and *Achitophel*, which very much surpriz'd and delighted the Nation, and so satyrically and solemnly expos'd the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and his chief Followers, that it made a mighty Impression upon the Minds of both Parties. It was written by Mr. *Dryden* before mention'd, tho' then unknown to be the Author, and shews the great Power and Energy of the *English* Tongue; there being many Lines in it, which are justly thought equal to any in the Ancient Poets.

Alterations and Preferments at Court.

2. Soon after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, there began to be some Alterations and Preferments at Court; and first his Majesty began with his own Natural Son *Charles* Duke of *Richmond*, Son to the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, whom at nine Years of Age he made Knight of the Noble Order of the *Garter*. A few Days after, *April* the 27th, in Consideration of the faithful Services perform'd by the Right Honourable *Laurence Hyde*, Esquire, first Commissioner of the Treasury, in that and other Employments of eminent Trusts, his Majesty was pleas'd to create him Viscount *Hyde* of *Kennelworth*, and Baron of *Wooton-Basset*. Not long after, as a Mark of the great Satisfaction his Majesty had in the many faithful Services which his Lordship had render'd the Crown, he was pleas'd to confer upon the Right Honourable *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Lord-Chancellor of *England*, the Honour and Dignity of an Earl of this Kingdom, by creating him Earl of *Nottingham*. Besides these Noblemen, at the beginning of *Easter* Term, the Lord Chief-Justice *Scroggs* having obtain'd a Writ of Ease, Sir *Francis Pemberton* was made Lord Chief-Justice of the Court of the *King's-Bench*; who having receiv'd his Commission, and taken the Oaths, was on the 13th of *April* brought by the Lord-Chancellor to pay his Duty to his Majesty; by whom he was most graciously receiv'd, suitable to the Opinion he had of his great Integrity, Loyalty and Knowledge of the Laws.

This

This celebrated Lawyer enter'd upon his Employment with a nice and difficult Affair, the Tryal of *Edward Fitz-Harris*, about whom there were mighty Expectations to ſee what the Court wou'd do in his Caſe, after the Houſe of Commons had made ſuch menacing Votes againſt any that ſhou'd preſume to try him. However, his Tryal was reſolv'd upon, and within leſs than a Month after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, *April* 26th, he was Indicted of High-Treaſon at the *King's-Bench* Bar, and the Bill given to the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*, of which Mr. *Godfrey*, Brother and Heir to the late Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, was the Foreman. It was with ſome Heſitation that they were made to receive this Bill, in regard he had been impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons, till they were inform'd and ſatisfied by the Court, 'That all the Judges of 'England had the Day before met, and reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, *Nemine Contradicente*, That they might lawfully proceed in the Tryal, 'notwithſtanding the aforemention'd Votes of the Houſe of Commons.' Whereupon the ſaid Jury found the Bill, and *Fitz-Harris* was arraign'd at the Bar, on the laſt Day of *April:* He was thrice bid to hold up his Hand, inſiſting upon the Impeachment in Parliament; but at laſt he held up his Hand, and heard his Indictment read; which was for High-Treaſon, expreſs'd in a certain Writing call'd *The True Engliſhman, &c.* full of horrid Expreſſions againſt the King, as has been formerly remembred. To which Indictment he put into Court a Dilatory Plea againſt the Juriſdiction, alledging, *That having been impeach'd by the Commons in Parliament, he cou'd not be try'd there*; but his Plea not being under Councils Hand, was refus'd to be receiv'd: However, the Court gave him time to conſider whether he wou'd ſtand by ſuch a Plea, *in regard it might be fatal to him in caſe he ſhou'd be over-rul'd*; and aſſign'd him for Council Sir *Francis Winnington*, Mr. *Williams* the late Speaker, Mr. *Pollexfen*, and Mr. *Wallop*, as he deſired, to argue the ſaid Point of Judicature, if he perſiſted in ſuch a Plea.

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Proceedings againſt Fitz-Harris.

His Plea.

At the time appointed, four Days after, the Priſoner was again brought to the Bar, attended with his Council; at which time the King's Attorney, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, entered a Demurrer to the Priſoner's Plea, and chiefly inſiſted on the manifeſt Defect of Form, 'In regard the Plea 'run that the ſaid *Fitz-Harris* was Impeached in the late Parliament at '*Oxford, de Alta Proditione*, but does not ſay of what ſort or manner 'of Treaſon, nor ſets forth the Impeachment at large, which a Plea ought 'to do, whenever it is to the Juriſdiction.' After which the Council of the Priſoner join'd in Demurrer; but upon their earneſt Motion, tho' oppos'd by the Attorney-General, three Days time was given them to prepare themſelves to maintain the ſaid Plea by Argument. At laſt, on the 7th of *May*, the Matter was argued at large by *Williams, Winnington, Wallop* and *Pollexfen*, for the Priſoner; and by the Attorny-General, the Sollicitor, Serjeant *Jeffreys*, and Sir *Francis Withens* for the King. The King's Council, and alſo the Court, artfully inſiſted, 'That they 'medled not at all with the *Privilege* of the Houſe of Commons, or the '*Juriſdiction* of the Lords in Parliament, which was not in the Point, 'but only as to the *Form of the Plea*;' while the Priſoner's Council as vigorouſly inſiſted upon both thoſe Points. After all the Debate, which was very curious, and laſted above four Hours, the Lord Chief-Juſtice declar'd, *That the Court wou'd take a convenient time to conſider, before they gave their Judgment.* Accordingly, four Days after, when the Priſoner was again brought to the Bar by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Pemberton*, in the Name of the whole Court gave Judgment, and declared, 'That he and his Brethren had conſider'd of 'the Plea, and that they had alſo conſulted with others of the Judges; and

It is over-rul'd.

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'and that Himſelf, Mr. Juſtice *Jones*, and Mr. Juſtice *Raymond* were of 'Opinion *That the Plea was inſufficient*, Mr. Juſtice *Dolben* alone 'doubting.' In conſequence, the Plea was Over-rul'd, and the Priſoner order'd to plead *Over*; and accordingly he pleaded *Not Guilty*; but alledging that a Material Evidence on his Part was now in *Holland*, his Tryal was put off till near a Month, till the Beginning of the next Term, and the 9th of *June*.

He accuſes the Earl of Danby, &c.

But before that Day, *Fitz-Harris* was call'd again into the *King's-Bench*-Court upon another Account, namely to give Evidence to the Grand-Jury, upon a Bill of Indictment againſt one *De Puy*, who had been Groom of the Robes to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*. The Grand-Jury were urgent that the Evidence might be given to them in private, but the Court thought fit to over-rule that; and *Fitz-Harris* declar'd upon Oath, in open Court, a great deal of ſcandalous Matter, concerning the Queen, and the Duke, and the Earl of *Danby*; and particularly the Latter, with Relation to the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, which he ſaid *De Puy* had told him a little before the Death of that Gentleman; but all this he ſpoke from *De Puy*'s Mouth. Of his own Knowledge, he only ſaid thus much, That the Earl of *Danby* coming down the Stairs at *Windſor*, he heard him ſay, *That now he would make* Godfrey's *Heart ake*: To which he added, That preſently after the Murder *De Puy* told him, *That the Earl had ſent* Godfrey *on an Errand, from which he would never return.* Upon this unexpected Evidence, the Earl of *Danby*'s Name was likewiſe inſerted into the Bill of Indictment againſt *De Puy*, as an Acceſſary to the ſaid Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and the Bill was accordingly found againſt them Both. But this Bill never took Place; and not long after *Fitz-Harris*, finding no Relief, retracted all, and declar'd, *That what he ſaid was purpoſely deſign'd to ſtave off his Tryal till a new Parliament; and that he was particularly put upon to accuſe the Lord* Danby *of* Godfrey's *Murder, becauſe the Crime of Murder was not inſerted in his Pardon.*

Retracts.

3. But juſt before *Fitz-Harris* was to be try'd, the Court thought it convenient to bring on the Tryal of a Perſon charg'd with the higheſt Crimes, but of a different Nature; Dr. *Oliver Plunket*, the Titular Primate of *Ireland*, whoſe Tryal was long expected, and whoſe Conviction would probably confirm the Belief of the *Popiſh Plot* in that Kingdom, according to the Votes of the laſt *Weſtminſter* Parliament. To prove which Plot, and to condemn which Man, at the Meeting of that Parliament, ſeveral Witneſſes were incourag'd to come over from *Ireland*, who now wanting Money, and likewiſe their Pardons, they were forc'd to work hard to obtain both; and they were ſoon found to be proper Inſtruments for different Kinds of Services. About ſeven of them were thought fit to be firſt employ'd againſt *Plunket*, who was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, on the 8th Day of *June*, for High-Treaſon. The Sum of the Charge and Proofs againſt him, was, 'That the Priſoner 'was made Primate of *Ireland* by the Pope, at the Recommendation of 'the *French* King; and that upon his Election he made theſe Conditi-'ons with his Chriſtian Majeſty, to raiſe Sixty or Seventy thouſand *Iriſh*, 'to be ready to joyn with the *French* to deſtroy the *Proteſtant* Religi-'on; the ſaid *Plunket* having ingag'd to get *Dublin*, *London-derry*, and 'all the Sea-Ports into their own Hands, to levy War, and carry on the 'Deſign, and that they ſhould have the King of *France* to protect them 'during Life: Moreover, upon this Contract, the ſaid *Plunket*, for the ma-'naging this War, and Maintenance of this vaſt Body of Men, had tax'd 'the *Iriſh* Clergy ſeveral Sums of Money, *viz.* Some of them Ten,

The Tryal of Dr. Plunket.

'ſome

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'ſome Twenty, nay ſome Forty Shillings *per Annum*; and had himſelf 'pitch'd upon *Carlingford* Haven for the Landing of the *French*; which 'Invaſion was to have been made in the Year 1679, a Year after the Diſ-'covery of the Plot in *England*. And beſides a *French* Army, there 'was likewiſe a *Spaniſh* Army provided, that were to Land with them.' Theſe, and ſome other like Matters were ſworn againſt the Priſoner, by Witneſſes who were moſt, if not all, profeſs'd *Papiſts*.

His Defence.

In his Defence, the Priſoner, beſides his alledging many peculiar Hardſhips, inſiſted, not only upon the Malice of his Accuſers, but the mighty Improbabilities of the Facts Charg'd upon him. He acknowledg'd, 'That 'he had the Title of *Primate of all Ireland*, but his Juriſdiction was li-'mited to the Province of *Ulſter*, where the whole Number of Men, 'Women and Children of the *Roman* Catholicks, did not amount to Se-'venty Thouſand Souls: That the *Popiſh* Clergy in *Ireland* were very 'Poor, and had no Revenue nor Land, but liv'd as the *Presbyterians* in '*England*, and were totally unable to contribute to any great Deſign: 'That he himſelf never receiv'd a Farthing of Money but in his own 'Diſtrict, and for his own Livelyhood, in which the Prieſts under him 'gave ſome Twenty, and ſome Thirty Shillings a Year; and that he ne-'ver receiv'd above Threeſcore Pounds a Year in his Life, unleſs ſome 'Gentleman wou'd now and then give him Ten Shillings for his Relief: 'That he was never able to keep above one Servant, and the Place he 'liv'd in was a little Thatch'd Houſe, wherein was only a little Room for 'a Library, not ſeven Foot High; Therefore how was it poſſible for 'thoſe Things charg'd againſt him to be true? Beſides, he had an At-'teſtation of his good Behaviour in *Ireland*, under the Hands of the 'Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Berkly*, when they were Lord-Lieute-'nants of that Kingdom.' Tho' the Accuſation look'd very Romantick, not to ſay malicious, yet the Witneſſes were ſo perfect and poſitive in their Oaths, that the Jury found him guilty of High-Treaſon, and Sentence paſs'd upon him accordingly. I have been aſſur'd from an unqueſtionable Hand, that the Earl of *Eſſex* Himſelf was ſo ſenſible of this poor Man's Hardſhips, that he generouſly apply'd to the King for a Pardon, and told his Majeſty *that the Witneſſes muſt needs be perjur'd; for thoſe Things ſworn againſt him could not poſſibly be true.* Upon which the King in a Paſſion ſaid, *Why did you not atteſt this at his Tryal? It would have done him good then: I durſt pardon no Body.* And ſo concluded with the ſame Kind of Anſwer he had given to another Perſon formerly, *His Blood be upon your Head, and not upon Mine!*

He is Condemned.

The Tryal and Condemnation of Fitz-Harris.

4. The very next Day after *Plunket*'s Tryal, *Thurſday* the 9th of *June*, came on the much-expected Tryal of *Fitz-Harris*, who was arraign'd at the ſame Bar for his Treaſonable Libel. It was now become a Party Cauſe; and tho' he was acknowledg'd to be a *Papiſt*, the *Whiggs* were for ſaving him, and the *Tories* for Hanging him; and the Former are ſaid to have taken great Pains in the making of a Jury, but were unexpectedly diſappointed. The Libel, mention'd in the Indictment, was ſo fully prov'd upon him by Mr. *Everard*, Mr. *Smith*, and Sir *William Waller*, that he could not deny it; but continually inſinuated that what he did was by the Order of his Superiors, and the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* was brought in as a Party. To confirm theſe Inſinuations, *Titus Oates*, Mr. *Corniſh*, Colonel *Manſel*, Mr. *Hunt* and Mr. *Bethel*, appear'd in the Behalf of the Priſoner, but with no better Effect than throwing an outward Suſpicion upon the Court. And beſides the Lord *Howard*, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and her Woman Mrs. *Wall*, appear'd in the Court, at the Inſtance of the Priſoner Himſelf; but they fully deny'd what he

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he chiefly wanted them to affirm, their Employing him in any Buſineſs of this Nature, and alledg'd, 'That what little Money he receiv'd from Court 'was meer Charity.' In this Tryal, which laſted ſeveral Hours, Papers were privately put into the Hands of the Jury, containing Reaſons why they ought not to find the Priſoner Guilty, and concluded with a Menace, in caſe they did ſo, 'That they ſhould anſwer it in Parliament, and 'that the Nation would never leave them, till they had ruin'd them and their Families.' And as they withdrew from the Bar, ſome Perſons ſaid to them in their Paſſage *Find him Guilty, if you dare!* Wagers were laid that he would be acquitted; but it ſeems one of the Jury turn'd the Scale by Threatning to faſt with them all, ſo that at length they brought him in Guilty; having been firſt inform'd by the Court, that the Vote of the Houſe of Commons could be no Bar to their Verdict. Mr. *Hawles* complains of great Hardſhips in this Matter, which the Reader may ſee in his *Remarks* upon this and other Tryals. And Mrs. *Fitz-Harris* did ſeveral Years after aver to a Perſon of Worth, *That the Buſineſs of the Libel was a Court Trick, and the King was privy to it*; which, if true, ſhews to what wretched Shifts they were reduc'd, and what poor Means they were forc'd to uſe to countermine their Oppoſers at that Time.

Lord Howard *Committed.*

However, within two Days after her Husband's Tryal, She and her Maid did both accuſe the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* of the Contrivance of the ſaid Treaſonable Libel; upon which Accuſation his Lordſhip was committed to the *Tower*, on the 12th of *June*. And on the laſt Day of *Trinity* Term, a Bill of Indictment againſt the ſaid Lord, being deliver'd in to the Grand-Jury of *Edminton* Hundred, then ſerving in the *King's-Bench* for the County of *Middleſex*, ſworn to by Mrs. *Fitz-Harris*, and her Maid and ſome others, and the Jury not thinking the Evidence ſufficient, they were ready to Indorſe it with an *Ignoramus*; when Mr. *Ward*, one of the Clerks of the Crown-Office, attending upon them, withdrew it from before them. Of which Action they complain'd to the Court, where they were told, that the Attorney-General might ſtop theſe Proceedings as he ſaw Occaſion, or Words to that purpoſe; but the Jury being no ways ſatisfy'd, they went immediately and preferred a Bill of Indictment againſt the ſaid *Ward* to the Grand-Jury of *Oſwelſton* Hundred, then attending, for his High Miſdemeanour; which Bill was preſently found by this laſt mention'd Jury.

Fitz-Harris's *Confeſſion.*

In the mean Time, *Fitz-Harris* made his Confeſſion at large to Dr. *Hawkins*, Miniſter of the *Tower*, out of which ſome Particulars have already been mention'd. Among thoſe not before mention'd, we are to remember, that he often told the Doctor, 'That there was a Deſign 'laid by the *Proteſtant Party* to ſeize the Perſon of the King, and carry 'him into the City, and there detain him till he had condeſcended to call 'a Parliament, which ſhould ſit till the Excluſion Bill againſt the Duke 'was paſs'd, all Evil Counſellors remov'd, Men of their Chuſing put 'into Places of Truſt, the Militia ſetled, the Navy put into good 'Hands, and all Grievances redreſs'd according to their Liking; and 'had this Deſign ſucceeded, the Biſhops and others of the Clergy wou'd 'have ſuffer'd ſeverely. The Party ingag'd in this Deſign, he ſaid, were 'Men of Intereſt, and could have Sixty thouſand Men at Command, 'at a ſhort Warning: That *Hayns* and He were both privy to this De'ſign, and had ſeveral Meetings with the Lord *Howard* about it; and 'as a particular Encouragement, the Lord *Howard* aſſur'd them of Break'ing the Settlement of *Ireland*, taking off the additional Revenue of 'the Biſhops, and Grantees, whoſe Eſtates were to be ſhar'd among the 'Party.' Then upon the Words of a Dying Man, he declar'd, 'That 'concerning this Deſign to ſeize the King, *It was every Word true.*'

He

He afterwards told the Doctor, 'That to his Knowledge *Hayns* 1681.
'was tamper'd with to come in againſt the Queen, the Duke, and the
'Earl of *Danby*, who were the chief Perſons aim'd at; and that a con- Car. 33
'ſiderable Perſon ſaid to him, *I prithee*, Fitz-Harris, *find me out Men that* Reſ. 22
'*will ſwear the Murder of* Godfrey *againſt the Duke*; which he to humour
'him, ſaid, *There are Men, if there were Money*; to which the Perſon
'reply'd, *Find me the Men, and the Money ſhall not be wanting.*' He moreover declar'd, 'That a Paper of Inſtructions was put into his Pock-
'et in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, wherein he was bid to *ſpeak boldly, and not*
'*ſpare the Greateſt, the King Himſelf; and if he did not ſpeak againſt*
'*the Queen, his Royal Highneſs, the Lord* Powis, *and his Lady, Lord*
'Arundel, *Lord* Bellaſis, *Lord* Peters, *Lord* Danby *and Lord* Peterbo-
'rough, *all his Friends would forſake Him.*' At another Time he in-form'd him, 'That his Wife laſt Night had whiſper'd to him, How a
'certain Perſon had been with her from a great Lord, to deſire him *to*
'*ſay Nothing when he came to dye, and they did not value what he had ſaid*
'*to Doctor* Hawkins *elſewhere*; *and if ſhe could perſwade him not to*
'*declare any Thing againſt the Party, when he came to be Executed, they*
'*had promis'd to continue their Allowance to her of three Guineas a*
'*Week, and to make her the ſame Preſent of three Hundred Guineas, on*
'*the Day of his Execution, which ſhould have been made him on the*
'*Day of his Tryal, had he been acquitted.*' And when he reduc'd his Confeſſion to Writing, he often ſaid, *His Confeſſion would injure his poor Wife and Children*; *her Allowance would be withdrawn, and ſhe would loſe thoſe, who were now her beſt Friends.* And indeed when it came to be publiſh'd, it was very ſurprizing, and provoking to thoſe who had ſo much endeavour'd to ſave his Life.

His Execution, together with Plunket.

On *Friday* the firſt of *July*, both He and Dr. *Plunket* before-menti-on'd, were drawn on two Sledges to *Tyburn*, and both Hang'd and Quarter'd. *Plunket* in a long Speech declar'd himſelf abſolutely Innocent of the Crimes he was accus'd of, forgave his Enemies, and pray'd for the King, Queen, and Duke of *York*. But *Fitz-Harris* made a very ſhort Speech, in which he declar'd, 'He was no further concern'd in
'the Libel, than to diſcover to the King what Practices of that Kind
'were againſt him, tho' thoſe that employ'd him *refus'd to do him Ju-*
'*ſtice at his Tryal*; and that he never had a Farthing of Money of the
'King in his Life, but on the Account of the like Service.' And re-ferr'd what he had further to Declare, to what he had left with Doctor *Hawkins*. The two Sheriffs, not ſatisfy'd, urg'd him to ſpeak more ful-ly; and Mr. *Bethel* ſaid, *Mr.* Fitz-Harris, *you declared when you were in* New-Gate, *that you knew more of the* Popiſh *Plot than any Man*; *you ought to ſay what you know before you dye.* Then Mr. *Corniſh* ſaid, *Mr.* Fitz-Harris, *if you know any Thing that may ſave Innocent Blood, you ought to declare it.* He ſtill referr'd them to what he had left with Do-ctor *Hawkins*; which made them very earneſt *to know what it was, and where.* But the Doctor told them, *That they were Papers which probably were not in his Power to produce*; and having Notice before, of the Deſign to ſtifle the Confeſſion by his not owning it at his Death, he deſir'd the Dying Man to declare, *Whether all that he had left with him were true?* The Sheriffs ſeem'd much concern'd that he ſhould put this Queſtion to him, and ſaid, *He had nothing to do to put Queſtions there, nor ſhould he.* He quickly reply'd, *Shall I not bid the Dying ſpeak the Truth?* Upon which, *Fitz-Harris* turn'd to him and ſaid, *Yes, 'tis true.* After which, the Sheriffs could learn nothing Material from him, tho' often urg'd; and ſo they proceeded to the Execution. All

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which, and his Confeſſion, was the ſubject Matter of Diſcourſe amongſt all People, for a conſiderable Time after.

Proceedings againſt the contrary Party;

II. 1. The King ſeem'd no ways pleas'd with the Blood of theſe two different Sufferers, and had Reaſon to wiſh that neither of them had been proſecuted, or brought upon the Stage; yet he found it neceſſary for his preſent Repoſe, that both ſhould dye without Mercy. All which ſerv'd but to increaſe his Diſlike and Averſion to that Party which had driven him to this Neceſſity, and given him ſo great a Diſturbance; and to raiſe in him a more vindictive Diſpoſition, and a warmer Reſolution of making them feel the Weight of Sovereign Power. *Fitz-Harris*'s Confeſſions, which he at ſeveral Times made to Dr. *Hawkins*, gave him a fair Occaſion of ſearching after a new Sort of *Plotters*, who were now to attone for all former Proceedings and Proſecutions; and accordingly there was a great Noiſe of Warrants iſſu'd out againſt ſeveral Offenders, as *Rouſe*, *Hayns*, *White*, and one *Colledge*, commonly call'd the *Proteſtant Joyner*, and eſpecially the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, now by Way of Eminency call'd the *Proteſtant Earl*; who were all ſent to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon, about the Beginning of *July*. To prevent theſe and the like Perſons accus'd, and to countermine againſt the Deſigns from above, Means was ſoon found in the City to keep all *Proteſtant Friends* from the Laſh of the Law; and by the Help of their two celebrated Sheriffs, *Bethel* and *Corniſh*, ſuch Grand-Juries were ſecured, as ſeem'd to put them out of all Danger from the Government: Which Grand-Juries, by length of Time, and frequent Practice, obtain'd the noted Title of IGNORAMUS; a Title accounted Ignominious and Infamous by one Sort of Men, and Glorious and Renowned by Another.

Wright. Hawles. Leſtrange. Tryals. Sprat. Collections. Wood. Langbane. &c.

Particularly Colledge.

However, the Court reſolv'd to proceed firſt in the moſt Regular Way, and to try the Temper of the City-Juries; and ſo begun with ſingling out the *Proteſtant Joyner*, *Stephen Colledge*, a Perſon, tho' of ordinary Education, of Parts and Courage, for the moſt part a Diſſenter from the Church of *England*, of an uncertain Religion, yet a ſtrenuous Aſſertor of the *Proteſtant* Cauſe: He was undoubtedly of a pragmatical Spirit, and of a ſawcy Behaviour with reſpect to his Superiors; and would take the Liberty both to ſing and talk any Thing againſt the King and his beſt Friends. This Man, who had been very active in the Death of the Lord *Stafford*, and a zealous Defender of the Honeſty of *Dugdale*, &c. had now the Fortune to have thoſe very Evidences turn'd againſt himſelf. Accordingly, when a Bill of Indictment of High-Treaſon againſt him was deliver'd to the Grand-Jury of *London*, theſe Men appear'd, and, if their Credit had been unſuſpected, ſwore enough to condemn any Man whatſoever: But the Grand-Jury, of which one *Wilmore* was the Fore-Man, was prepar'd againſt all ſuch Attacks, and at once threw out the Bill with an *Ignoramus*; which made a mighty Noiſe and Rejoycing in the City, and diſcover'd how much his Cauſe was eſpouſed.

An Ignoramus.

This Diſappointment and Triumph ſo exaſperated the Court, that they ſeem'd reſolv'd to proceed with the utmoſt Severity; and finding that part of the Treaſonable Words and Actions charg'd upon him had paſs'd at *Oxford*, they determin'd to lay the Scene there; and for his Tryal, four Judges were appointed to meet there at the Aſſizes, Chief-Juſtice *North*, Juſtice *Jones*, Juſtice *Raymond*, and Juſtice *Levinz*. To make ſure of the Bill of Indictment, we are told, that the King's Counſel poſted thither, with the ſeveral Witneſſes, and were privately ſhut up with the Grand-Jury, till they were prevail'd upon to find the Bill; a Practice much complain'd of afterwards. In the mean Time, the Priſoner was allow'd by the King and Council to have a Counſellor and a Sollicitor, *Weſt* and *Smith*,

Remov'd to Oxford.

Smith, to adviſe and aſſiſt him, before his Tryal; which Favour was look-ed upon as a Deſign to betray him. For when he was going from the Priſon at *Oxford* to his Tryal, the Jaylor and Meſſenger ſuddenly ran him into a Houſe, and by Order of the King's Counſel, took from him all his Papers of Inſtructions, and carry'd them to them; as well to diſable him to make his Defence, as to enable them to proceed againſt him by ſome Way in which he was leſs, or wholly unprovided. Thus beſet, he was arraign'd at Twelve a-Clock, *Auguſt* 17th, when he immediately demanded his Papers of the Court; which was poſitively refus'd him till he pleaded Not Guilty; and then two of them, which were not of his Hand-Writing, were ſtill deny'd him: The One was a Speech which he was to ſpeak at his Tryal, which the Court told him was a Libel; the Other was a Paper of Directions, what and how to plead, written by his Solicitor *Aaron Smith*, in which they found theſe Words: 'Before you 'Plead, ſpeak to this purpoſe: My Lords, *I have been us'd not only unlike an* Innocent, *or an* Engliſh-Man, *but I believe more barbarouſly than any Convicted Villain under the Tyranny of* Turkey, *or* France: *When I was firſt apprehended, I was, contrary to the Privilege of the City of* London, *hurry'd out from thence before a Secretary of State.*—— *I might with as much Juſtice have been hang'd at* Tyburn *by the Way, as to be brought hither to be murder'd with a little more Formality.*— If the Attorney-General, or any of the King's Council interrupt you, *&c.* Anſwer thus, *I will not be murder'd in Hugger-Mugger.*—— When you come to open your own Evidence, ſpeak to this purpoſe, to the Judges and Jury, *I hope you will not bring ſo much Scandal upon your ſelves, as to be the* Pope's *Drudges; and give the firſt Blow to the* Proteſtant Cauſe, *by convicting me upon ſuch Infamous Evidence.* Upon the Refuſal of his Papers, *Colledge* cry'd out, *This is a horrid Conſpiracy, not only againſt my Life, but againſt all the* Proteſtants *in* England! which put the Court and King's Council to the Whiſper; and the Court was Adjourn'd, under the Pretence of going to Dinner; tho' it is believ'd the true Reaſon was to give the King's Council an Opportunity of ſorting their Evidence, and altering the Method of Proceeding.

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His Tryal.

His Inſtructions.

Upon the Return of the Court in the Afternoon, the King's Attorney, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, mov'd, that the King's Evidence might be examin'd in the Hearing of one another; in which he was over-rul'd, but the Rule not obſerv'd. The Firſt Witneſs was *Stephen Dugdale*, who ſwore, 'That *Colledge* told him that the King was a *Papiſt*; that he was as 'deep in the *Plot* as any of them all; that he had a Hand in Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*'s Death; that he was a *Rogue*; that nothing was to 'be expected from him but *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*; that 'he had ſhew'd him ſeveral ſcandalous Libels and Pictures, of which he 'was the Author; that he had a Silk Armour, a Brace of Horſe-Piſtols, 'a Pocket-Piſtol, and a Sword; that he ſaid *he had ſeveral Stout Men 'to ſtand by him, and that he would make uſe of them for the Defence 'of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and that the King's Party was but a Handful to His.*' *Turberville* ſwore that the Priſoner ſaid at *Oxford*, 'There 'was no Good to be expected from the King, and that he wiſh'd the King 'would begin; if he did not, they would begin with Him, and ſeize Him'; and ſaid *He came to* Oxford *for that Purpoſe.*' *Smith* ſwore 'his ſpeaking ſcandalous Words of the King, and of his having Armour, and that 'when he ſhew'd it to the Witneſs, he ſaid, *theſe are the Things which 'will deſtroy the pitiful Guards of old* Rowley! He expected the King 'would ſeize ſome of the Members of Parliament at *Oxford*; if ſo *He 'would be one that ſhould ſeize Him*; that he ſaid *Fitz-Gerald* at *Oxford* 'had made his Noſe bleed, *but before long he hop'd to ſee a great deal*

His Accuſation.

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'*more Blood ſhed for the* Cauſe; *that if any, nay, if* Rowley *Himſelf* '*came to diſarm the City, he wou'd be the Death of him.*' Beſides theſe Three who had been Evidence againſt the Lord *Stafford*, one *Stephens* ſwore to the finding the Original of that Scandalous Picture, *&c.* call'd the *Raree Show*, in the Priſoner's Chamber. *Haynes* ſwore he ſaid, '*Un*-'*leſs the King wou'd let the Parliament ſit at* Oxford, *they wou'd ſeize* '*him, and bring him to the Block*; and that he ſaid *The City had fifteen* '*Hundred Barrels of Powder, and a Hundred Thouſand Men ready at* '*an Hour's Warning.*' Mr. *Maſters* ſwore, 'That he juſtify'd the Pro-'ceedings of the Parliament in 1641; at which the Witneſs wondring 'how he cou'd juſtify that Parliament that rais'd the Rebellion and cut 'off the King's Head, the Priſoner reply'd, *That that Parliament had* '*done Nothing but what they had juſt Cauſe for*; *and the laſt* Weſtmin-'ſter *Parliament was of the ſame Opinion*: That he call'd the Priſoner '*Colonel* in Mockery, who reply'd, *Mock not, I may be one in a little* '*Time.*' Laſtly, Sir *William Jennings* ſwore as to the Priſoner's Fight-ing with *Fitz-Gerald*, and the Words about his Bleeding.

His Defence. On the other Side, there appear'd ſeveral Witneſſes for the Priſoner, and *Titus Oates* in Chief, whoſe Buſineſs was to ingage with the Three Plot-Diſcoverers, *Dugdale*, *Turberville* and *Smith*. As to *Dugdale*, he teſtify'd 'That he hear'd him ſay, *He call'd God to Witneſs, he knew* '*nothing againſt any Proteſtant in* England: And having tax'd him af-'terwards for Swearing againſt *Colledge* before the *London* Grand-Jury, 'he anſwer'd, *It was all long of Colonel* Warcup, *for he cou'd get no* '*Money elſe, and he had promis'd him a Place in the* Cuſtom-Houſe: 'And that *Dugdale* had given out he had been poyſon'd, when in Truth 'it was the Pox; as he cou'd make appear by the Phyſician that cur'd 'him.' In oppoſition to which *Dugdale* ſwore, *Upon the Oath he had taken, and as he hop'd for Salvation, it was all falſe*; and as to the Pox, *if any Doctor wou'd come forth, he wou'd ſtand guilty of all that was imputed to him.* As to *Turberville*, *Oates* teſtify'd, 'That asking him whe-'ther he was a Witneſs againſt *Colledge*, he ſaid *He wou'd break any Man's* '*Head that ſhou'd ſay ſo*; *for he neither was a Witneſs, nor cou'd give* '*any Evidence againſt him:* But after he came from *Oxford*, he own'd 'he had ſworn before the Grand-Jury, and ſaid, *The Proteſtant Citi-*'*zens had deſerted him*; *and God damn him, he wou'd not Starve.*' In Concluſion, *Oates* ſaid, *Upon the Word of a Prieſt, what I ſay is true*; *As I am a Miniſter, and in the Preſence of God, this Gentleman did ſay theſe Words to me.* In Anſwer to this *Turberville* Swore, 'He once met 'Dr. *Oates*, but did not ſpeak a Tittle to him about any Evidence; ad-'ding, *Upon my Oath, I did not: and truly I always look'd upon the Do-*'*ctor as a very Ill Man, and never wou'd converſe much with him.*' Againſt *Smith*, *Oates* atteſted, 'That he heard him ſwear, *God damn* '*him, he wou'd have* Colledge's *Blood:* Upon which he ſaid, *Mr.* Smith, '*you profeſs your Self to be a Prieſt, and have ſtood at the* Altar; *and* '*now you intend to take upon you the Miniſtry of the Church of* En-'gland; *theſe Words do not become a Miniſter of the Goſpel*; His Re-'ply was, *God damn the Goſpel.*' *This is Truth*, continu'd *Oates*, *I ſpeak it in the Preſence of God and Man.* On the other Side, *Smith* ſaid, *Not one Word of this is true, upon my Oath.* Then addreſſing himſelf to *Oates*, he ſaid, *'Tis wonderful you ſhou'd ſay this of Me. But I will ſufficiently prove it againſt you*; *That you have confounded the Goſpel, and deny'd the Divinity too.*

It wou'd be too tedious to mention all the Evidences for the Priſoner; only that *Haynes* was prov'd an Ill Man, and had ſtolen a Tankard, and ſomething was ſaid againſt moſt of the King's Witneſſes, to invalidate their

their Credit. In ſumming up the whole, the Attorney-General complain'd, *That it was an unhappy Thing, That Doctor* Oates *ſhou'd come in againſt thoſe Men that had ſupported his Evidence before:* And Mr. Serjeant *Jefferys* thus argu'd to the Jury; *If* Dugdale, Smith *and* Turberville, *be not to be believ'd, you perjure no leſs than Three Men; and, in them, trip up the Heels of all the Evidence and Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot.* In ſum, the Jury brought him in guilty of High-Treaſon, and the Court declared, *They were well ſatisfy'd in the Verdict given,* and ſo condemn'd him to be Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd. His Execution was deferr'd fourteen Days, till the 31ſt of *Auguſt*; during which Time, in Company he ſeem'd to be very little concern'd, but often had terrible Agonies when he was by himſelf; and his Religion appear'd to be very much mix'd with Enthuſiaſm. At his Execution he made a long Speech, 'in 'which he declar'd he dy'd of the Church of *England, according to the 'beſt Reformation of the Church from all Idolatry, Superſtition,* &c. He 'complain'd of great Hardſhips, and ſaid *he knew of no Plot, but the 'Popiſh Plot,* and deny'd the Main of his Accuſation; He gave an Account of his Journey to *Oxford,* and that he heard the Parliament as 'well as the Earl of *Shaftsbury,* was to be deſtroy'd there; and that the 'Arms that He and Others had, were for their own Defence, in caſe 'the *Papiſts* ſhou'd make an Attempt upon them by way of Maſſacre, &c. 'And he particularly declar'd thus, *I do believe that I am as certainly 'Murder'd by the Hands of the* Papiſts, *as Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey '*Himſelf was, tho' the Thing is not ſeen.*' Being Hang'd, by the King's Order, his Body was deliver'd whole to his Friends; and his Death was ſo much reſented or regretted, that he was by many accounted and call'd a *Martyr.* Whatever he was, it is hard to vindicate his inſatiable Endeavours after the Blood of the Lord *Stafford* and others; and his Dying by the ſame Witneſſes whoſe Credit he had ſupported, looks more like the juſt Vengeance of Heaven, than the unjuſt Puniſhment of Men.

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His laſt Speech and Execution.

2. On the ſame Day that *Colledge* ſuffer'd, the famous *Titus Oates,* whoſe Salary had been abridg'd ſome Months before, was now by Order of Council turn'd out of his Lodgings at *White-Hall,* where he had continu'd near Three Years, had his Salary taken quite from him, and Orders given him not to come within the Verge of the Council-Chamber: And all occaſion'd by his inſolent Behaviour, and ſome Miſdemeanors laid to his Charge; his Proceedings at *Colledge*'s Tryal being alſo remember'd, where in the Court he ſaid to Sir *George Jefferys, Mr. Serjeant, you ſhall hear of this in another Place!* From this Time the Belief and Fears of the *Popiſh Plot* more ſenſibly declin'd and diminiſh'd, and the Infirmities and Abſurdities of it became more viſible to all Men. So that the King and the Court had now a breathing Time from all the Vexations of it; and his Majeſty ſeem'd more to enjoy himſelf this Summer, than in ſome Years before; being daily complimented by the Addreſſes of his Subjects, which ſtill flow'd from all Parts of his Kingdom. For which Addreſſes, and the general Proceedings of the Court, *Heraclitus* and *Leſtrange* were now the weekly Champions.

Oates *diſcarded at Court.*

This Summer, his Majeſty had a new Opportunity of Obliging the greateſt Part of his Subjects: Great Numbers of poor *French* Proteſtants, driven by a ſevere Perſecution from their own Country, came over into *England* for Shelter and Refuge. Upon which the King was pleas'd to declare in Council, 'That he held himſelf oblig'd, in Honour and Con-'ſcience, to comfort and ſupport all ſuch afflicted *Proteſtants,* who by 'Reaſon of the Rigours and Severities us'd towards them, upon Ac-

Favours to the French *Proteſtants.*

'count

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'count of their Religion, ſhou'd be forc'd to quit their Native Country, 'and ſhou'd deſire to ſhelter themſelves under his Majeſty's Royal Pro-'tection, for the Preſervation and free Exerciſe of their Religion.' And in Order hereunto, his Majeſty was pleas'd further to Declare, 'That he 'will grant unto every ſuch Diſtreſſed *Proteſtant*, who ſhall come hither 'for Refuge, and reſide here, his Letters of *Denization*, under the 'Great Seal, without any Charge whatſoever; and will likewiſe recom-'mend it to his Parliament, at their next Meeting, to paſs an Act for the '*General Naturalization* of all ſuch *Proteſtants* as ſhall come over as 'aforeſaid, *&c.*' And afterwards, when a Suſpicion was rais'd, that many of theſe Exiles, pretending to be *Proteſtants*, were really *French Papiſts*, and therefore dangerous Enemies in Diſguiſe, the King was pleas'd to publiſh another Advertiſement, as might ſufficiently obviate that Objection and Difficulty; and likewiſe granted ample Letter Patents for Collecting Monies all over *England* for their Relief, which had a noble Effect in all Counties. In the ſame Summer, to oblige the Church of *England*, He appointed under him, certain Deputies or Commiſſioners of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; to whom he delegated his Power to Diſpoſe of all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Preferments as belong'd to his immediate Patronage. The Names of which Commiſſioners were, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Radnor*, the Lord *Halliſax*, the Lord *Hyde*, and Mr. *Edward Seymour*: Which Commiſſion continu'd in Force about Three Years.

Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.

The Court at Newmarket.

In the midſt of the Nation's Addreſſes and Congratulations, on the 10th of *September*, both the King and the Queen repaired to *New-Market*, to be entertain'd with the Pleaſures and Diverſions of that Place. Here they were ſoon attended by a numerous and Solemn Appearance of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, at the Head of which was the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Humfrey Gower*, Maſter of St. *John*'s Colledge; who with the reſt being admitted, he made this following Speech, of which great Notice was taken at that Time: 'SACRED SIR! We your Majeſty's moſt 'faithful and obedient Subjects, of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, have 'long, with the greateſt and ſincereſt Joy, beheld, what we hope is in 'ſome Meaſure an Effect of our own Prayers; the generous Emulation 'of our Fellow-Subjects, contending who ſhou'd Firſt and Beſt expreſs 'their Duty and Gratitude to their Sovereign, at this Time eſpecially, 'when the Seditious Endeavours of unreaſonable Men have *made it ne-'ceſſary to aſſert the Ancient Loyalty of the* Engliſh *Nation*, and make 'the World ſenſible, That we do not degenerate from thoſe Prime 'Glories of our Anceſtors, *Love and Allegiance to our Prince.*

Dr. Gower's Speech to the King there.

'That we were not ſeen in thoſe *Loyal Crowds*, but choſe rather to 'ſtand by and applaud their Honeſt and Religious Zeal; we humbly 'preſume will not be imputed to the Want of it in our Selves, either 'by your Majeſty, or your People. For, SIR, it is, at preſent, the great 'Honour of this your Univerſity, not only to be Stedfaſt and Conſtant 'in our Duty, but to be Eminently ſo, and to ſuffer for it, as much as 'the Calumnies and Reproaches of Factious and Malicious Men can in-'flict upon us: And that they have been hitherto able to do no more than 'vent the Venom of their Tongues; that they have not proceeded to 'Plunder and Sequeſtration, to violate our Chappels, rifle our Libraries, 'and empty our Colledges, as once they did; Next to the over-ruling 'Providence of Almighty God, is only due to the Royal Care and Pru-'dence of your moſt Sacred Majeſty, who gave ſo *Seaſonable a Check to 'their Arbitrary and Inſolent Undertakings.*

'But no Earthly Power, we hope, no Menaces or Miſery ſhall ever 'be able to make us Renounce, or Forget our Duty. We will ſtill believe

'and

'and maintain, *That our Kings derive not their Titles from the People,* 1681.
'*but from God; That to Him only they are accountable; That it belongs* Car. 33
'*not to Subjects, either to Create or Cenſure, but to Honour and Obey* Reſ. 22
'*their Soveraign,* who comes to be ſo, *by a Fundamental Hereditary*
'*Right of Succeſſion, which no* Religion, *no* Law, *no* Fault *or* Forfeiture
'*can alter or diminiſh.* Nor will we abate of our well-inſtructed Zeal
'for our moſt Holy Religion, as it is Profeſs'd, and by Law Eſtabliſh'd
'in the Church of *England*; that Church which hath ſo long ſtood, and
'ſtill is the *Envy* and *Terror* of her Adverſaries, as well as the *Beauty*
'and *Strength* of the *Reformation.*

'It is thus, DREAD SIR, That we have learn'd our own, and thus
'we teach others their Duty to God and the King; in the conſcientious
'Diſcharge of both which, we have been ſo long protected and encou-
'rag'd by your Majeſty's moſt Juſt and Gracious Government; that we
'neither need nor deſire any other Declaration, than that Experience for
'our Aſſurance and Security for the future. In all which Grace and
'Goodneſs, GREAT SIR, we have Nothing to return; We bring no
'*Names* and *Seals,* no *Lives* and *Fortunes,* well capable of your Maje-
'ſty's Service, or at all worthy of your Acceptance; Nothing but *Hearts*
'and *Prayers, Vows* of a zealous and laſting *Loyalty*; our *Selves* and
'*Studies,* all that we can, or ever ſhall be able to *perform,* which we here
'moſt ſincerely promiſe, and moſt humbly tender to your Majeſty's Feet,
'a mean and a worthleſs Preſent; but ſuch a One as we hope will not be
'diſdain'd by the moſt *Gracious and Indulgent Prince, that Heaven ever*
'*beſtow'd upon a People.*

To which lofty Speech his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer, *That he was* *The King's Anſwer.*
fully ſatisfy'd of the Loyalty *of the Univerſity, and that he did not at all doubt but they wou'd always act according to what they there Declared.* His Majeſty further told them, *That he wou'd conſtantly own and defend the Church of* England, *as Eſtabliſh'd by Law: This he bid them be aſſur'd of, for he wou'd be as good as his Word, whatever Repreſentation, either had, or ſhou'd be made of Him to the contrary.* Being further pleas'd to add, *That there was no other Church in the World that Taught and Practis'd* Loyalty *ſo Conſcientiouſly as that did.* Upon the whole, the King ſhew'd an unuſual Pleaſure and Satisfaction, and told the Vice-Chancellor, *That he and his Queen wou'd ſhortly make a Viſit to the Univerſity*; but laid his Commands upon him, *So to Order his Reception, that what he intended for a Favour and Kindneſs, ſhou'd not prove a Trouble and Burden to that learned Body.*

Accordingly, on *September* the 27th, both their Majeſties ſet forth, at- *His and the Queen's Entertainment at Cambridge.*
tended by the whole Court; and about two Miles from *Cambridge,* were met by Sir *Thomas Slater,* High Sheriff of the County, with his Men in their Liveries; and ſoon after by the Mayor and Aldermen, *&c.* with all Formality. At the Entrance of the Town, the Scholars were regularly placed, firſt *Under-Graduates* and the *Batchelors,* in one continu'd Rank from thence to the *Schools*; and as their Majeſties paſs'd, they on their Knees fill'd the Air with the loud Acclamations of *Vivat Rex! Vivat Regina!* As they came to the *Schools,* they found the *Regent-Walk* crouded on both ſides with *Regents* and *Non-Regents,* through whoſe joyful Applauſes they walk'd till they came near two Chairs of State; the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Colledges, and all the Doctors ſtanding in their Scarlet Robes. Their Majeſties being ſate, the Univerſity Orator, Mr. *Billers,* ſpoke firſt in *Latine* to the King, and then in *Engliſh* to the Queen. The Vice-Chancellor, after a ſhort *Latine* Speech, deliver'd a large Bible to his Majeſty, and then another Speech to the Queen, with a Book call'd, *A View of the late Troubles in* England. After the Ceremony

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remony of Creating ſeveral Noblemen Doctors, the Royal Pair went to *King's College Chapel*, where after two Speeches and Preſents made by Dr. *Coppleſton*, the Provoſt of that College, they were pleas'd to go up to the Top, and view all that magnificent Structure. From whence they went to *Trinity-College*; and after hearing two Speeches, to St. *John's College*, where Dr. *Gower*, the Maſter and Vice-Chancellor, after Speeches, Preſents, and ſhewing them the Library, entertain'd their Majeſties in his long Gallery, with ſo much Grandeur and Satisfaction at Dinner, that the King was pleas'd to tell him, while he waited at the Table, *That he cou'd find but one Fault, and that was the over-great Plenty.* And parting with him at the College Gate, he declared at large, *how highly he was ſatisfy'd with his Reception, and the Regard he wou'd always have for the Univerſity of* Cambridge; and the Queen was pleas'd to give him *her particular Thanks for this Entertainment.* In Sum, the whole was ſo great and magnificent, and withal ſo zealous and hearty, to the Nobility as well as their Majeſties, that the Court was never better ſatisfy'd with any Entertainment, of which the News ſoon reſounded through the whole Kingdom.

New Sheriffs, and a Lord Mayor.

3. During theſe pleaſing Times, the City of *London*, or a prevailing Party there, was very buſy and active in croſſing and oppoſing the Meaſures of the Court. In order to which, they with great Difficulty choſe two new Sheriffs, Mr. *Thomas Pilkington*, one of their Members of Parliament, and Mr. *Samuel Shute*, Perſons of the ſame Stamp with the laſt Sheriffs, *Bethel* and *Corniſh*. But upon an Election of a Lord Mayor, on *Michaelmas* Day, Sir *John Moor*, an Addreſſer, was choſen into that Office, with three Hundred Voices more than Sir *John Shorter* and Sir *Thomas Gold*; tho' with great and unuſual Oppoſition, by the Sheriff's Party. This Election was very much to the Satisfaction of the Court, but that of the Sheriffs as much to the contrary; concerning which the King had ſhortly an Opportunity of Expreſſing his Diſpleaſure: For when, on the 13th of *October*, Sir *George Treby* Recorder, and theſe Sheriffs were ſent to invite their Majeſties in the Name of the City, to do them the Honour of Dining at *Guild-Hall* on the 28th, the King gave them this Anſwer, *Mr. Recorder, an Invitation from my Lord Mayor, and the City, is very Acceptable to Me; and to ſhew you that it is ſo, notwithſtanding that it is brought by Meſſengers that are ſo* Unwelcome *to Me, as theſe two Sheriffs are, yet I Accept it.* However, it was obſerv'd, that not long before the King had condeſcended to a leſſer Matter, by diſtinguiſhing the Loyal Apprentices of *London*, and giving a Brace of Bucks for a Dinner at *Sadlers-Hall*, and ſending many of his principal Courtiers to Dine with them, and directing his Son the Duke of *Grafton* to be one of the Stewards for another Year.

A Struggle in the City.

The firſt Effect of the new Election of Sheriffs was a Struggle at *Hick's-Hall*, where the Seſſions for the County of *Middleſex* were held the Week before *Michaelmas* Term. At which time Sir *George Jefferys*, being Chair-Man to the whole Bench, required Mr. *Goodenough*, the Under-Sheriff, to alter Two of the Pannel, as the Juſtices have Power to do by the Statute of the Third of *Henry* the Eighth. Which he refuſing to do, the two Head Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, were call'd; and not appearing, they were Fin'd Fifty Pounds a Man. Notwithſtanding that, the Recorder put in a Proteſt, that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* were never bound to attend in Perſon at *Hick's-Hall*. After which, the ſaid Fine being Eſtreated, a Common-Council in *London* Declared, 'That 'they wou'd ſtand by their Sheriffs, and defend them againſt any Suit of 'Law that ſhou'd be brought touching that Matter, and that at the

'Charges

'Charges and Expences of the City.' And to ſhew their Diſpoſition, at the Seſſions for *London*, held at the ſame Time, *Rouſe* before-mention'd being charg'd with High-Treaſon, and a Bill of Indictment Exhibited to the Grand Jury attending for that City, againſt Him, notwithſtanding Eight Witneſſes ſwore Matter of Fact poſitively againſt him, they found the Bill *Ignoramus*, as had been formerly done in the Caſe of *Stephen Colledge*. 1681. Car. 33 Reſ. 22

4. This was a particular Mortification to the Court, but not ſo great a Diſcouragement as to hinder the bringing on the Tryal of the Head of the Party, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, which had been long in Preparing. In order to it, on the 24th of *November*, all the Judges ſate with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the *Old Bayly*, by a ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; all Mens Heads being fill'd with the greateſt Expectations. The two Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, had Impanell'd a Grand Jury of theſe one and twenty noted Men, Sir *Samuel Barnadiſton*, Foreman, *John Morden*, *Thomas Papillon*, *John Dubois*, *Charles Hearle*, *Edward Rudge*, *Humphrey Edwin*, *John Morrice*, *Edmund Harriſon*, *Joſeph Wright*, *John Cox*, *Thomas Parker*, *Leonard Robinſon*, *Thomas Sheperd*, *John Flavell*, *Michael Godfrey*, *Joſeph Richardſon*, *William Empſon*, *Andrew Kendrick*, *John Lane*, and *John Hall*. To theſe was exhibited a Bill of Indictment of High-Treaſon againſt the Earl; and after Inſtructions given them by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*, and a Paper found in the Earl's Study produc'd, the eight following Witneſſes appear'd, *John Booth*, *Edward Turberville*, *John Smith*, *Brian Haynes*, *John Macnamarra*, *Dennis Macnamarra*, *Edward Ivey*, and *Bernard Dennis*; ſeveral of whom had been Evidences in *Stephen Colledge*'s Tryal. The Grand Jury were for a while very urgent to examine theſe Witneſſes in private, but the Court over-rul'd them in that Point, intimating that his Majeſty deſign'd to have the Matter as publick as it cou'd be. Then they mov'd to have them examin'd ſeparately; to which the Court conſented, but the vaſt Concourſe of People made it almoſt impracticable.

Proceedings againſt the Earl of Shaftsbury.

Witneſſes.

Booth ſwore, 'That he was engag'd to Captain *Wilkinſon*, who ſaid he 'had a Commiſſion from the Lord *Shaftsbury* and ſeveral others to go to '*Carolina*, and was about that time introduc'd into the Earl's Acquain-'tance by the Captain, and was with them four or five Times between '*Chriſtmaſs* and *March*; That the Captain told him he was to command 'Fifty Men to be the Earl's Guard at the *Oxford* Parliament, and wou'd 'have had him to be One; That if the King did not conſent to ſeveral 'Acts of Parliament, and other Things, they were to purge the Guards 'and Court of ſeveral Perſons, particularly the Earl of *Worceſter*, the 'Lord *Clarendon*, the Lord *Halliſax*, the Lord *Feverſham*, and Mr. *Hyde*: 'And tho' the Captain told him this at firſt, he afterwards, a little before 'the Meeting of the *Oxford* Parliament, heard the Earl ſay the ſame 'Things, with a particular Complaint *That he thought himſelf not ſufficiently valu'd, or reſpected*; of which he gave ſome Intimation to *Wal-'ter Banes*, and then writ it down, and ſent it to the Council in a Cover.' Booth,

Turberville ſwore, 'That about *February* he heard the Earl ſay, *There* 'was little Good to be had from the King, as long as his Guards were 'about him; for were it not for them, we wou'd quickly go down to 'White-Hall, and obtain what Terms we thought fit: And at *Oxford* he 'heard his Lordſhip ſay, *He wonder'd the People of* England *ſhou'd* 'ſtickle ſo much about Religion; *if he were to chuſe a Religion, he wou'd* 'One that ſhou'd beſt carry on their Cauſe.' *Smith* teſtify'd a great deal of Diſcourſe between him and the Lord *Shaftsbury*, reflecting upon the Turberville, Smith,

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King, as 'That he was a weak and unconstant Man, easily led by the 'Nose, &c. and said, That if the King shou'd offer any Violence to the 'Parliament at Oxford, he wou'd meet with a strong Opposition, for the 'Gentlemen out of the Country came well provided with Horse and Arms 'to Oppose, and that they might lawfully do it, if he offer'd any Violence 'to them: And that he further said to him, *Mr.* Smith, if the King were 'not as well satisfy'd with the Coming in of Popery, as ever the Duke of 'York was, do you think the Duke wou'd be so much concern'd in the 'Bringing in of Popery as he is?' *Hayns* swore, that the Earl said, 'If 'the King did not give Hayns his Pardon, he made himself the Author of 'the Plot, and that He and Others wou'd raise the Kingdom against him; 'That he gave the Earl an exact Account of Transactions since King 'Charles the First's Coming to the Crown, and that the Earl said The 'Duke of Buckingham had as much Right to the Crown as any Stuart in 'England: And further the Earl said, The King has no more Religion 'than a Horse; when he came first to England, he had a Tincture of Po-'pery, and was much inclin'd that Way; but since he was degenerated 'from all the Principles of Christianity, and was just like a perfect Beast.'

Hayns,

The First *Macnamarra* swore, 'That the Earl said to him, That the King 'was a faithless Man, had the Dutchess of Mazarine for his Cabinet 'Council, was Popishly affected, and took the same Methods his Father 'did, which brought his Head to the Block, and We will bring his thi-'ther: and he deserv'd to be depos'd as much as King Richard the Second.

J. Macnamarra,

The other *Macnamarra* likewise testify'd the same Words; and that it was the latter End of *March*, or Beginning of *April*. *Ivey* swore, 'That 'the Earl told him that *Haynes* had something to discover about the 'Death of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and if the King deny'd him a Par-'don, they wou'd rise upon him, and force him to give one; and that they 'design'd to depose him, and set up another in his stead.' Last of all *Dennis* testify'd, 'That the Earl urg'd him to speak home against the Queen 'and the Duke as to the *Plot*, and bid him speak to his Friends in *Ire-'land* to be in Readiness to assist the Common-Wealth of *England*; for 'they intended to have England under a Common-Wealth, and Extirpate 'the King and his Family.

D. Macnamarra Ivey, *and*

Dennis.

But what made more Noise than the Testimony of these Witnesses, and had greater Effects upon the Nation, was the Paper of *Association* found in the Earl's Study, and believ'd to have been form'd by Himself, which was read as following: 'We the *Knights*, &c. finding to the Grief 'of our Hearts, the *Popish* Priests and *Jesuits*, and their *Adherents* and *A-'betters* have for several Years last past pursu'd a most pernicious and hel-'lish *Plot*, to root out the true *Protestant* Religion as a *Pestilent He-'resy*, to take away the Life of our Gracious King, to subvert our Laws 'and Liberties, and to set up Arbitrary Power and *Popery*. 2. And it 'being Notorious that they have been highly encourag'd by the Counte-'nance and Protection given and procured for them by *James* Duke of 'York, and by their Expectations of his Succeeding to the Crown, and 'that through crafty *Popish* Counsels his Designs have so far prevail'd, 'that he hath created many and great Dependents upon him, by bestow-'ing his Offices and Preferments both in Church and State. 3. It ap-'pearing also to Us, That by his Influence *Mercenary Forces* have been 'levy'd and kept on foot for his secret Designs, contrary to our Laws; 'the Officers thereof having been nam'd and appointed by Him, to the 'apparent Hazard of his Majesty's Person, our Religion and Government, 'if the Danger had not been timely foreseen by several Parliaments, and 'Part of those Forces, with great Difficulty, caus'd by them to be Dis-'banded at the Kingdom's great Expence: And it being evident, that 'notwith-

The new Asso-ciation.

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‘ notwithſtanding all the continual Endeavours of the Parliament to de-
‘ liver his Majeſty from the Counſels, and out of the Power of the ſaid
‘ Duke, yet his Intereſt in the Miniſtry of State and Others have been ſo
‘ prevalent, that Parliaments have been unreaſonably Prorogu'd, and
‘ Diſſolv'd, when they have been in hot Purſuit of the *Popiſh* Conſpira-
‘ cies, and *Ill Miniſters of State*, their Aſſiſtants. 4. And that the ſaid
‘ Duke, in order to reduce all into his own Power, hath procur'd the
‘ Gariſons, the Army and Ammunition, and all the Power of the Seas
‘ and Soldiery, and Lands belonging to theſe three Kingdoms, to be put
‘ into the Hands of his *Party*, and their *Adherents*, even in Oppoſition
‘ to the Advice and Order of the laſt Parliament. 5. And as We, conſi-
‘ dering with heavy Hearts, how greatly the Strength, Reputation and
‘ Treaſure of the Kingdom both at Sea and Land is Waſted and Conſumed,
‘ and loſt by the intricate expenſive Management of thoſe wicked de-
‘ ſtructive Deſigns; and finding the ſame Counſels, after exemplary Ju-
‘ ſtice upon ſome of the Conſpirators, to be ſtill purſu'd with the utmoſt
‘ Deviliſh Malice, and Deſire of Revenge; whereby his Majeſty is in
‘ continual Hazard of being Murder'd to make way for the ſaid Duke's
‘ Advancement to the Crown, and the whole Kingdom in ſuch Caſe is
‘ deſtitute of all Security of their Religion, Laws, Eſtates and Liberty;
‘ ſad Experience in the Caſe, Queen *Mary*, having prov'd the wiſeſt Laws
‘ to be of little Force to keep out *Popery* and *Tyranny* under a *Popiſh*
‘ Prince. 6. We have therefore endeavour'd in a *Parliamentary-Way*
‘ by a Bill for the purpoſe to Bar and Exclude the ſaid Duke from the
‘ Succeſſion to the Crown, and to Baniſh him for ever out of theſe King-
‘ doms of *England* and *Ireland*. But the firſt Means of the King and
‘ Kingdom's Safety being utterly rejected, and we left almoſt in Deſpair
‘ of Obtaining any Real and Effectual Security, and knowing our Selves
‘ to be intruſted to Adviſe and Act for the Preſervation of his Majeſty
‘ and the Kingdom, and being perſuaded in our Conſciences that the Dan-
‘ gers aforeſaid are ſo Imminent and Preſſing, that there ought to be no
‘ Delay of the beſt Means that are in our Power to ſecure the Kingdom
‘ againſt them: We have thought fit to propoſe to all true *Proteſtants*
‘ an *Union* amongſt Themſelves, by Solemn and Sacred Promiſe of *Mu-*
‘ *tual Defence* and *Aſſiſtance* in the Preſervation of the true *Proteſtant*
‘ Religion, his Majeſty's Perſon and Royal State, and our Laws, Liber-
‘ ties and Properties; and we hold it our bounden Duty to joyn our ſelves
‘ for the ſame Intent in a *Declaration* of our United Affections and Re-
‘ ſolutions in the Form enſuing.

‘ *I* A. B. *do in the Preſence of God ſolemnly Promiſe, Vow, and Pro-*
‘ *teſt to maintain and defend to the utmoſt of my Power, with my Perſon*
‘ *and Eſtate, the true* Proteſtant *Religion, againſt* Popery *and all* Popiſh
‘ Superſtition, Idolatry, *or* Innovation, *and all thoſe who do or ſhall en-*
‘ *deavour to ſpread or advance it within this Kingdom.* 2. *I will alſo,*
‘ *as far as in me lies, Maintain and Defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon*
‘ *and Eſtate; as alſo the Power and Priviledge of Parliaments, the Law-*
‘ *ful Rights and Liberties of the Subject againſt all Incroachments and*
‘ *Uſurpation of* Arbitrary Power *whatſoever, and endeavour entirely to*
‘ *Disband all ſuch* Mercenary Forces *as we have Reaſon to believe were*
‘ *Rais'd to advance it, and are ſtill kept up in and about* London, *to the*
‘ *great Amazement and Terror of all the good People of the Land.*
‘ 3. *Moreover,* James *Duke of* York, *having publickly profeſs'd and own'd*
‘ *the* Popiſh *Religion, and notoriouſly given Life and Birth to the Dam-*
‘ *nable and Helliſh* Plots *of the* Papiſts *againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, the*
‘ Proteſtant *Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom; I will ne-*
‘ *ver conſent that the ſaid* James *Duke of* York, *or any other, who is or*

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'*hath been a* Papiſt, *or any ways adher'd to the* Papiſts *in their wicked* '*Deſigns, be admitted to the Succeſſion of the Crown of* England; *but by* '*all lawful Means, and by Force of Arms, if need ſo require, according to* '*my Abilities, will oppoſe him, and endeavour to ſubdue, expel and deſtroy* '*him, if he come into* England, *or the Dominions thereof, and ſeek by* '*Force to ſet up his pretended Title; and all ſuch as ſhall adhere unto* '*him, or raiſe any War, Tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his Command,* '*as publick Enemies of our Laws, Religion and Country.*

'To this End we and every one of us, whoſe Hands are here under-'written, do moſt willingly bind our ſelves, and every one of us unto 'the other jointly and ſeverally, in the Bond of one Firm and Loyal *So-'ciety* or *Aſſociation*, and do promiſe and vow before God, that with 'our joint and particular Forces we will Oppoſe and Purſue unto De-'ſtruction all ſuch as, upon any Title whatſoever, ſhall oppoſe the Juſt and 'Righteous Ends of this *Aſſociation*; and Maintain, Protect and Defend all 'ſuch as ſhall enter into it, in the juſt Performance of the true Intent and 'Meaning of it. And leſt this *Juſt* and *Pious Work* beany ways obſtructed 'or hinder'd for Want of Diſcipline and Conduct, or any evil-minded Perſons, 'under Pretence of raiſing Forces for the Service of this *Aſſociation*, ſhou'd 'attempt to commit Diſorders, we will follow ſuch Orders as we ſhall from 'time to time receive from this *preſent Parliament*, whilſt it ſhall be '*Sitting*, or the *major part* of the Members of both Houſes ſubſcribing 'this *Aſſociation*, when it ſhall be *Prorogu'd* or *Diſſolv'd*; and obey ſuch 'Officers as ſhall by them be ſet over us in the ſeveral Counties, Cities 'and Boroughs, until the next Meeting of this or another Parliament; 'and will then ſhew the ſame Obedience and Submiſſion unto it, and 'thoſe who ſhall be of it. Neither will we, for any Reſpect of *Perſons* 'or *Cauſes*, or for *Fear* or *Reward*, ſeparate our ſelves from this *Aſſo-'ciation*, or fail in the Proſecution thereof during our Lives, upon Pain 'of being by the reſt of us proſecuted and ſuppreſs'd as *Perjur'd Per-'ſons* and *Publick Enemies* to God, the King, and our Native Country. 'To which Pains and Puniſhments we do voluntarily ſubmit our ſelves, 'and every one of us, without Benefit of any *Colour* or *Pretence* to ex-'cuſe us. *In Witneſs of all which Premiſes to be inviolably kept, we do* '*to this preſent Writing put our Hands and Seals, and ſhall be moſt ready* '*to accept and admit any others hereafter into this* Society *and* Aſſocia-'tion.

There was likewiſe found among the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Papers, beſides the *Aſſociation*, a Book of the ſeveral Counties of *England*, rang'd in *Alphabet*, under the Heads of *Worthy Men* on the one ſide, and *Men Worthy* on the other; being intended, and made uſe of for a diſcriminating Liſt of the *Royaliſts* and *Republicans*, as afterwards appear'd; and under the Cypher of *Men Worthy*, was couch'd the Conceit of *Men worthy to be hang'd*. However it was, neither the Papers found upon the Earl, nor the Witneſſes againſt him cou'd prevail upon the Grand-Jury to find the Bill; but the former not appearing to be in his Hand, and the latter not of ſufficient Credit with them, they return'd the Bill *Ignoramus*; which was brought into the Court with extraordinary Shouts and Acclamations of the People. The Witneſſes againſt the Earl were preſently aſſaulted by the Rabble, and in ſuch danger of their Lives, that the Sheriffs, by the Command of the Judges, were oblig'd to guard them that Night as far as the *Savoy*, towards their Lodgings; among whom *Graham* the Sollicitor againſt the Earl was in particular danger. Several Bonfires were made that Night in the City, at which many Riotous Actions were committed; and the general Cry was a *Monmouth*, a *Shaftsbury*, a *Buckingham*. And a Medal was caſt, upon which Medal Mr. *Dryden* made a very

The Earl acquitted in Triumph.

very ingenious Poem. Four Days after, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, both Priſoners in the *Tower*, were brought by *Habeas Corpus*, and bail'd at the *King's-Bench*; the former had the Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *William Cooper*, Mr. *Mountagu*, and Mr. *Charlton* for his Bail; himſelf being bound in a Recognizance of Three thouſand Pounds, and each other in half the Sum. The Lord *Howard* was alſo bail'd in the ſame manner; but particular Orders were tranſmitted by the Privy-Council to the Lord-Mayor, to ſend to every Ward and Pariſh to prevent all Bonfires and Bells Ringing that Night. Theſe Proceedings of *Ignoramus* Juries, and the new diſcover'd *Aſſociation*, tho' applaud-ed by many, rous'd the Indignation, and rais'd the higheſt Reſentments of the greateſt part of the Nation in the beginning of the next Year. 1681. Car. 33 Reſ. 22

5. But before we finiſh this Year, it will be neceſſary to take ſome Notice of the Affairs of *Scotland*; where his Royal Highneſs the Duke ſeem'd more ſucceſsful than his Brother at home. On the 28th of *July*, the Parliament ſat in that Kingdom, where the Duke of *York* preſided as his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner. At the opening of the Seſſions the King's Letter was read, ſetting forth, 'That he had call'd them at that 'time to adviſe of ſuch things as may truly conduce to the Security and 'Intereſt of that Kingdom; and as an eminent Expreſſion of his Favour, 'he hath named his moſt dear and moſt intirely beloved Brother *James* 'Duke of *Albany* and *York*, to be his *Commiſſioner* there, *&c.*' After which the Duke himſelf made a ſolemn Speech to them, in which he de-clared, 'The high Eſteem he had of the great Honour and Happineſs the 'King had been pleas'd to do him, in making Choice of him to ſerve 'as his *Commiſſioner* in that his ancient Kingdom; ſince it ſhew'd to all 'the World the Goodneſs the King had for him, and Confidence he had 'in him, and capacitated him, not only to ſerve his Majeſty as becomes a 'Loyal Subject, but alſo to evince the real Concern he had for the Good 'of that Kingdom, and his Readineſs to ſerve it, and improve its Inte-'reſt: That his Majeſty had commanded him to aſſure them, That he 'would inviolably maintain and protect the *Proteſtant* Religion as by Law 'Eſtabliſh'd in that Kingdom, and the Church-Government by Arch-Bi-'ſhops and Biſhops: That he would maintain and allow the Properties and 'Rights of his Subjects according to the due Courſe of Law, and that he 'did expect that they would not be ſhort of the Loyalty of their Ance-'ſtors, in vigorouſly aſſerting and clearing his *Royal Prerogative*, and in 'declaring the Rights of his Crown, in its *Natural* and *Legal Courſe of* '*Deſcent*, &c.' After which, his Royal Highneſs entertain'd the whole Parliament at a ſplendid and magnificent Feaſt; the Lords by themſelves, and the Commons by themſelves, at ſeveral Tables, in ſuch a manner as gave a general Satisfaction to that Noble Aſſembly. *A Parliament in* Scotland. *King's Letter.* *Duke of* York's *Speech.*

On the Firſt of *Auguſt*, the Parliament return'd a moſt Loyal and Du-tiful Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letter, fill'd with the higheſt Compliments, and the largeſt Expreſſions of Gratitude. And alſo, in Purſuance and Confirmation of their zealous Affections, on the 14th of the ſame Month, the Parliament paſs'd an Act *Acknowledging and Aſſerting the Right of Succeſſion to the Imperial Crown of* Scotland: By which 'They Recog-'nize and Declare, That the ſaid Crown is by Inherent Right, and the 'Nature of the Monarchy, as well as by the fundamental and unalterable 'Laws of the Realm, tranſmitted and devolv'd by *Lineal Succeſſion*, 'according to *Proximity of Blood*; and that no Difference in Religion, 'no Law nor Act of Parliament can alter or divert the Right of Succeſ-'ſion and Lineal Deſcent of the Crown to the neareſt and lawful Heirs; 'and therefore it is declared High-Treaſon, by Writing, Speaking, or 'any *Act of Succeſſion.*

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'any other manner of Way to endeavour the Alteration, Suſpenſion or 'Diverſion of the *Right of Succeſſion.*' At the ſame Time they paſs'd another Act *Ratifying all former Laws for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion*; by which all the Laws made by King *James*, King *Charles* the Firſt, and the preſent King, for Setling and Securing the Liberty and Freedom of the true *Kirk* of God, and the *Proteſtant* Religion, *preſently profeſs'd in this Realm*, and all Acts againſt *Popery*, were confirm'd. To which Act was annex'd a long and remarkable Teſt and Oath, to be taken by all Officers in Church and State, all Graduates in the Univerſities, and innumerable Others.

Several other Acts paſs'd before the Breaking up of the Parliament; but none had a more immediate Effect than the Teſt Act laſt mentioned, which in the Event caus'd great Diſcontents and Emotions amongſt the *Presbyterian* Party of that Kingdom. This Teſt, tho' afterwards explain'd and qualify'd, was ſtill ſo contrary to the Senſe of that Party, that ſeveral of their Miniſters refus'd it, and ſome of the Laiety; among whom of greateſt Note was *Archibald Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*, Son to the famous Marquis ſo often mention'd in the laſt Volume. This zealous and active Man, notwithſtanding he had receiv'd very particular Favours from the King after his Father's Forfeitures, during the Sitting of the Parliament, had by many indirect Ways attempted to hinder his Majeſty's Service; and he, the Preſident of the Seſſion, and his Friends took their Opportunity in Wording the Teſt, to add the very ſame Clauſes, that afterwards gave any Colour of Scruple to themſelves, as Dr. *Sprat* aſſures us. And as ſoon as the Parliament was Adjourn'd, the Earl, firſt at *Edinburgh*, next in traverſing ſeveral Shires, made it his chief Buſineſs in all Places to inſinuate into the Minds of the Clergy and Laiety all imaginable Prejudices againſt the whole Tenor of the Teſt. On his Return afterwards to *Edinburgh* he often poſitively declared, *He would either not take it at all, or take it with a Reſerve of his own Explanation*; which he put in Writing, and diſpers'd it about. At length he was Apprehended by the High Commiſſioner, and the Privy-Council, and proſecuted by the King's Advocate before the higheſt Court of Juſtice, according to the Laws of his Country; and after a full and equal Tryal, he was found Guilty of Treaſon, by the Judges, and a Jury not only of his Peers, but alſo ſeveral of them his own neareſt Relations. Soon after Judgment, tho' the King had no Thought of taking his Life, and no further Prejudice was deſign'd againſt him, but the Forfeitures of ſome Juriſdictions and Superiorities, which he and his Predeceſſors had ſurreptitiouſly acquir'd, and tyrannically exercis'd; yet he took the firſt Opportunity to make his Eſcape, not daring to venture on the King's Mercy, of which he had met with ſo large a Share, when he was under the like Sentence of Condemnation. Upon his Flight, his Arms were revers'd and torn, with all publick Solemnity, and ſuch other Marks of Diſhonour denounced againſt him, as were by the Cuſtoms of *Scotland*, due to Traytors. By his Caſe publiſh'd by his Friends at large, he ſeems to have met with great Hardſhips, and rather to have been proſecuted for the Sake of his Family, than Himſelf; but however it was, it gave Riſe to new Diſturbances; and the Earl, before low, and now deſperate in his Fortunes, never left purſuing his Revenge, till he met with his own Deſtruction.

The Earl of Argyle *refractory.*

His Condemnation and Flight.

6. And now to conclude the Year, we ſhall take Notice of ſome few Promotions, and Deaths of conſiderable Perſons. Beſides thoſe already mention'd this Year, in *July*, his Majeſty being deſirous to place a laſting Mark of Eſteem upon the Family of Sir *George Carteret*, late Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſehold, as well for the long and loyal Services of

Promotions at Home.

of the ſaid Sir *George* at Home and Abroad, as for the Merit of his Son Sir *Philip Carteret*, who loſt his Life in his Service at Sea, was graciouſly pleas'd to create young Sir *George Carteret*, Son to Sir *Philip*, a Baron of *England*, by the Name of Baron *Carteret* of *Hawnes* in the County of *Bedford*. Afterwards his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute his Grace the Duke of *Grafton* Colonel of his Firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards, in the Room of Colonel *Ruſſel*, who had reſign'd that Command. And ſoon after, *George Legg* Eſquire, Maſter-General of the Ordnance, was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. Sir *Samuel Morland* had invented a wonderful Engine, which, with the Strength of Eight Men, would force the Water in a continual Stream, at the rate of above Sixty Barrels an Hour, from the River *Thames* up to the Top of *Windſor-Caſtle*, and from thence into the Air above Sixty Foot higher, to the great Admiration of all that ſaw it. This Experiment being often repeated before the King, Queen, and foreign Ambaſſadors, gave ſo much Satisfaction to his Majeſty, that on the 14th of *Auguſt* he ſent for Sir *Samuel Morland*, and in the Preſence of Prince *Rupert*, and many of the Nobility, Declared, *That he was highly pleas'd with all the late Experiments and extraordinary Effects of Sir* Samuel's *Water-Engine*; and therefore, as an Earneſt of his particular Grace and Favour, gave him with his own Hand, and order'd him to wear it on his Breaſt during Life, a fair Medal of Gold, faſtned to a great Ribbon, on the one ſide of which Medal was his Majeſty's Effigies, ſet round with Diamonds of a conſiderable Value; and on the other Side the following Inſcription, CAROLO II. *Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, Regi, Samuel Morlandus Eques Auratus & Baronettus,* MAGISTER MECHANICORUM, *in rebus adverſis ſummo Vitæ periculo, in proſperis, fælici Ingenio frequens adfuit.* After which the Lord Chamberlain, by his Majeſty's Order, caus'd him to be ſworn *Maſter of the* MECHANICKS, and the Inſcription on the Medal to be Regiſter'd in the great Parchment Roll of the Office. 1681. Car. 33 Reſ. 22

As to the Deaths of conſiderable Men, we ſhall begin with two worthy Divines, and firſt Dr. *Michael Honywood*, Educated in *Chriſt-College* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and immediately after the Reſtoration made Dean of *Lincoln*, where his pious and hoſpitable Behaviour ſhew'd he was equal to that Dignity; and he was particularly diſtinguiſh'd for his munificent Benefactions to his own College, as well as to that Church and Deanery, for which he built and gave a very handſome Library, and which he deſign'd very much to improve, if his Life had continu'd longer. The next was Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, Educated in *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, and above twenty Years Miniſter of St. *Sepulchres* in *London*, which he loſt by his Non-Conforming to the *Act of Uniformity*, tho' for ſeveral of his laſt Years he continu'd in the Communion of the Church of *England*; an admirable and glorious Man, whoſe excellent Temper, unaffected Goodneſs, and univerſal Benevolence, attracted the Love and Veneration of all Parties, who could never find the leaſt Blemiſh in his Life and Converſation. His Charities were ſo diffuſive, and his Labours in Procuring and Diſtributing them ſo indefatigable, that Dr. *Tillotſon* ſaid of him; 'that all Things conſider'd, there have not, ſince the 'Primitive Times of Chriſtianity, been many among the Sons of Men, 'to whom that glorious Character of the Son of God might be better 'apply'd, That *He went about doing Good.* *The Deaths of Dr.* Honywood, *Mr.* Gouge.

The next to be mention'd were two eminent Baronets, Sir *Richard Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Herbert*, both conſiderable Travellers. The Former was likewiſe Doctor of the Civil-Law, who after his Travels became one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, and Clerk of the Council *Sir* Richard Brown,

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Council to King *Charles* the First, by whom he was employ'd abroad in several remarkable Negotiations, as the Marriage of his Daughter to the Prince of *Orange*, &c. From 1641 to 1660, in the most difficult Times, he continu'd Resident in the Court of *France* for both the King *Charles*'s, where he chiefly subsisted upon his own Estate, with much Honour and Reputation; and returning with the present King, he executed his Office of the Clerk of the Council for some Time, till Years made him retire to his Seat in *Kent*, where he spent the Remainder of his Time in a pleasing Retirement, and studious Recess. The Other, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, was a Gentleman of the Family of the Earls of *Pembroke*, who after great Travels through *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, fell in with the Parliamentarians against King *Charles* the First, by whom he was appointed to be a near Attendant on the King from the Time of his being brought to *Holdenby* House. He thus continu'd to the last Moment of his Life, with great Observance and Fidelity; which gave him an Opportunity to see exactly into the Character of that good Prince, and fully convinc'd him, that he was no *Papist*, no *Arbitrary* and *obstinate Man*, &c. as he and others had been made to believe from the common Representation of his Enemies. For which Service, he was after the Restoration made a Baronet of *England*; and besides an Account of his *Travels*, he left behind him *Memoirs of the two last Years of the Reign of King* Charles *the First*, a Book written with as much Candour, Simplicity and Impartiality, as perhaps any in the Age.

Sir Thomas Herbert,

The next were two memorable Astrologers, &c. and great Antagonists, Sir *George Wharton* and Mr. *William Lilly*, both great Writers, and deeply ingag'd in opposite Parties. The first had an Academical Education at *Oxford*, who at the Beginning of the Civil Wars turn'd his Estate into Money, and rais'd a gallant Troop of Horse for the King, and for several Years employ'd first his Sword, and then his Pen in the same Cause, writing upon several Subjects, and oftentimes against *William Lilly* and *John Booker*; in which he shew'd himself a pleasant Companion, a witty Droll, and a waggish Poet, as well as a considerable Astronomer and Mathematician. After the Restoration he was made a Baronet, and at length dy'd in Retirement at *Enfield* in *Middlesex*. The other, *William Lilly*, had no Academical Education, and therefore the more Remarkable, considering the strange Variety of his Writings, which were fill'd with Physical and Astrological Predictions of a surprizing Nature, and generally with great Bitterness turn'd against the Fate of the Royal Family; for which he was a long Time Idoliz'd by the Vulgar as a true Prophet, and a Person of the profoundest Knowledge. After the Restoration, he was generously screen'd by his Antagonist *Wharton*, but his Fame very much declin'd, tho' to the last he retain'd the Reputation of a knowing Physician, when he left the World at *Walton* upon *Thames*. Since we are to mention all Persons that Excell in their Way and Profession, we may after him very well take Notice of *John Lacy*, the celebrated Actor and Comedian, a *Yorkshire-Man*, and originally an Apprentice of *John Ogilby* when he was a Dancing-Master; a Person who for many Years perform'd all the Parts he undertook to a Miracle, and indeed he was both the Wonder and Delight of the Stage; being so highly approv'd by the present King, an unquestionable Judge in Dramatick Arts, that he caus'd several Pictures of him to be drawn in different Habits and Postures, in Memory of his rare and surprizing Performances.

Sir George Wharton,

William Lilly,

And John Lacy.

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III. I. This Winter, soon after the Discharge of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the publick Appearance of his *Association*, the Nation began to be

Wright. Gazettes. L'Estrange. MSS. &c.

be rous'd and irritated after an unuſual Manner. The King and Court were diſappointed and exaſperated: Both Parties began to boaſt of their Strength and Numbers, and to ſhew their Reſentments with more Heat than formerly; but it ſoon appear'd where the Majority lay, and the moſt publick Teſtimony was given of it, to the great Mortification of one Side. The firſt Effect of this Commotion, was letting all the Laws looſe, which in the laſt Year had begun to be put in Execution, againſt the Diſſenters, who had ſo unanimouſly or openly eſpous'd the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s Cauſe, that it was not to be doubted but that they were true Friends to the new *Aſſociation*. The ſecond Effect was the Appearance of innumerable Addreſſes, which a ſecond Time flow'd from all Parts of the Nation, now in Abhorrence of the ſaid *Aſſociation*, and the Practices of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his Party. A third was, the Clergy's frequent Preaching up *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, and carrying thoſe Doctrines and Opinions to the utmoſt Height this Year; in which theſe Divines were encourag'd and ſupported by ſome of the moſt conſiderable Lawyers in the *Inns of Court*, who occaſionally and dayly alledg'd the Acts of Parliament made ſince the Reſtoration. 1681. Car. 34 Reſ. 22

The Effects of the new Aſſociation.

The Proſecution of Diſſenters.

As to the Proſecution of the Diſſenters, ſome have judg'd it to be a Piece of *Court Artifice* in playing the Church of *England* and them againſt each other, to the Weakning of Both; and others, a *Juſt Reſentment* againſt that Party, which had formerly caus'd ſuch Miſchiefs, and of late given ſuch Uneaſineſs to the Crown. However it was, the King, whoſe Principle and Practice, againſt the Inclinations of his long Parliament, had been to indulge the Diſſenters, was now drawn in to promote a rigorous Proſecution of them. The Humour of the Magiſtrates and People at this Time, made the Matter more eaſy to him; for ſoon after the Diſcharge of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Juſtices of *Middleſex* ſhew'd a greater Forwardneſs in putting the Laws in Execution againſt their Meetings, which they now look'd upon rather as Seditious than Religious Aſſemblies. Under that Denomination, the Laws had been formerly made againſt them in this Reign; and in purſuance of that, they humbly preſented to his Majeſty, in *December*, 'That an Intimation of his Pleaſure 'was neceſſary at this Time, as to the putting the Laws in Execution 'againſt *Conventicles*; in regard that when it was lately given them in 'Charge at the Council-Board, to put the Laws in Execution againſt '*Popiſh Recuſants*, there was no mention made of Suppreſſing *Conventi-* '*cles*; and therefore it was pretended, *That they were not to be diſturb'd* '*or medled with.*' Upon which his Majeſty was pleas'd to take this Occaſion to Command the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, 'to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to ſuppreſs all *Con-* '*venticles*, and *Unlawful Meetings*, upon *Pretence* of Religious Wor- 'ſhip: His Majeſty declaring, It is his expreſs Pleaſure, *That the Laws* '*be effectually put in Execution againſt them, both in City and Country.*

Proceedings of the Juſtices at Hicks's-Hall.

Accordingly, the Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*, at their Seſſions at *Hick*'s-*Hall*, before *Hilary-Term*, order'd by their publick Act, dated the 13th of *January*, 'That whereas the Conſtables 'and Church-Wardens, *&c.* of every Pariſh and Precinct within the ſaid 'County, had been enjoyn'd laſt Seſſions to make a Return the firſt Day 'of this, of the Names of the Preachers in *Conventicles*, and the moſt conſi- 'derable Frequenters of the ſame within their ſeveral Limits; which 'Order not being obey'd, but contemn'd by ſome, it was therefore by 'the Juſtices then aſſembled, deſired, that the Lord Biſhop of *London* 'will pleaſe to direct thoſe Officers which are under his Juriſdiction, to 'uſe their utmoſt Diligence, that all ſuch Perſons may be *Excommunica-* '*ted* who commit Crimes deſerving that Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, and that

168½. Car. 34 Ref. 22 'the ſaid *Excommunications* may be publiſh'd in the Pariſhes where the 'Perſons live, that they may be taken Notice of, and be obvious to the 'Penalties that belong to Perſons *Excommunicate*, viz. *Not to be admitted for a Witneſs, or return'd upon Juries, or capable to ſue for any 'Debt.*' And they further order'd in the ſame Seſſions, 'That the Statute of the Firſt of *Elizabeth*, and the Third of *James*, be put in due 'Execution, for the Levying *Twelve Pence per Sunday* upon ſuch Perſons who repair not to Divine Service and Sermons at their Pariſh, or 'ſome other publick Church.' All which made way for all Sorts of Proſecutions, both in City and Country, which in many Places were carry'd on with great Spite and Severity, where there never wanted buſy Agents and Informers, of which a few were ſufficient to put the Laws in Execution. So that, for the moſt Part, the Diſſenters, this Year, and much longer, met with cruel and unchriſtian Uſage, greater than any Subjects had felt ſince the Reſtoration. For what they had done before that Time was afreſh remember'd, and rais'd ſuch an Indignation and Prejudice againſt them, as the wiſeſt Men cou'd not eaſily conquer. The Beginnings of theſe Proceedings rais'd a mighty Noiſe and Diſcontent, and occaſion'd ſome Reflections upon the King which were very rude and violent; as particularly, Mr. *Frederick Harvey* ſaid, *That the King's Conſenting to the Tyrannical Proceedings of Convicting Diſſenters, he did not queſtion but wou'd make him the Head ſhorter; and that he did admire the City did not ſecure him the laſt Lord Mayor's-Day, when they had him there:* For which Words, he was committed Priſoner to *Newgate* for High-Treaſon.

But to return to the Proceedings at *Hicks*'s-*Hall*, there was another Act of the ſame Seſſions, which bore Date the 18th of *January*; with which the Juſtices of the Peace attended upon his Majeſty at *White-Hall* the ſame Day, and preſented the Paper to his Royal Hands. It contain'd, 'That they the ſaid Juſtices were ſenſible of their great Ho-'nour and Happineſs in being the Firſt who return'd their humble and 'hearty Acknowledgment for his moſt Gracious *Declaration*; which be-'ing follow'd by a Multitude of Addreſſes from all Parts of the King-'dom, his Majeſty hath had a full Diſcovery of the Peoples Affections, 'and that his Enemies were neither ſo Numerous nor Formidable as they 'were by ſome apprehended to be: That now, as his Majeſty can have 'no Cauſe to fear them, ſo they the ſaid Juſtices hope He will never be 'perſwaded to truſt them; That they are aſham'd that they, who live ſo 'near his Royal Perſon, were not likewiſe the firſt in Expreſſing their 'Indignation againſt that moſt Execrable and Traiterous deſign'd *Aſſoci-'ation*, lately diſcover'd by his Majeſty, which certainly in the Judgment 'of all good Men may more corrupt the Blood of the wicked Inventers, 'than if they ſhou'd be diſcover'd and attainted by Law: That the ſaid 'Treaſon was not only againſt the King, but the Monarchy; and if any 'Perſons ſhou'd attempt, under Colour or Pretence of ſo horrid and 'damnable a Contrivance, to diſturb the Peace and Quiet of his Maje-'ſty's Government they doubted not, but that whatſoever Impunity they 'might meet with upon Earth, yet they ſhou'd not eſcape the Divine 'Juſtice.' This Paper being read, his Majeſty was pleas'd heartily to thank thoſe Juſtices *for their conſtant Affection to Him, and the Eſtabliſh'd Government.*

Their Addreſs againſt the Aſſociation.

Others, To this Purpoſe were innumerable other Congratulations and Addreſſes to the King, ſome before, but moſt after this of *Middleſex*, from *Norwich, Hereford, Briſtol*, the Lieutenancy of *London*, the *Inns of Court*, and all Parts of the Kingdom; all which were call'd *A ſecond Edition of Loyalty*, or a *New ſort of Addreſſes circulating a Second Time.*

But

But none was taken more Notice of than that from the Gentlemen of the *Middle Temple*, which was preſented on the 19th of *February*, with great Satisfaction to his Majeſty. It was read by Mr. *Edmund Saunders*, as following: 'We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, profeſſing the Study and Practice of your Majeſty's Laws in the Society of 'the *Middle-Temple*, do with all Humility proſtrate our Selves at your 'Royal Feet; and conceiving our Selves, by reaſon of our Profeſſion, 'more oblig'd than Others of your Majeſty's Subjects, to offer to your 'Sacred Majeſty our Senſe of that Execrable Paper, purporting the Frame 'and Form of a *Taiterous Aſſociation*, produc'd at the late Proceedings 'againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury* at the *Old-Baily*; Do therefore Declare 'it our Opinion, That the ſame contains moſt groſs and apparent *Treaſons*, more manifeſtly tending to the Ruin of your Majeſty's Dominions, than the Old Hypocritical *Solemn League and Covenant*, which 'they that were ſeduced to take, are no more bound to keep, than he 'that ſhou'd ſwear to murder his Father, is oblig'd to commit the Paricide. And it is moſt evident to us, That whoſoever promoted that '*Rebellious Aſſociation*, deſign'd by the ſaid Paper, or Countenanc'd the 'ſame, by refuſing, upon full Evidence, to find Bills of Indictment againſt 'the Authors and Promoters thereof, and thereby, as much as in them 'lay, preventing their being brought to a fair Tryal, have in a high Meaſure perverted the Laws, and cou'd have no other Deſign thereby, than 'to Uſurp to themſelves an arbitrary and tyrannical Dominion, not only 'over your Subjects, but over your Majeſty alſo. And we humbly beſeech your Majeſty, favourably to accept of this reiterated Teſtimony of 'our Allegiance, all of us, jointly and ſeparately delaring, before the Almighty, That we do from our Souls *utterly Deteſt and Abhor* that, and all 'other *Aſſociations* whatſoever, promoted againſt your Majeſty's Crown 'and Dignity. And that we will, to our utmoſt Power, endeavour to 'preſerve your Sacred Majeſty, your Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors, from 'all Rebels, Traytors, and from all Conſpiracies againſt your Perſon, or 'moſt Excellent Government; and will make it our daily and hearty 'Prayer to the King of Kings, to grant your Majeſty a long and proſperous Reign.

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That of the Middle Temple *in particular.*

This Addreſs caus'd the *Obſervator* and his Friends to triumph, who call'd it *An Act of Authority, as well as of Bravery and Duty; it being no leſs than the Opinion of that Learned Society, tranſmitted to the Publick, upon the Matter in Queſtion.* And what added to this Triumph was the Addreſs from *Newark*, publiſh'd the ſame Day, which promis'd his Majeſty, 'That whenever he ſhou'd, in his great Wiſdom, be pleas'd 'to call another Parliament, they would admit no Candidates for that Borough, but ſuch as ſhou'd declare beforehand their Abhorrence of that '*Aſſociation*.' And indeed there began at this Time to be a general Emulation who ſhou'd ſhew themſelves moſt loyal to the King, or moſt faithful to the Duke. The City of *London* had a particular Opportunity of expreſſing their Affection, by means of an unuſual Accident, which happen'd in the Beginning of the Year. Some baſe unknown Perſon had in the Night cut, mangled and defac'd the Duke of *York*'s Picture, which, with the King's, hung up in *Guild-Hall*, both nobly painted, as a ſignal Ornament to the City. Upon which Action, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen publiſh'd a Declaration in Print, 'In which proteſting their 'deep Reſentment of that inſolent and villanous Act, to be abhorr'd by 'every Loyal Subject; and being greatly concern'd and deſirous to find 'out the Author thereof, they therefore unanimouſly Publiſh and Declare, That Whoſoever can diſcover the Perſon who committed that 'Fact, the ſaid Lord Mayor and Aldermen will not only acknowledge

New Ark.

The Duke's Picture defaced.

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'the ſaid Diſcovery as a moſt Acceptable Service to the City, but alſo 'pay to ſuch Diſcoverer the Sum of five Hundred Pounds upon the Of-'fenders Conviction.' In Return to which generous Act of the City, his Royal Highneſs ſent a Gentleman out of *Scotland*, expreſly to Compliment the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and to thank them for their great Reſpect, and open Juſtice to his Cauſe.

An Account of the Aſſaſſination of Mr. Thynne.

2. In the midſt of theſe Court Succeſſes, the City and Country were allarm'd with the Noiſe of a publick Aſſaſſination, ſtrange and unuſual in the Streets of an *Engliſh* City; but the leſs to be admired, as committed by the Hands of Foreigners. Of which this was the Occaſion. *Joſceline* the laſt Earl of *Northumberland*, of the Family of *Piercy*, dying in the Year 1670, left no Iſſue beſides *Elizabeth* his Daughter and ſole Heir, at the Time of his Death about four Years of Age; which young Lady, being ſo great a Fortune, was in her Minority marry'd to *Henry* Earl of *Ogle*, Son and Heir apparent to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who dying ſoon after ſuch Marriage, left her a Virgin Widow. After which many aſpired to the Happineſs and Advantage of a ſecond Match with this fine young Lady; among whom was a *German* Lord call'd Count *Coningsmark*, who Sojourning in *England*, was honourably countenanc'd by the King Himſelf. But the young Lady, chiefly by Means of her Grand-Mother, as is reported, was ſecretly marry'd the laſt Summer to *Thomas Thynne* of *Longleet* Eſquire, one who had been a Member in ſeveral Parliaments, a Gentleman of great Note both in City and Country, having a noble Eſtate of Ten Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, given him by an Uncle. This Marriage, it ſeems, was not made ſo well to the Satisfaction of all Parties, but that the young Lady was prevail'd with, the laſt *Michaelmas* Term, to convey her ſelf privately into *Holland*; and this was done before her Husband had ever bedded with her. Hereupon the Town was allarm'd with the Approach of a mighty Suit at Law, concerning the Validity of the Match; and the beſt Civilians of *Doctors-Commons* were ingag'd and retain'd on one ſide or other. And not only ſo, but Count *Coningsmark*, who had left *England* ſome time before, began afreſh to concern himſelf, and again came over to *London* in Diſguiſe. He had already ſent two Challenges to Mr. *Thynne*, by a Dependent of his call'd Captain *Vratz*; but inſtead of anſwering himſelf, he ſent ſix Men after him into *France*, to kill both the Count and the Captain; but they both eſcap'd in the Conflict, and kill'd two themſelves, as the Captain afterwards declared. However it was, on *Sunday* Night, the 12th of *February*, Mr. *Thynne*, as he was paſſing the *Pall-Mall* near the *Hay-Market* in his Coach, was encounter'd by three Men on Horſe-back, one of which diſcharg'd a Muſquetoon into the Coach, and with two Brace of Bullets mortally wounded him; and having perform'd this deſperate Act, they rod away and made their Eſcape.

Count Coningſmark *the Cauſe.*

The Aſſaſſines taken,

The King having been inform'd of what happen'd, immediately gave Orders for the Stopping all Perſons that cou'd not give a good Account of themſelves in the ſeveral Ports; and for making diligent Search in Town, in Order to diſcover the Aſſaſſinates. The Diligence of thoſe who made the Search was ſo ſucceſsful, that upon ſome Information given them, they trac'd the Murtherers to their ſeveral Lodgings, and there apprehended them, and brought them the next Day before the Council, which was Extraordinarily aſſembled for that purpoſe. The chief of them being examin'd, readily confeſs'd the whole Fact, and ſaid 'He was a *German*, by Name *Vratz*, and a Captain of Foot; That he 'had accompany'd *Charles-John Coningsmark* in his Travels, and came 'with him into *England*; That the Friendſhip and Acquaintance he had

'with

'with him, and the Favours he had receiv'd from his Family, had made 'him nearly ſenſible of the Affronts that Mr. *Thynne* had put upon the 'Count, by his Diſcourſes and otherwiſe, and therefore reſolv'd to take 'Satisfaction of him; and being inform'd on *Sunday*, That Mr. *Thynne* 'was gone abroad in his Coach, he took Horſe, with a Friend, and a 'Servant of his own, who were provided with a Muſquetoon, and them-'ſelves arm'd with Swords and Piſtols: That meeting his Coach in the '*Pall-Mall*, he rod up to it, and bid the Coach-Man ſtand, intending 'fairly to fight Mr. *Thynne*; but his Servant, not rightly apprehending 'what he ſaid, diſcharg'd his Muſquetoon upon Mr. *Thynne*, whereup-'on they made their Eſcape.' Six Days after, Count *Coningsmark* was taken at *Graves-End* in a Diſguiſe, intending to imbark on a Veſſel that wat going out; He was next Morning brought to Town, and examin'd in Council before the King, who referr'd the Matter to the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, and his Lordſhip committed him Priſoner to *Newgate*. On the 28th of *February*, the Three Principals, Captain *Chriſtopher Vratz*, Lieutenant *John Stern*, and *George Boroski* a *Polander*, were together with the Count try'd at the *Old-Baily*; where they were ſoon convicted and Condemn'd; but the Count, who was Indicted as Acceſſary, was with great Difficulty, and perhaps no leſs Partiality, found Not Guilty, and acquitted: The Three were executed in the *Pall-Mall*, the Lieutenant and *Polander* being very penitent; tho' their Notion had for ſome Time been *That Obedience to the Orders of their Superiors wou'd clear any Man from Guilt*. But the Captain ſeem'd to continue in his firſt Opinion, *That God had a greater Favour for Gentlemen, than to require Punctilios of Humility at their Hands; and that it was abſurd to think, that ſo many Thouſand Gentlemen in the World, that ſtood upon their Honour and Reputation as much as He, ſhou'd be for ever damn'd, becauſe they cou'd not Stoop to Things that wou'd ſpoil the Figure they made in the World.*

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and Executed. Coningſmark *eſcapes.*

As this Accident made a great Noiſe, ſo it was at firſt look'd upon as a Party Cauſe, Mr. *Thynne* being ſo deeply ingag'd with thoſe now call'd the *Whigs*, and the more upon the Account of the Acquittal of Count *Coningsmark*. But ſome look'd upon it as a juſt Judgment upon him for his treacherous Practices to another Lady, noted for her Modeſty and Vertue, who had bravely reſiſted the Temptations of a vicious Court, and more particularly the Courtſhip of the Duke of *Monmouth*, as being a Marry'd Man. The Duke inrag'd at the Diſappointment, it ſeems apply'd himſelf for Revenge to an Unmarry'd-Man, his Friend Mr. *Thynne*, who by the Help of his great Eſtate, and his honourable Propoſals and Pretenſions, as it is ſaid, found Means and Opportunity at length baſely to betray her Vertue, and then ſhamefully abandon'd Her. This was fully remember'd after his Death, and it became a ſort of a Saying, *That if he had marry'd the Lady he had bedded, or had bedded the Lady he had marry'd, he had never come to this Untimely End.* As to the Lady *Ogle*, who was an innocent but unfortunate Occaſion of this Diſaſter, ſhe was afterwards marry'd to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſoon ſhew'd to the World that her Worth and Reputation was above all Blemiſh.

Reflections upon it.

3. Immediately after the Execution of the Criminals, the King, Queen and Court repair'd to *Newmarket*, where it was deſign'd that the Duke of *York* from *Scotland* ſhou'd meet them with publick Pomp and Solemnity. In Order to which, his Royal Highneſs landed at Great *Yarmouth*, on the 10th of *March*, where he was receiv'd by the Bayliffs and Corporation, with all the Marks of Joy and Reſpect, and entertain'd with as noble a Dinner as cou'd be provided upon ſo ſudden an Occaſion. From thence,

The Arrival of the Duke of York *from* Scotland.

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thence, with great Satisfaction, he was attended by Mr. *Knyvet* the High-Sheriff of *Norfolk*, and a glorious Train of the Neighbouring Gentry, to the City of *Norwich*; where he was again magnificently treated by the Mayor and Aldermen, with Banquets and Bonefires, and lodg'd that Night at the Biſhop's Palace. The next Day, towards the Evening, he arriv'd at *Newmarket*, where he was receiv'd by both their Majeſties with all the Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Affection; having been met ſeveral Miles out of Town by a numerous Appearance of Noblemen and Gentlemen, then attending the Court; and now the popular Acclamations for the Duke of *York* appear'd in all Places as great as any that had been for the Duke of *Monmouth*.

The very next Day, the two Royal Brothers had the Pleaſure of an Addreſs from the Artillery Company in *Briſtol*, which, becauſe it was much diſcours'd of, and more particularly decipher'd the *Aſſociation*, is for the moſt Part here remember'd: Theſe Addreſſers 'Expreſs from 'the Bottom of their Souls an utter Abhorrence of all *Covenants* and *Aſ-* 'ſociations whatſoever, made againſt or without his Majeſty's Approba- 'tion, eſpecially that Treaſonable One ſeiz'd in the Cloſet of the Earl of 'Shaftsbury; wherein the Securing the Proteſtant Religion, and the De- 'fence of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Eſtate, is made the *Pretence*; 'but the Subverſion of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and the final Deſtruction 'of his Majeſty and Lawful Succeſſors, is the Real *Deſign:* And this to 'be perform'd, not by the Major Part of a Parliament, as in the late de- 'ſtructive Rebellion; but by devolving his Majeſty's Crown and Scep- 'tre into the Hands of the Major Part of the Members of both Houſes, '*Subſcribing that Aſſociation*, though Diſſolv'd, without Regard to their 'Quality, or Number. His Majeſty's Guards, for the Defence of his Royal 'Perſon, are falſly ſtil'd *Mercenary Forces*, and a *Terror to all the good* '*People of the Land:* His Majeſty's Royal Brother to be Excluded and 'Deſtroyed, if he came into *England*, and all who ſhall oppoſe that Re- 'bellious, Accurſed, Helliſh and Unprecedented *Aſſociation*, are to be '*purſu'd to Deſtruction*, tho' in Defence of his Majeſty's Title.' After ſome other Expreſſions, they conclude, 'That they will aſſert and de- 'fend the Rights and Prerogatives of his Majeſty and Lawful Succeſſors, 'in Oppoſition to all *Unions* and *Societies* made to the contrary; and that 'they cannot think that Man fit to be a Repreſentative in Parliament, 'who will not diſown ſuch Aſſociations.

Briſtol *Addreſs.*

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4. While the King and the Court were entertaining themſelves with all ſorts of rural and field Sports, the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, in the Beginning of *April*, waited upon his Majeſty with a Loyal Addreſs of Abhorrency. At which Time alſo the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Coya*, with the reſt of the Body, waited upon the Duke of *York*, and in the Name of Himſelf and the Univerſity, made a ſhort Speech in *Latin*, 'To con- 'gratulate his Royal Highneſs's Return into *England*, and to acknowledge 'that by his good Conduct, the Government of *Scotland*, both in Church 'and State, is ſettled in Peace; and therefore they cou'd by no means 'doubt, but that under his Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs's Preſence wou'd 'have a great Influence in Effecting the ſame here in *England*; by 'which means all *Great Britain* being joyn'd in One, the Church of '*England*, and the Rights of the Crown may for ever flouriſh.' To which Speech his Royal Highneſs was pleas'd to return an Anſwer to this Effect; '*That he gave the Univerſity his Thanks for their kind Expreſſi-* *ons; That he was very glad of this and all other Occaſions to Declare,* That he wou'd ever ſtand by the Church of England, as now Eſtabliſh'd, *and Countenance the Members of it, as having ſeen by Experience, that* they

Cambridge *Univerſity compliment the Duke.*

1682. Car. 34 Ref. 23

they are the beſt Supporters of the Crown; and that he wou'd uſe his Endeavours and Intereſt for the Preſervation of the King's Perſon, and the Government in the State, and the Church of England, *as now Eſtabliſh'd by Law.* And now ſeveral other Addreſſes alſo which were made to the King, had particular Words in them Congratulating the Duke's happy Return into *England.*

They chuſe the D. of Albemarle *their Chancellor.*

As the Credit of the Duke of *York* increas'd, ſo that of the Duke of *Monmouth* began to be in danger, tho' he had preſerv'd and kept it up by all imaginable Arts of Popularity. Theſe were really diſguſtful to the King, tho' he ſtill retain'd a ſecret and warm Affection for him; but now having a fair Opportunity of checking his Grandeur, he thought fit to ſignify his Pleaſure to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, that they ſhou'd chuſe another Chancellor in the Place of the Duke of *Monmouth.* With which Order the Univerſity readily comply'd, and made choice of his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle* to be their Chancellor. Accordingly, for the more ſolemn Inſtallment of their new Chancellor, the Heads of the Univerſity, with other Members, to the Number of two Hundred and fifty, repair'd to *London*, and made a pompous Proceſſion in all their Robes and Habits, from *Northumberland-Houſe* to *Albemarle-Houſe.* Here the Ceremony was perform'd with great Decency and Grandeur, and his Grace was entertain'd with ſeveral Speeches. After which, his Grace was pleas'd to expreſs in very obliging Terms, *his great Satisfaction in the Place into which they had Elected him, and his Readineſs to do them all Acts of Kindneſs to the utmoſt of his Power.* The whole was concluded by a noble and ſplendid Entertainment; at which were preſent, beſides thoſe of the Univerſity, ſeveral Perſons of Honour and great Quality, beſides an infinite Number of Spectators.

The Duke of York *treated at* London.

As ſoon as the King return'd to *London*, together with his Royal Brother, on the 10th of *April* he was attended by the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and Court of Aldermen; who having paid their Duty to the King, upon his Return from *Newmarket*, they all went to St. *James*'s, where they waited upon his Royal Highneſs, and congratulated his Happy Return into *England*, and to that his particular Palace. A few Days after his Royal Highneſs was ſolemnly invited by the *Artillery Company*, to their Annual Feaſt held at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, which he readily accepted of, as being their Captain-General, and went accompany'd with great Numbers of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality. The Entertainment was manag'd with more than ordinary Pomp and Splendor, and after Dinner, upon his Retiring into another Room, great Numbers of the Citizens crowded in, and were admitted to kiſs his Royal Highneſs's Hand.

An oppoſite Invitation.

In Oppoſition, as it were, to this Invitation, the Party moſt zealous againſt *Popery* and the *Duke's Succeſſion*, to ſhew and improve their Strength, appointed a Publick Meeting, with a Sermon and a Dinner, as uſual among particular Bodies and Societies; and they invited their Gueſts, upon a Ticket in theſe Words: *It having pleas'd Almighty God, by his wonderful Providence, to Deliver and Protect his Majeſty's* Perſon, *the* Proteſtant *Religion, and* Engliſh Liberties, *hitherto, from the Helliſh and frequent Attempts of their Enemies, the* Papiſts; *In Teſtimony of thankfulneſs herein, and for the Preſerving and Improving Mutual Love and Charity, among ſuch as are ſenſible thereof, You are deſired to meet many of the Loyal* Proteſtant *Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Citizens, on* Friday *the 21ſt Day of this Inſtant* April, 1682, *at Ten a Clock, at St.* Michael's Church *in* Cornhill, *there to hear a Sermon, and from thence to go to* Haberdaſhers-Hall *to Dinner; and to bring this Ticket with you.* The Court, which daily grew more vigilant and jealous, ſoon diſcover'd the Matter,

1682. Car. 34 Rel. 23 *Defeated by the Court.*

Matter, and publiſh'd this following Order of Council, dated *April* the 19th, 'Whereas the Appointing of Publick *Faſts* and *Thankſgivings* is 'Matter of State, and belongs only to his Majeſty by his Prerogative; 'And his Majeſty being inform'd, that in the City of *London*, Invitations 'have been made of great and unuſual Numbers, by *Printed Tickets*, one 'of which is hereunto annex'd; his Majeſty looks upon the ſame as an In-'ſolent Attempt; in manifeſt Derogation of his Right, and of dangerous 'Conſequence: The *Matter* of the ſaid Invitation being of a Publick Na-'ture, and *Manner* of Carrying it on, tending to *Sedition*, and Raiſing '*Diſtinctions* and *Confederacies* amongſt his Subjects, againſt the known 'Laws and Peace of the Kingdom; his Majeſty therefore, by the Advice 'of his Council, hath thought fit, and doth hereby ſtrictly charge and 'command the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, as they will an-'ſwer the contrary at their Peril, to take immediate and effectual Care 'to prevent and hinder the ſaid Meeting, as an *Unlawful Aſſembly*; and 'all Sheriffs, Conſtables, and other his Majeſty's Officers in the ſaid City, 'are hereby commanded to be Aiding and Aſſiſting therein.

A Letter from Scotland *in favour of the Duke.*

On the ſame Day, for an Increaſe of the Duke's Credit, was publiſh'd by Authority a remarkable Letter ſubſcrib'd by ſeven Biſhops in *Scotland*, and directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſoon after his Royal Highneſs's Departure from that Kingdom: It bears date at *Edinburgh*, March 9, 1682, and ſets forth, 'That ſince his Royal Highneſs came into that Kingdom, 'they, the ſaid Biſhops, found their Caſe much chang'd for the better, 'and their Church and Order ſenſibly reliev'd and reſcu'd; which, next 'to the watchful Providence of God, they can aſcribe to nothing ſo much 'as to his Royal Highneſs's gracious Owning, and vigilant Protecting of 'them; who upon all Occaſions gave freſh Inſtances of his Eminent Zeal 'againſt the moſt unreaſonable Schiſm, which by Renting threatens the 'Subverſion of their Church and Religion; and concerns himſelf as a Pa-'tron to them in all their Publick, and even Perſonal Intereſts. That 'they did never propoſe to his Royal Highneſs any Rational Expedient, 'which might conduce to the Relief or Security of the Church, which 'he did not readily embrace and effectuate: That the Peace and Tran-'quillity of that Kingdom is the Effect of his prudent and ſteddy Conduct 'of Affairs: That the Humours of the wicked *Phanaticks* there, are 'much reſtrain'd from dangerous Eruptions, upon their Apprehenſions 'of his Vigilance and Juſtice; And that they deſire the ſaid Archbiſhop 'of *Canterbury* to make their Dutiful Acknowledgments to his Royal 'Highneſs for all his Princely Favours to them, with Aſſurance of their 'firm Endeavours to ſerve him, and of their moſt fervent Prayers for his 'Temporal and Eternal Happineſs.' Subſcrib'd, St. *Andrews*, *Glaſco*, '*Edinburgh*, *Galloway*, *Dunkeld*, *Brechin* and *Dumblain*.

His R. Highneſs goes for Scotland.

5. Shortly after, his Royal Highneſs had an Occaſion of going once more, and the laſt Time, into *Scotland*, deſigning to bring his Dutcheſs and Family from thence, and to make but a very ſhort Stay. Accordingly on the 3d of *May* he departed from *Windſor*, accompany'd with ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and went down in one of the King's Yatchts to imbark on the *Glouceſter*, commanded by Sir *John Berry*, and attended by the *Dartmouth*, the *Ruby*, and the *Happy Return*, &c. But on *Friday* Morning early, *May* the 5th, the *Glouceſter* Frigate unhappily ſtruck upon the Sand call'd the *Lemon and Oar*, about ſixteen Leagues from the Mouth of the *Humber*, tho' the Weather was fair, and one *Ayres*, reckon'd the beſt Coaſter in *England*, his Pilot. His Royal Highneſs being awak'd out of his Sleep, and perceiving the Danger, ſtill ſtaid as long as he cou'd ſafely on Board, till, having notice given him, that there was above ſeven Foot

Foot Water in the Hold, he put off in his Pinnace, with as many of the beſt Perſons as it wou'd well hold, and ſav'd himſelf on Board of the *Mary* Yacht. Other Boats were immediately ſent to ſave the Men in the ſinking Ship; but before any Service cou'd be done, the Duke and the reſt, to their unexpreſſible Grief, ſaw the Veſſel ſink to the Bottom of the Sea. By which the Earl of *Roxborough* in *Scotland*, the Lord *Obryan*, the Laird of *Hopton*, Sir *Joſeph Douglas*, Lieutenant *Hyde* Brother-in-law to the Duke, with ſeveral of the Duke's Servants, and above a Hundred and Thirty Seamen, were miſerably loſt; the Commander, Sir *John Berry*, hardly eſcaping by a Rope over the Stern, into Captain *Wyborn*'s Boat. We are told ſomething very remarkable concerning the poor Seamen in the ſinking Ship, who in the midſt of the Difficulty and Confuſion, when they ſaw their old Maſter the Duke out of Danger, they expreſs'd a particular Joy and Thankfulneſs for his Preſervation, while they themſelves were in a dying and deplorable Condition. Upon this extraordinary Eſcape, a remarkable Medal was ſtruck, on which was the Duke's Effigies in Buſt, with theſe Words round it, JACOBUS DUX EBORACENSIS ET ALBANENSIS G. B. F. The Reverſe, is a Ship ſinking in the Ocean, and a Rock and Caſtle at a Diſtance, with theſe Words, IMPAVIDUM FERIUNT. 1682. Car. 34 Reſ. 23 *His Eſcape at Sea.*

Soon after this ſad Diſaſter, the Duke ſafely arriv'd at the deſired Country, on the 7th of *May*; where on the next Day he went to Council, and there declar'd, That it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure to conſtitute the Lord *Haddo* Lord-Preſident of the Seſſions, Lord-Chancellor of the Kingdom, the Earl of *Queensbery* Lord-Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Perth* Lord-Juſtice-General; and then having taken his ſolemn and laſt Leave of that Kingdom, he with his Dutcheſs, and the Lady *Anne*, together with a great Train of Nobility, went to *Leith-Road*, where he embark'd in the *Happy-Return*, and on the 26th arriv'd ſafe at the *Buoy* in the *Gun-Fleet*: Of which, an Expreſs coming to *Windſor*, both their Majeſties, attended with a numerous and ſplendid Train of Nobility, came the next Day in their Coaches to *Putney*, and there took Barge, and went down the River to meet the Duke and Dutcheſs, which they did at *Eriff*; and at the Approach of the King's Barge, the Ships in the Road ſaluted him with a general Diſcharge of their Cannon. Then their Royal Highneſſes, *&c.* enter'd the Barge; and after particular Expreſſions of Joy for the Duke's great Deliverance at Sea, the Royal Brothers and Conſorts came to *White-Hall*, where they landed; being ſaluted all the Way up the River by the Ships in the Road, and great Guns from the *Tower*. From whence they went to *Arlington-Houſe* in the Park, where they were entertain'd with a ſumptuous Banquet, and whither the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City repair'd, to congratulate his Royal Highneſs's happy Return and Eſcape: And that Night the City blaz'd with Bone-Fires, and gave all the outward Demonſtrations of Joy and Satisfaction. *His Arrival and Reception in* England,

During the reſt of this King's Reign, which was two Years and eight Months, his Royal Highneſs the Duke continu'd in *England*, and often with the King's Perſon and Preſence, over whoſe Actions and Proceedings he is thought to have had a more than uſual Influence, and to have been a great Cauſe of ſome Severities and Irregularities charg'd upon his Majeſty, who appear'd more willing to paſs his latter Days with more Eaſe and Indolence. Yet notwithſtanding, I have been aſſur'd from knowing Perſons, that in theſe latter Days the King began to take more to Buſineſs than in many Years before, to exert himſelf, and to ſhew his Anger and Reſentments againſt an increaſing Party that had ſo much diſturbed his Repoſe, and threatned his Safety; in which he found anſwerable Suc- *Where he continues the reſt of the Reign.*

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ceſs, in ſecuring the Rights and Dignity of the Crown, as ſome, or endangering the general Liberties of the People, as others expreſs it. However he knew the Humour of the Nation ſo well, and valu'd his Quiet ſo much, that he kept himſelf under ſuch proper Limitations, as not to ſink or overthrow Himſelf; and more than once took an Occaſion to ſay to his Brother the Duke, *Brother, I am reſolv'd never to Travel again; you may do ſo, if you pleaſe.*

The preſent State of Affairs.

IV. 1. As the Vigilance and Severities of the Court ſeem'd actually to increaſe, ſo the Heats and Exorbitances on the other ſide ſeem'd as much to give Occaſion to them, and to require a ſtrict Hand and a ſtrict Rein to manage them. The Struggles on each Side were this Year brought to a *Criſis*; and the preſent Circumſtance of Affairs is thus deſcrib'd by a Great Man in his intended Advice to the King: Speaking of the Times of Rebellion, he ſays, 'The Scene is only chang'd; from 'Skirmiſhes and Battles in the Fields, and Sieges of Cities and Towns, 'it is come now to Altercations and Fightings between Sheriffs and o-'ther Officers, Grand-Juries and Petty-Juries; and they and the Courts 'of Juſtice, who by Law are the Conſervators of our Peace, are ingag'd 'in the Quarrels, and Verdicts are found, and Judgments given as the 'litigant Parties exceed one another in Power and Practice, more than 'by the Merits of the Cauſe; which ingageth almoſt the whole People 'of one ſide or other, in every Caſe. So that now Juſtice hath loſt its old 'deep Channel, and all Cauſes are carry'd by a fierce impetuous Tor-'rent, which in Time, if not diverted, may break all our Banks, and bring 'a general Inundation: For it is come to this already, that all Reverence 'to Miniſterial Officers, Juries, and Judges, is loſt; and there is now no 'Caſe of Moment almoſt, wherein there is not Muſtering of Parties, and 'inſtead of Parliaments, Appeals are made to the People, who can nei-'ther meet nor judge in a Body, and therefore end all Controverſies 'by quarrelling Parties.' In ſum, there was ſeldom more need of the Reins of Government, than at this Time. And all this while, the Preſs, which the laſt Year had been under ſome Reſtraint, ſwarm'd with innumerable Books and Pamphlets, which ſerv'd more to whet and ſour Men's Minds, than to bring them to any right Underſtanding. Among theſe, none made a greater Noiſe than *The Life of Julian the Apoſtate*, in which was artfully drawn a Parallel between Him and the Duke of *York*, the Excluſion maintain'd and vindicated, and *Paſſive Obedience* exploded as a *Mahometan* Doctrine. The Author was Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, a Clergy-Man of the Earl of *Bedford*'s Family, a Man of a ſober Life and good Morals, and of notable Wit and Parts, but of ſuch a fiery and fearleſs Spirit, as might rouſe the Vigilance of the beſt, as well as the worſt of Governments. This Book did not only occaſion many ſharp Anſwers, and the Author to be mark'd out by the Publick; but that and other Accidents caus'd *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* to be more zealouſly preach'd up and maintain'd, both by Divines and Lawyers, and to become more faſhionable, if not more neceſſary Doctrines, than in any Time before this Year: by which Means they were ſwell'd and carry'd to that Height, as made them ſo difficult to be reconcil'd with the Liberties of the Nation, or with that great Deliverance that happen'd afterwards.

Angleſey. Wright. Heraclitus. Sprat. Gazettes. Wood. Locke.

A Swarm of Pamphlets.

The Earl of Shaftsbury *againſt Mr.* Cradock.

As to publick Tryals, *Eaſter* Term yielded ſeveral Paſſages of conſiderable Note in the *King's-Bench* Court at *Weſtminſter*: The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, after his Eſcape, had brought his Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt one Mr. *Cradock*, a conſiderable Citizen and Mercer in *Pater-Noſter-Row*, for ſpeaking ſome Words implying the Earl to be a Traytor; which Action being laid in *London*, the Defendent's Council

ſhew'd

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ſhew'd and alledg'd, 'That there was no Probability of a Fair Tryal by 'a *London* Jury, by Reaſon that the Earl was not only free of the City, 'but alſo of the *Skinner's*-Company, of which Sheriff *Pilkington* was 'Maſter, and that therefore the Jury ought to ariſe out of ſome Neigh-'bouring County:' To which the Court inclin'd, and gave the Earl his Choice of a Jury out of any County in *England*; but the Earl reply'd, *That he had rather lay down his Action, than admit it to be try'd in any other County, in regard moſt of them had put* Abhorrences *upon him:* Which poſitive Reſolution confirm'd the Lord Chief-Juſtice in his Opinion of the Earl's total Reliance upon a *London*-Jury, and therefore order'd, 'That unleſs he would conſent to try his Cauſe by a Country Jury, it 'ſhould not be Try'd in *London*;' whereupon the Earl diſcontinu'd his Action. The like Rule was made ſoon after in the ſame Court, between the ſaid Earl and Mr. *Graham*, Principal of *Clifford*'s-Inn, againſt whom his Lordſhip had brought an *Action of Conſpiracy*, as having been appointed by the King's Council to be Sollicitor in the Indictment againſt the Earl at the *Old-Baily*. The like Rule was alſo made in the *Exchequer* in Mr. *Slingsby Bethel*'s Caſe.

Wilmore's Caſe.

Alſo Mr. *Wilmore*, the Foreman of *Stephen Colledge*'s *Ignoramus* Jury, having convey'd away a young Boy and ſent him to *Jamaica*, a Writ *de Homine replegiando* was brought againſt him; upon which Writ, the Sheriffs *Pilkington* and *Shute* making an inſufficient Return, and poſitively refuſing to return *Elongatus eſt*, the only Legal Return in that Caſe, they were both brought into the *King's-Bench* upon an Attachment, where they receiv'd a ſharp Reprimand from the Court, and were glad to ſubmit, with a promiſe of better Behaviour for the future. Hereupon an *Elongatus eſt* being return'd, a *Capias in Withernam* iſſu'd out againſt *Wilmore*, to take him into Cuſtody, and detain him till he produc'd the Boy. Nor was this ſufficient, but the ſaid *Wilmore* was on the end of *May* Try'd at the *King's-Bench* upon an Information exhibited by the Attorney-General, for Kidnapping the ſaid Boy, being under the Age of Thirteen, and unknown to his Parents; and upon full Evidence of the plain Fact, he was found guilty by a *Kentiſh* Jury, who never went from the Bar; ſo much Difference was there between a Country and a City Jury. The foreſaid *Wilmore* had been indicted in the City for the ſaid Crime of Boy-Stealing, but the Grand-Jury there found the Bill *Ignoramus*. And to the ſame Effect, one *Harris*, being Try'd at *Guild-Hall*, for diſperſing a ſcandalous Libel againſt the Government, was found Not Guilty, againſt the moſt apparent Evidence, and poſitive Directions of the Court; the Jury giving no other Reaſon but their own Will and Pleaſure. Thus the *London* Juries began to be diſtinguiſh'd and fam'd abroad in the Nation; againſt which, and the like Actions, the Court reſolv'd upon two preventing Expedients; one was to alter the late Method of Electing Sheriffs, and bring it to the ancient Courſe, and the other was to bring a *Quo Warranto* againſt the City Charter itſelf; both which were effected in Time.

And others.

On the contrary Side, three Perſons, *Nathaniel Thompſon*, *William Paine*, and *John Farewell*, were Try'd at *Guild-Hall*, 'for Writing, 'Printing and Publiſhing infamous and Seditious Libels, by Way of Let-'ters to Mr. *Prance* and other Perſons, defaming the Publick Juſtice of 'the Nation in the Proceedings againſt the Murtherers of Sir *Edmund-'bury Godfrey*:' And being Convicted, after a full Hearing, they were Condemn'd to ſtand in the Pillory, where they felt the utmoſt Severity of an inrag'd Multitude; when the like Criminals of the other Party, as *Aaron Smith*, *&c.* had formerly come off untouch'd.

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A Struggle about the Sheriffs of London.

2. The 24th of *June*, the cuſtomary Day for Electing Sheriffs of *London* for the enſuing Year, was the great Time of Struggle between the two Parties. Not long before, at a Dinner, call'd the *Bridge-Houſe* Feaſt, the Lord Mayor, according to ancient Cuſtom, had choſen Mr. *Dudley North* by the Ceremony of Drinking to him; and thereupon iſſu'd out his Summons to the ſeveral Companies to appear at *Guild-Hall*, on the ſaid 24th Day of *June*, for the Confirmation of Mr. *North*, and for the Election of another Sheriff. At the appointed Day a vaſt Concourſe of People aſſembled at *Guild-Hall*, reſolving to oppoſe the Lord Mayor, who was ſitting with the Sheriffs on the *Huſtings:* There were two Parties appear'd in Competition, Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box* on the *Tory* Party, and Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* on the other. The Poll was manag'd by the preſent Sheriffs, Mr. *Pilkington* and Mr. *Shute*; in which it was obſerv'd, that the Names of thoſe who Poll'd for the Confirmation of *North*, and the Election of *Box*, were refus'd to be enter'd; and on the other Side, it was ſaid, that ſeveral Men's Names were enter'd who were not actually preſent, or not duly intituled to Vote. The Lord Mayor ſeeing this violent Oppoſition, by Proclamation adjourned the Court to the 27th of *June*, and departed the Hall. Upon Proclaiming of *God Save the King*, the People hiſs'd, and cry'd *God Save the Proteſtant Sheriffs! No Adjournment, &c.* and preſs'd ſo hard upon the Lord Mayor, that he was thrown upon his Knees, and endanger'd by the Croud. Notwithſtanding this Adjournment, and againſt more than one expreſs Command of the Lord Mayor, the two Sheriffs continu'd to Poll on till Night. The next Day, being *Sunday*, admitted of no Buſineſs: But on *Monday* Morning, the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the two Sheriffs were all ſent for to appear before the King and Council; where the Matter being fully examin'd, the two Sheriffs were committed Priſoners to the *Tower*, by a Warrant ſign'd by Twenty four Privy-Counſellors, who made a further Order, 'That Mr. Attorney-General ſhould forthwith Exhibit an Information in the *King's-Bench* againſt *Thomas Pilkington* and *Samuel Shute* Eſquires, Sheriffs of *London*, and *Henry Corniſh* Eſquire, one of the Aldermen, and ſuch Others as upon Examination ſhould be found to have been Promoters and Encouragers of the late Enormous Riot, and that he do proceed againſt them according to the utmoſt Severity of the Law.

The Court takes Notice of it.

On *Tueſday* the 27th of *June*, the appointed Day of meeting, the Common-Hall was again Adjourn'd by the Lord Mayor to the 5th of *July*. And three Days after, the two forementioned Sheriffs were brought by *Habeas Corpus* by the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to the *King's-Bench* Bar, where they were admitted to be Bail'd by four Gentlemen of conſiderable Eſtates; themſelves being bound in two Thouſand, and the Bail in one Thouſand Pound Bonds a-piece. At the ſame Time they pleaded Not Guilty to an Information for a Tumultuous and Riotous Aſſembly in Holding the Common-Hall after it was Adjourn'd, and the Aſſembly diſcharg'd. Being thus at Liberty, the Sheriffs met at the Common-Hall on the 5th of *July*; and notwithſtanding the Lord Mayor, being now ſick, ſent Order by the Recorder to Adjourn the Hall to the 7th following, the Validity of the Adjournment was deny'd, and the Sheriffs and the Multitude proceeded to the Election, and declar'd their Choice of *Papillon*, and *Dubois*. On the 7th the Lord Mayor and his Party met again at *Guild-Hall*; but ſome Diſputes ariſing concerning the laſt Adjournment, four noted Lawyers were ſent for to the Court of Aldermen to argue the Validity of the Point, Sir *George Jeffreys* and Mr. *Saunders* for the Lord Mayor, and Mr. *Pollexfen* and Mr. *Williams* on

A further Conteſt.

on the other Side; but coming to no Concluſion, the Court was further Adjourn'd to that Day Seven-Night, the 14th of *July*. 1682.

But immediately before that Day, the King and Court thought fit to interpoſe, and his Majeſty was pleas'd to iſſue out an Order of Council in theſe Words: 'His Majeſty having been inform'd by the Lord Mayor and divers of the Aldermen of *London*, That the Diſorders and Riots 'ariſen in the City upon the Day appointed for the Election of Sheriffs, 'have been chiefly occaſion'd by the Proceedings of the Common-Hall 'in an irregular Way, contrary to what hath been anciently accuſtom'd; 'His Majeſty, by the Advice of his Council, hath thought fit, for the 'better keeping of the Peace of the City, to direct, and hereby to re-'quire the Lord Mayor to maintain and preſerve intire the *Ancient Cu-'ſtoms of the City*; and for the better doing thereof, to take effectual 'Order, that at the Common-Hall to be held to Morrow, all Proceed-'ings be begun a-new, and carry'd on in the uſual manner, as they ought 'to have been upon the 24th Day of *June* laſt.' This was read the next Day in the Common-Hall, but oppos'd by the adverſe Party with great Noiſe and Clamour; ſome crying out for the Reading of the Statute of the 16th of *Charles* I. Chap. X. in which was a Clauſe Declaratory, *That the Privy-Council have no Authority to Examine, Determine or Diſpoſe of the Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels of any of the Subjects of this Kingdom.* But this being look'd upon as no ways pertinent to the preſent Caſe, they proceeded accordingly: The Lord Mayor, in the firſt Place, declared Mr. *North* duely Elected by Him, and that he would Poll for the other Three, *viz. Box*, *Papillon*, and *Dubois*; and in order to it, caus'd Books to be prepared with Three Columns only. In the mean Time, the Sheriffs, with a *Salvo Jure* to their former Election of *Midſummer*-Day, went on a-part, and Poll'd for Four Heads. The next Day, the Lord Mayor declared Mr. *Box* duly Elected by the Majority of Votes in his Books, and therefore *North* and *Box* to be Sheriffs for the next Year. On the other Hand, the preſent Sheriffs declar'd *Papillon* and *Dubois* to have the Majority in their Books; and ſo the Poll, but not the Conteſt, ended.

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The Court again interpoſes.

North, and Box Choſen Sheriffs.

On the 27th of *July* the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen aſſembled again, not without Apprehenſions of a Diſturbance from the contrary Party; therefore two Companies of Foot were order'd to be up at the *Exchange* that Day, and the Lieutenancy plac'd themſelves in the Gallery before the Room where the Court of Aldermen ſate, to keep off the Multitude from preſſing in upon them. Very great Numbers were gather'd into *Guild-Hall*, requiring an Anſwer to a Petition, which they had formerly deliver'd to that Court, demanding that Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* ſhould be call'd forth to give Bonds to ſerve for the next Year's Sheriffs. Some few of the Chief of this Party being at length call'd in, the Lord Mayor caus'd the following Paper to be read to them, as a final Anſwer: '*Gentlemen*, This Court hath conſider'd of your Petition, and 'will take Care that ſuch Perſons ſhall take the Office of Sheriffs upon 'them as are duly Elected, *according to Law and the antient Cuſtoms of 'this City*; and in this, and in all other Things, this Court will endea-'vour to maintain *the Rights and Privileges of the Chair, and of the 'whole City*; and wherein ye think that we do otherwiſe, *the Law muſt 'judge between Us.*' With this Anſwer the Lord Mayor commanded them, in the King's Name, to depart; and he alſo laid his Commands upon Sheriff *Pilkington* to go out, and cauſe them to depart; which Mr. Sheriff durſt not diſobey, tho' he himſelf and all that Party were highly diſſatisfy'd with the Anſwer. And thus the Matter reſted for near two Months,

The Mayor carries his Point.

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Months, when the Power of the ſame Party began ſenſibly to diminiſh; and ſo ſenſibly, that *Heraclitus* thought it not neceſſary to contend with them any longer, but totally laid down his Satyrical Pen, after Eighteen Months Uſe of it, in a ſort of a Triumph.

A Conteſt between the D. of Ormond, *and the E. of* Angleſey.

3. In the mean time, there happen'd a ſort of an inteſtine Difference at Court, which occaſion'd much Diſcourſe at this Time. The Earl of *Angleſey* had ſome time ſince wrote *Obſervations and Reflections upon the Lord* Caſtlehaven's *Memoirs concerning* Ireland; in which the Duke of *Ormond* thought himſelf and the Government ſo openly reflected upon, that he judg'd it convenient to make a publick Complaint of it, and to repreſent the Caſe in Writing to the King and Council. Whereupon his Majeſty order'd the Repreſentation to be read in Form, and a Copy of it to be deliver'd to the Earl of *Angleſey*, and that he ſhou'd appear to make Anſwer thereunto, at a Council to be held at *White-Hall*, on the 23d of *June*. In Obedience to this, the Earl of *Angleſey*, then labouring under an acute Diſtemper, appear'd, made a ſhort Speech to his Majeſty in Vindication of himſelf, diſcuſs'd the Matter with the Duke of *Ormond*, and then put in his Anſwer to his Repreſentation or Complaint againſt him. This done, another Council was held on the 13th of *July*; at which Time the Duke delivering a Paper to the Board containing ſeveral Charges againſt him, it was then order'd that a Copy of it ſhou'd be ſent to the Earl, and he to return an Anſwer to it, on the 20th at *Hampton-Court*. But no Council being then held, notwithſtanding the Earl had anſwer'd to the Duke's particular Charges the next Day, the Matter was deferr'd ſeven Days longer. Another Council being therefore held that Day, the Charges and Anſwers were debated, and the two Lords concern'd being withdrawn, the Council paſs'd this Reſolution, 'That the Earl of *Angle-*
'*ſey*'s Obſervations, *&c.* was a ſcandalous Libel againſt his late Majeſty,
'againſt his preſent Majeſty, and againſt the Government.

Upon this mortifying Sentence both Lords were call'd in, and *Angleſey* was particularly told, 'That his Majeſty conceiv'd him blameable in a
'particular Clauſe or Paſſage in his Book, wherein the Committees of
'the Parliament of *Ireland* were mention'd *as having been in at the In-*
'*triegues of the Popiſh Faction at Court.*' After which, a further Hearing was appointed in Council on the 3d of *Auguſt* following; but *Angleſey* continuing extreamly Ill, and finding himſelf, as he ſaid, prejudic'd by the Lords of the Council, he wrote a Letter the Day before to the King, extenuating that, and vindicating ſome other Paſſages: This was read in Council, and in ſome degree reſented, but no further Proceedings appear'd upon it. But about the ſame Time the Earl of *Caſtlehaven* was more than once call'd in, and queſtion'd about his *Memoirs*; which he acknowledging to be his own, that Book likewiſe was by his Majeſty and Council adjudg'd *To be a ſcandalous Libel againſt the Government*. In Concluſion, on the 9th of *Auguſt*, the Privy-Seal, by his Majeſty's Command, was taken from the Earl of *Angleſey* by Sir *Leolin Jenkins*, principal Secretary of State, without any further Hearing, and given to *George* Earl of *Hallifax*, whom the King ſhortly after honour'd with the Title of a Marquiſs. The Earl of *Angleſey* had been in favour at Court ever ſince the Reſtoration, and had enjoy'd the Privy Seal near ten Years; and when he came to deliver it up, he deſired the Secretary to let his Majeſty know, *That at the Signification of his Pleaſure, he delivered the Seal more joyfully than ever he received it.*

Angleſey *remov'd.*

4. But to return to the Conteſt in the City; during the long Vacation, Mr. *Box*, who had been choſen Sheriff to ſerve with Mr. *North*, thought

thought it better to pay his Fine, than to take upon him the Office. Hereupon the Lord Mayor call'd a Common-Hall on the 19th of *September*, and propos'd the Electing of another Sheriff in his Place; which was violently oppos'd by the adverse Party, who cry'd out *No North, no North! no Election!* &c. But the Lord Mayor being steddy and resolute, went on in the Election, and by the Majority of his Party, *Peter Rich*, Esquire, a Lieutenant-Colonel in *Southwark*, and twice a Burgess in Parliament for that Borough, was chosen, and so declared; whereupon the Lord Mayor dissolv'd the Court, and return'd to his House in Triumph. Notwithstanding which, the two Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, continu'd the Assembly, and put the Question to their own Party, who only remain'd, Whether they wou'd abide by their former Choice of *Papillon* and *Dubois*, or not. In the mean Time the Lord Mayor sent a Message to them, declaring the Court was dissolv'd, and requiring them to depart; yet still they went on with the Poll, and casting up their Books, declar'd the said *Papillon* and *Dubois* Sheriffs Elect. But the next Morning the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen waited upon the King at *White-Hall*, and gave a full Account of the Proceedings; which caused the two Sheriffs to be immediately sent for to the Council, where they were severely reprimanded, and told *They had been guilty of a high Misdemeanour*; and were not dismiss'd but upon good Bail to answer to an Information for the same. So on the 28th of *September*, in the Morning, Mr. *Dudly North* and Mr. *Peter Rich* were according to Custom sworn Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, before the Lord Mayor in the *Hustings*: At which Time, to prevent a Tumult, a Company of the City Train'd-Bands were drawn up in *Guild-Hall*. And two Days after the said Sheriffs were presented by the Recorder in the *Exchequer*, and sworn there; the old Sheriffs giving up their Office at the same Time.

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A new Contest in the City.

North *and* Rich *the Sheriffs.*

This great Point gain'd, a new Struggle happen'd on *Michaelmas* Day, which being the customary Time for the Election of a Lord Mayor, the Whig Party muster'd their utmost Strength against Sir *William Prichard*, who was the next in Course, and set up against him two several Aldermen, *Gould* and *Cornish*, of whom the last had been Sheriff but the Year before. At the first Appearance these two had the Majority of Votes; till at last, upon a long Scrutiny and a thorough Examination into the Capacity of the Voters, it was found that a great Number had appear'd for them, who were not legally intituled to Voices, and, as was reported, no less than Sixty in the single Company of the *Merchant-Taylors*: Which kind of People being struck out of the Number, it appear'd that Sir *William Pritchard* had 2138 Votes, *Gould* 2124, and *Cornish* 2093. Whereupon, on the 25th Day of *October*, Sir *William* was by the Court of Aldermen at *Guild-Hall* declar'd Lord Mayor Elect, and the usual Ceremonies then and there perform'd to him as such, with mighty Shouts and Acclamations from all the Loyal Party in the City. Two Days after, he was presented to his Majesty at *White-Hall* by the Court of Aldermen, Recorder and Sheriffs, where the King was pleas'd to tell them, *That they had made Choice of a Person to be their Lord-Mayor, of whose Loyalty and Affection to the Establish'd Government, and Ability to discharge that great Office, he was well assured, and that he did Approve of him.* And at the same time his Majesty express'd his particular Satisfaction he had in the good Administration of Sir *John Moore*, now going out of his Office. On the 30th of *October* Sir *William Prichard* was sworn at *Westminster-Hall*; at which Solemnity many of the other Party refus'd to attend, as on other Years. And they proceeded so far that they appointed Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Wallop*, Councellors at Law, to move in the *King's-Bench*, 'That a *Mandamus* might be directed to Sir *John Moore*,

Sir William Prichard *Lord Mayor.*

'and

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'and the Aldermen of *London*, to ſwear either Alderman *Gould*, or Alderman *Corniſh*, into the Office of Lord Mayor of *London*.' But the Motion was look'd upon as ridiculous, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice refus'd to give it the leaſt Countenance; 'ſuch a *Mandamus* in the Disjunctive, 'being a thing never heard of, and abſurd in it ſelf.

The Whig *Party declines.*

This new Settlement of the Sheriffs of *London*, and back'd by a Lord Mayor of the ſame Principles, prov'd a terrible Blow to the diſaffected Party, and forc'd them to depend and rely upon more deſperate Attempts. Many of them found themſelves in great Danger from the violent, if not ſeditious Oppoſitions they had made to the Court; and perceiv'd that now they cou'd be no longer protected by their Fellow Subjects, under the Name of *Ignoramus Juries*. Particularly the Head of them, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, being conſcious of the Variety of his dark Practices, and finding he was now in the Compaſs of the Juſtice he had lately fruſtrated, thenceforth gave over all his quieter and more plauſible Arts of Embroiling, whereby he proudly bragg'd, *He ſhou'd, in Time, leiſurely Walk the King out of his Dominions*; and ſuddenly betook himſelf to more precipitate Enterprizes; allarming his Confidents with a near Proſpect of their Common Danger, and inflaming them to Inſurrections, and baſer Actions, which produced thoſe Conſpiracies that made ſo great a Noiſe the next Year. He form'd a Council of Six, a Correſpondence with *Scotland*, and other Matters to effect his Ends; but ſtill his great Spirit began to ſink, and his Courage to forſake him, inſomuch that he durſt not ſtay in *England*; but abandoning his Aſſociates, in the Month of *November*, he went, or rather fled over into *Holland*, and ſhelter'd himſelf under the Protection of thoſe very States, which he had formerly threatned and endeavour'd utterly to exterminate.

The Earl of Shaftsbury *retires into* Holland.

Before his Departure, and at that Time, all things tended to the Declenſion and Downfal of that Party he had ſo rigorouſly ſupported, and almoſt created. A *Quo Warranto* was determin'd to iſſue out againſt the City of *London*, and likewiſe other Places, upon their Account. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs were very active and vigilant in ſuppreſſing their Clubs and Conventicles; ſo that they were forc'd to betake themſelves to more ſecret Counſels and Contrivances: And in this *Michaelmas*-Term, all the *Weekly Intelligences*, which were daily publiſh'd to keep up and animate, were by publick Authority prohibited, and all the Hawkers ſilenc'd. The Reins of Government were now held with a more ſtrict and ſteddy Hand than in ſeveral Years before, as appear'd in ſeveral Inſtances: Particularly upon the Celebration of the Fifth of *November*, the Multitude were ſo unruly after the Bonefire, that they gather'd together in great Numbers, crying out a *Monmouth*, a *Monmouth!* and knocking down ſuch as they ſuſpected not to be of their own Gang, and committing many other Riotous Actions in *Cheapſide* and the Neighbouring Parts. But they were ſoon diſpers'd by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, aſſiſted by ſome of the Train'd-Bands, who took ſeveral of the Rioters, and committed them, ſome to *Newgate*, and others to the *Counters*; of which moſt of them were afterwards Fin'd and Pillory'd. This Diſturbance immediately cauſed a ſtrict Order from the King and Council, commanding, 'That no Perſon whatſoever ſhou'd preſume to 'make any Bonefire, and other Fire-Works, without ſpecial Order 'ſo to do from the Lord Mayor and other Magiſtrates.' Which Order being vigilantly obſerv'd by the Juſtices of *Middleſex*, and the Lord Mayor, who with the Sheriffs rid up and down the Streets of *London* all the Evening of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Day the 17th of *November*; no riotous Actions, nor no Burning of the *Pope*, &c. was ſuffer'd that Night, as had been uſed for ſeveral late Years.

The Tory *Party prevail.*

All

All theſe Things ſerv'd to eſtabliſh the Power and Intereſt of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, who on the 24th of *November* brought on a great Cauſe, which was Try'd between Him and the late Sheriff Alderman *Pilkington*, for theſe Words ſpoken by the Defendent; *The Duke of* York *has fired the City, and is now come to cut our Throats.* This was the greateſt and moſt noted *Scandalum Magnatum* that perhaps was ever Try'd; and the Words being fully prov'd by Sir *William Hooker*, and Sir *Henry Tulſe*, both Aldermen of *London*, the Jury found for the Plaintiff, and gave no leſs than a Hundred Thouſand Pound Damages; ſo forward were the Juries at this Time. Whereupon, on the laſt Day of the Term, Mr. *Pilkington* render'd himſelf, in Diſcharge of his Bail, a Priſoner in Execution; and Mr. Sheriff *North* was Elected into his Place of Alderman.

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The Duke of York's *Caſe againſt* Pilkington.

5. And now it is Time to come to more independent Matters, ſuch as Embaſſies, Promotions, and Deaths, and ſo finiſh the old Year 1682, which became very remarkable for the Arrival of two very extraordinary Ambaſſadors to the King, never known before in *England*. The Firſt from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*, his Name *Hamet Ben Hamet Ben Haddu Ottor*, a Man of great Abilities and Eminency in his own Country: His Buſineſs was about ſettling a Peace with *Tangier*, and much reſpected in *England*, highly complimented at Court, and at both the Univerſities, and he ſeem'd to expreſs no leſs Eſteem for the *Engliſh* Nation: But upon his Return, for Reaſons unknown here, he was reported to be receiv'd by his Maſter with Diſgrace. The other Ambaſſador was from as far as the King of *Bantam*, or *Suroſoam*, in the Iſland of *Java* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; his Buſineſs was about the *Eaſt-India* Trade there, in which the *Dutch* had at that Time made ſeveral Incroachments, and in Concluſion gain'd their Point.

Two Embaſſies.

Honours and Preferments this Year were very numerous; and beſides the Favours conferr'd on the Marquis of *Hallifax*, before mention'd, on the 20th of *September*, the profound Earl of *Sunderland* was by his Majeſty's Command readmitted a Privy-Counſellor; and not long after, upon the Lord *Conway*'s Reſignation, he was again made one of the principal Secretaries of State. On the 25th of *September*, the Duke of *Hamilton* was elected a Knight Companion of the honourable Order of the *Garter*, in a Chapter held at *White-Hall*. Towards the End of *November*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer upon Sir *John Bennet*, Knight of the *Bath*, the Dignity of a Baron of *England*, under the Stile and Title of *John* Lord *Oſſulſton*. And ſhortly after his Majeſty was pleas'd to create his old Friend and Servant, *James* Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, a Duke of *England*, by the ſame Name and Title; And the Lord Marquis of *Worceſter*, a Duke of the ſame Kingdom, by the Name and Title of Duke of *Beaufort*; And the Lord *Norris*, an Earl, by the Name and Title of Earl of *Abington*. And with a greater Flood of diſtinguiſhing Favours, cheap and acceptable, at the Beginning of *December*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to grant the Title and Dignity of an Earl of this Kingdom, to *Edward* Viſcount *Cambden*, by the Name and Stile of Earl of *Gainſborough*: And to *Conyers* Lord *Darcy*, by the Name and Stile of Earl of *Holderneſs*: And to *Thomas* Lord *Windſor*, Governor of the Town and Garriſon of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, by the Name and Stile of Earl of *Plymouth*: As alſo the Title and Dignity of a Viſcount, to *Horatio* Lord *Townſhend*, by the Name and Stile of Viſcount *Townſhend* of *Raynham*: The Titles and Dignities of a Baron and a Viſcount, to Sir *Thomas Thynne*, Baronet, by the Name and Stile of Baron *Thynne* of *Warmiſter*, and Viſcount *Weymouth*: The Title and Dignity of a Baron, to Colonel

Honours and Promotions.

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George Legg, of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and Maſter-General of the Ordnance, by the Name and Stile of Baron of *Dartmouth*. His Majeſty at the ſame Time created the celebrated Colonel *John Churchill*, Lord *Churchill* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*. And his Majeſty obſerving the extraordinary Inclination with which his Grace the Duke of *Grafton* had apply'd himſelf to Sea Affairs, and the Succeſsful Progreſs he had made therein, to encourage this Diſpoſition in him, was graciouſly pleas'd to confer upon him the Office of Vice-Admiral of *England*, vacant by the Death of his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*; whoſe Office of Conſtable and Governor of the Caſtle and Foreſt of *Windſor*, and Lord-Lieutenant of the Counties of *Berks* and *Surry*, his Majeſty conferr'd upon *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, Son and Heir to his Grace the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl-Marſhal of *England*.

The Deaths of Prince Rupert,

Of the eminent Perſons that dy'd this Year, we ſhall begin with Three of the higheſt Rank, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and the Lord Chancellor *Finch*. The Firſt was Couſin-German to the preſent King, and Third Son of the Queen of *Bohemia*, and own Brother to the Princeſs *Sophia*, who beſides his Foreign Titles, was Duke of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Holderneſs*, Knight of the *Garter*, &c. A Perſon of whom much has been ſaid in this and the laſt Volume, who after innumerable Toils, and Variety of Heroick Actions, both by Land and Sea, ſpent ſeveral Years in ſedate Studies, and the Proſecution of Chymical and Philoſophical Experiments, with which the King was very much pleas'd and delighted. He dy'd on the 29th of *November*, and 63d Year of his Age, generally lamented; having maintain'd ſuch good Temper, and exact Neutrality, in the preſent unhappy Diviſions, that he was honour'd and reſpected by Men of the moſt differing Intereſts. The next was *John Maitland*, Duke of *Lauderdale*, a Perſon who had been many Years in Favour with the King, and had promoted ſome of the moſt unjuſtifiable Proceedings in the Reign; therefore much fear'd and hated both in *Scotland* and *England*, and the more for having ſo great an Influence at Court. He was a Man of great Wit and Parts, and conſiderable Learning, but of an impetuous Spirit, and very looſe as to his Morals, if not Principles: for he was formerly a zealous *Covenanter* and Aſſerter of Liberty againſt the late King, and in the preſent Reign an Enemy to the Presbyterians, and a great Promoter of Arbitrary Power; and at the ſame Time a ſecret Underminer of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, by putting it upon a new Foundation in that Kingdom, *The meer Pleaſure of the King*. The Third was *Heneage* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, a Perſon who by his great Abilities, Ingenuity and Induſtry, had rais'd himſelf to the higheſt Poſts in the Law, to all which he was a great Ornament, and in all which he ſo much diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Eloquence, that he was by ſome ſtil'd the *Silver-Tongu'd Finch*, and by others the *Engliſh Cicero*. Dr. *Burnet* ſaid of him, 'That his great Parts, and 'greater Virtues, were ſo conſpicuous, that it wou'd be a high Pre-'ſumption in him to ſay any Thing in his Commendation.' He held his high Station in the moſt boiſterous Seaſon with as even a Conduct, as ſteddy a Steerage, and as little Envy from others, as any before him; only he cou'd not eſcape being thought too *Yielding to the Times*, in the great Tryal of the Lord *Stafford*. He dy'd in the 60th Year of his Age, and was ſucceeded, as to the Great Seal, by Sir *Francis North*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*; to which Station Chief-Juſtice *Pemberton* was remov'd, and ſucceeded in his own by Sir *Edmund Saunders*.

The Duke of Lauderdale,

Lord Chancellor Finch,

Sir John Finch,

Next to the Chancellor, we ſhall mention an excellent Brother of his, Sir *John Finch*, who dy'd much about the ſame Time; a moſt accompliſh'd Gentleman, who had vaſtly improv'd himſelf by his Travels in his younger

ger Years, where he gain'd the higheſt Eſteem imaginable. At *Padua*, where he was a Doctor of Phyſick, he was unanimouſly preferr'd to be Syndick of that whole Univerſity, an Honour no *Engliſh* Man ever had before, and had a Statue erected to the Memory of his excellent Government; and the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, invited by the Fame of his Learning and Virtues, made him his publick Profeſſor at *Piſa*; all the *Italian* Princes ſtriving who ſhou'd moſt honour a Perſon, ſo knowing and meritorious above his Years. After having been made the King's Reſident in *Tuſcany*, and his Ambaſſador in *Conſtantinople*, he dy'd at *London*, and was bury'd in the Chappel of *Chriſt-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, to which Colledge he was a munificent Benefactor. 1682. Car. 34 Reſ. 23

After theſe Men of Noble Blood, we ſhall mention three Knights, Sir *Henry Blount*, Sir *Thomas Browne*, and Sir *Philip Warwick*. The Firſt had his Education in *Trinity-Colledge* in *Oxford*, and after that in *Gray*'s-*Inn* in *London*; in both which he diſplay'd his pregnant Parts and facetious Wit, that was almoſt peculiar to Himſelf: After which he travell'd into ſeveral Countries, made a Voyage to *Conſtantinople*, and all the *Levant*, in the Reign of the late King, by whom he was Knighted. But when his Cauſe declin'd, he comply'd with, but not fomented the late Troubles, in which Times he was much employ'd in Regulating the Abuſes of the Law, and other Matters. He liv'd to a great Age, and was eſteem'd by thoſe that knew him a Gentleman of a very clear Judgment, great Experience, much Contemplation, and of a notable Foreſight into Government. The Second, Sir *Thomas Browne*, had his Education in *Pembroke* Colledge in *Oxford*, in which Univerſity he commenc'd Doctor of Phyſick, as well as at *Leyden* in *Holland*; being after that Fellow of the Colledge of Phyſicians at *London*. After his Travels, he fixt at the City of *Norwich*, where he was highly eſteem'd, and attended by inumerable Patients for his admirable Skill in Phyſick, which he practis'd there with great Succeſs for many Years. He was likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd for his Piety and Humanity, his great Learning and Inſight into Nature; and his *Religio Medici* alone is a laſting Monument of his extenſive Genius, and his capacious Soul. The Laſt, Sir *Philip Warwick*, was likewiſe a Traveller, who having return'd to his own Country with many Accompliſhments, became Secretary to the Lord Treaſurer *Juxon*, and Clerk of the Signet, and accompany'd the late King in all his Troubles, with all the Marks of the moſt inviolable Loyalty. After the Reſtoration, he acted under the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton* with Honour and Fidelity, and with ſo much Dexterity, that, being then a Knight, he was often call'd Sir *Philip the Knight-Treaſurer*. He was eſteem'd a Man of a very publick Spirit, above all the Riches and Preferments in the World, of true Honeſty and Integrity; and has been ſince his Death celebrated for his poſthumous *Memoirs of the Reign of King* Charles *the Firſt*, &c. in which Book there is great Knowledge and Simplicity, and ſeveral conſiderable Paſſages, to be found in no other Writer.

Sir Henry Blount,

Sir Thomas Browne,

Sir Philip Warwick,

Laſt of all dy'd *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, the famous Earl of *Shaftsbury*, at his Houſe in *Amſterdam*, after he had liv'd there but a little above ſix Weeks, being now ſixty one Years of Age; of whoſe Character and Actions, much has been already remember'd. But in general, I have been aſſur'd by an eminent Perſon who knew him well, and was thought to have joyn'd too much in his Meaſures, *That he was the Author and Occaſion of the moſt unjuſtifiable Actions in this Reign*; when in Power, the greateſt Tyrant, when out, the greateſt Incendiary; Arbitrary in one Caſe, and Seditious in the other: So that in the latter Part of his Time he plainly ſhew'd, That there is no Man more dangerous to the Repoſe of a Government, than a diſappointed Courtier that ſets up for the People's Patriot.

And the Earl of Shaftsbury.

triot. And it is obſerveable that his intire Friend Mr. *Locke*, tho' he diſplays his wonderful Abilities, and ſhews his Sagacity and Penetration almoſt to knowing of Mens Thoughts, ſays little or nothing of his Honeſty, Simplicity or Integrity. However, he has one Saying of his, worthy of a Place in Hiſtory, namely, *That Wiſdom lay in the Heart and not in the Head; and that it was not the Want of Knowledge, but the Perverſeneſs of the Will, that fill'd Mens Actions with Folly, and their Lives with Diſorder.*

1682/3. Car. 35 Reſ. 23

The State of the Nation.

V. I. About the Entrance of the new Year, the State of the Nation ſeem'd to have been in a more quiet and calm Condition, than ever ſince the Breaking out of the *Popiſh Plot*; the one Party being forc'd to give Way to the other, more apparently than for ſeveral Years before. The Struggles and Contrivances of the declining Party were either more feeble, or more clandeſtine; the Pulpits were againſt them, as well as the Univerſities and *Inns of Court*, and the King and the Duke of *York* gain'd Ground every Day. In the midſt of this time of Eaſe and Pleaſure, on the Firſt Day of *January*, *Humphrey Mackworth* and *Thomas Montgomery* Eſquires, the preſent Treaſurers of the *Middle-Temple*, and other the Officers of that Honourable Society, waited on his Majeſty at *White-Hall*, to wiſh him a *Happy New-Year*; and in a very Loyal Speech expreſs'd their unanimous Reſolutions to adhere to their former Addreſſes; and they were very kindly and graciouſly receiv'd by his Majeſty. They then paid the like Reſpect to his Brother the Duke, and were as handſomly receiv'd by his Royal Highneſs. For which Compliments, ſhortly after his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon Mr. *Mackworth*, as a diſtinguiſhing *Mark of his Royal Favour to the Loyal Society of the* Middle-Temple. The ſame Honour was about the ſame time conferr'd upon *Dudley North* Eſquire, the Senior Sheriff of *London* and *Middleſex*; in Gratitude to the City for having lately Voted in a Common-Council, 'That the Thanks of the Corporation ſhou'd be return'd 'to Sir *John Moore*, for his good Adminiſtration of the Office of Lord 'Mayor laſt Year.

Wright. Gazettes. Sprat. L'Eſtrange. Hawles. &c.

The Duke of Monmouth's *Popularity.*

On the other ſide, the Duke of *Monmouth* and his Party were contriving and entering into ſecret and deſperate Methods: Since the Departure of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, his Grace was more effectually the Head of that Party, and every Accident was turn'd as much as poſſible to the promoting his Popularity. About the Beginning of this Year there happen'd a ſmall Tranſaction beyond Sea, which made his Name more diſcours'd of than at other Times: The Horſes of *England* are valuable and famous on many Accounts, and among others for Racing; and it was upon this Conſideration the *French* King invited into *France* the moſt noted Racers from ſeveral Countries, by expoſing a Plate, or Prize, of a Thouſand Piſtoles, to be run for before him, in the Plain *d'Echere*, near St. *Germain en lay*. And accordingly on the 25th of *February*, N. S. the ſaid Race was Run before the King, Queen and *Dauphine*, by ſeveral famous Horſes, where the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Horſe won the Prize; and was afterwards purchas'd by the *French* King. This ſeem'd to add to the Fame of the Duke, and the *French* King himſelf, partly upon this Account, was pleas'd at that Time to countenance the Honourable *Bernard Howard* Eſquire, a younger Brother of the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſo far as to allow him to come in his Coach within the *Louvre* it ſelf; a Preheminence due only to the Princes of the Blood, and ſome few others of the higheſt Quality in *France*.

The King at Newmarket.

Soon after, the King of *England*, having made the Earls of *Huntington* and *Peterborough* Privy Counſellors, thought fit to go take the uſual Diverſion

verſion of *Newmarket*, together with the Queen, the Duke, Dutcheſs, &c. Within a few Days after his Arrival there, *March* 16th, his Majeſty was waited upon by a Committee from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Common-Council of *London*, with this following Petition and Addreſs: 1682/3. Car. 35 Ref. 23

London *Addreſs.*

'We, &c. being highly ſenſible of the great Happineſs we enjoy under 'your Majeſty's moſt Wiſe, Benign and Gracious Government, and of 'the many Priviledges and Immunities by your Majeſty and your Royal 'Progenitors granted to this *Your Imperial Chamber*, moſt humbly pro'ſtrating our Selves at your Royal Feet, return our unfeigned Thanks 'and Acknowledgment, humbly begging your Sacred Majeſty to believe, 'That as none of our Fellow Subjects have receiv'd larger Bounties from 'the Crown, ſo none ſhall be more ready to ſacrifice their Lives and For'tunes in the Service thereof, in the Defence of your Sacred Perſon, your 'Lawful Heirs and Succeſſors, and the Government as now by Law Eſta'bliſh'd in Church and State, than We your obedient and dutiful Subjects of 'the Loyal City of *London*. And as we have lately receiv'd an Expreſſion 'of your Royal Grace and Favour to us, in your Majeſty's being pleas'd 'to order a Stop to be put (until a further Hearing) to a Patent for the 'Grant of a Fair and Weekly Markets for Live Cattel in *Conduit-Mead*, 'which wou'd be greatly prejudicial to the Inhabitants in and about *Smith'field*, your Hoſpital of St. *Bartholomew*, and your City of *London* in 'general; ſo we humbly conceive our ſelves oblig'd in Duty to return 'our hearty Thanks to your Sacred Majeſty, imploring the Continuance 'of your Royal Grace and Favour. *And your Petitioners, as in Duty 'bound, ſhall for ever Pray*, &c.

A great Fire at Newmarket,

But ſix Days after, about Eight at Night, there ſuddenly broke out a terrible Fire in *Newmarket*, which conſum'd about Half of the Town. The King Himſelf by the approaching of the Fury of the Flames was immediately driven out of his own Palace, and remov'd himſelf into another Quarter of the Town, remote from the Fire, and as yet free from any Annoyance of Smoke and Aſhes. There his Majeſty finding he might be tolerably well accommodated, reſolv'd to ſtay, and continue his Recreations as before, till the Day firſt appointed for his Journey back to *London*. But he had no ſooner declar'd that Reſolution, when the Wind, as conducted by an inviſible Power, ſuddenly chang'd about, and blew the Smoke and Cinders directly on his new Lodgings, and in a Moment made them as untenable as the other. Upon which, the King being put to a new Shift, and not finding the like Conveniency elſewhere, immediately declared he wou'd ſpeedily return to *White-Hall*, which he did very ſhortly after, together with his Royal Brother, and ſome others. This happening ſeveral Days before the appointed Time, the Misfortune at *Newmarket* was afterwards accounted and call'd a *Providential Fire*; as defeating and preventing a black Conſpiracy form'd againſt him and his Brother in their Return to *London*; which will be afterwards more particularly remember'd.

Which cauſes the King to remove.

2. Shortly after the King's Return to *White-Hall*, and the whole Court's Removal to *Windſor*, the declining Party in *London* ventur'd upon an extraordinary Attempt and Exploit, ſuch as had never been known in that City: One *Broom*, Clerk of the *Skinner*'s Company, and Coroner of *London*, having receiv'd a *Latitat* out of the *King's-Bench* in an Action upon the Caſe, at the Suit of the late Candidates, Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*, againſt the Lord Mayor, Sheriff *North*, and ſeveral Loyal Aldermen; the ſaid *Broom* acquainting them with the Writ, they all ſubmitted to his Arreſt, and went with him as Priſoners to *Skinners-Hall*, and there remain'd under his Cuſtody till one a Clock at Night. In the mean

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An uncommon Action in London.

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mean time eight Companies of the Militia were immediately rais'd by the Lieutenancy, and poſted all that Night in ſeveral Parts of the City, to prevent any Tumults which might ariſe from ſo ſtrange a thing as the Arreſt and Detainer of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. But it ſo happen'd, that one *Fletcher*, a common Serjeant of the *Poultry-Counter*, having an Action of Debt, upon a Bond of four hundred Pounds, againſt the ſaid *Broom*, which Action had been enter'd the Week paſt, and *Broom* acquainted with it, who promis'd to give Bail; but the Serjeant finding that Promiſe not perform'd, and perceiving him ſo officiouſly pert againſt the chief Magiſtrates of the City, without any further Delay, he arreſted his Body in his own Precincts, *Skinners-Hall*, and immediately carry'd him to the *Counter*. *Broom* being thus remov'd, and none left in Charge of the Lord Mayor and his Fellow Priſoners, they demanded if there were any about the Houſe that had Orders to detain them any longer in that Place, which being anſwer'd in the Negative, they all departed peaceably to their Habitations.

However, this help'd to haſten the Fate of the City; and the whole Contrivance and Management was thought to be ſuch an open Inſult upon the Friends of the King and Court, that the Governors and Repreſentatives were forc'd to diſclaim the Action by the following Order, at a *Common-Council* held at *Guild-Hall* not long after: 'That whereas Sir *William Prichard*, Knight, Lord Mayor of this City, was in a rude Manner lately Arreſted at the Suit, or in the Name of Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*; And whereas it hath been alledg'd by the ſaid Mr. *Papillon*, and Mr. *Dubois*, *That the Action upon which the ſaid Arreſt was, was proſecuted at the Inſtance of the Citizens of London:* The Members of this Court, to deliver themſelves and ſaid Citizens from this undue Imputation, do declare, That they were not Privy or Conſenting to the ſaid Action, or Arreſt, and do Diſown and Diſapprove the ſame.' In conſequence of which, ſhortly after, *Broom* the Coroner was, by the *Common-Council*, put out of that Office, and made uncapable of Enjoying any Place of Preferment in the City.

Diſclaim'd by the Common-Council.

The Tryal of the great Riot in the City.

In the midſt of this unſeaſonable Heat, on the 8th of *May*, and at *Guild-Hall*, came on the long-expected Tryal of the great Riot committed at the ſame Place upon *Midſummer*-Day laſt, at the Election of Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex*. And this was try'd before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Saunders*, upon an Information exhibited in the Crown Office by the Attorney-General, as has been formerly hinted. The Information was particularly againſt fourteen Perſons, *viz.* the then Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, Sir *Thomas Player*, *Corniſh*, *Bethel*, *Jenks*, *Goodenough*, *Deagle*, *Jekyl*, *Freeman*, *Wickham*, *Keys*, and *Swinock*; and the Subſtance of it was, 'That there had been a Riotous and unlawful Aſſembly, of a thouſand Perſons unknown, who endeavour'd to raiſe a Tumult by Clamours, Outcries, and Diſorders, in Contempt of the Laws of the Kingdom, aſſaulted the Lord Mayor, forc'd him upon his Knees, threw off his Hat, beat down the Sword, and continu'd the Hall after a Legal Adjournment; denying the Authority of the Lord Mayor, *&c.* in which Riotous Aſſembly the ſeveral Defendents were concern'd and involv'd.' The Counſel for them, Mr. *Thomſon*, Mr. *Williams*, Sir *Francis Winnington* and Mr. *Wallop*, made two Challenges of the Array; but the Challenges were over-rul'd: The Matter being open'd, the Points in Queſtion were, Firſt the Lord Mayor's Right of Calling, Adjourning and Diſſolving the *Common-Hall*; and ſecondly to prove the Riot upon the Defendents; both which were ſo fully made out, that Judgment was given againſt them; and they were all ſeverally fin'd, as follows; *Pilkington*, five Hundred Pounds; *Shute*, a Thouſand

The Fine.

thouſand Marks; *Corniſh*, the ſame Sum; Lord *Gray*, the ſame Sum; Sir *Thomas Player*, five Hundred Marks; *Bethel*, a Thouſand Marks; *Jenks*, three Hundred Marks; *Deagle*, four Hundred Marks; *Freeman*, three Hundred Marks; *Goodenough*, five Hundred Marks; *Keys*, a Hundred Marks; *Wickham*, a Hundred Marks; *Swinock*, five Hundred Marks, and *Jekyl*, two Hundred Marks; being thus diſtinguiſh'd, perhaps, not ſo much for their preſent Guilt, as their former Behaviour and Activity upon ſuch like Occaſions. And ſoon after this Tryal, Sir *Patience Ward*, an Alderman of the ſame Strain, was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, upon an Information of Perjury, for giving falſe Evidence in the late Cauſe try'd between the Duke and *Pilkington*. The Perjury was prov'd upon him by the Oaths of ſeveral Aldermen, and other Perſons of Credit, among whom were two of the Jury that had try'd the ſame Cauſe. Whereupon Sir *Patience* was convicted, and found guilty by the Jury; but the Judgment of the Court was reſpited till a more convenient Seaſon. 1683. Car. 35 Reſ. 24

Sir P. Ward caſt.

And now the City appear'd more and more loyal and obſequious to the King and the Duke; and on the 6th of *June* was held a *Common-Council* in *Guild-Hall*, where all the Treaſonable and Irregular Acts of that Court, in the Times of Rebellion, were formally Repeal'd, and a Bill paſt in the ſaid *Common-Council For Declaring and Aſſerting the Ancient Rights of the Chair*; by which Bill the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen were reſtored to their Negative Voice, which had been taken away by an Act in the late troubleſome Times, and before then had never been queſtion'd. It was alſo at this *Common-Council* Declar'd and Enacted, That the Lord Mayor has ſufficient and lawful Power of chuſing one Sheriff: And accordingly, the Lord Mayor, the next Day, at that call'd the *Bridge-Houſe* Feaſt, did Declare his Choice, by the old Ceremony of Drinking to Mr. Alderman *Daniel*, as one of the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, for the enſuing Year. About the ſame Time was erected in one of the Niches of the *Old Exchange*, a noble Statue of King *Charles* the Firſt, with the following Inſcription cut in Marble: ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ: *Sereniſſimi ac Religioſiſſimi Principis* CAROLI PRIMI, *Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defenſoris, (Bis Martyris, in Corpore, et in Effigie) Impiis Rebellium Manibus ex hoc Loco deturbata et confracta*, A. D. MDCXLVIII. *Reſtituta, et hic demum collocata* A. D. MDCLXXXIII. And not long after, the Scaffolds in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, after they had ſtood there and incommoded the Hall for above three Years, were at laſt by publick Order taken down and remov'd.

The Zeal of the City.

A Statue erected to the late King.

3. All the loyal and forward Proceedings of the City of *London* cou'd not prevent and keep off the great Buſineſs of the *Quo Warranto*, which for ſeveral Months hung like a dark Cloud over their Heads, and threatned the very Being of their noble Corporation, and the total Forfeiture of their Charter. And what made way towards the Succeſs of the Government, was the delivering up of the Charter of *Norwich*, and ſome other Corporations, while this grand Cauſe was depending. Yet ſtill, in the midſt of the various Diſcourſes about it, it was very much hop'd that Judgment wou'd be given for the City of *London*, as ſome of the Judges and the King's Council had given out it wou'd, tho' the contrary ſeem'd reſolv'd on. The *Quo Warranto*, which had been long threatned, was actually brought againſt the City in *Hilary* Term, in the Beginning of this Year, to ſhew by what Warrant they pretended to be a Corporation, and to have the Priviledges mention'd in the Writ; to which the City pleaded at the *Kings-Bench* Bar, and ſet forth their Right, and the King reply'd,

The Quo Warranto againſt London Charter.

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ply'd, and ſet forth ſeveral Matters done by them, contrary to the Duty of a Corporation. The Crimes on which this Writ was grounded were Two: 'Firſt, for Exacting Tolls in their Markets illegally, and particularly raiſing Money for rebuilding *Cheapſide* Conduit. Secondly, for framing 'and printing a ſcandalous Petition, wherein they charg'd the King with 'obſtructing the Juſtice of the Nation, by proroguing the laſt *Weſtminſter* Parliament'. Whether theſe were ſufficient Cauſes of ſeizing their Liberties and Franchiſes, was argu'd *pro* and *con* by the Solicitor General, and Sir *George Treby* the Recorder, in *Hilary*-Term, and by the Attorney General, and Mr. *Pollexfen*, in *Eaſter*-Term, very largely, learnedly and elaborately. It was alledg'd in general 'That the City 'Charter and Priviledges were ſo well confirm'd by Kings, and particular 'Acts of Parliament, that they cou'd not, or ought not to be forfeited, 'tho' poſſibly regulated; and that it was a part of every Free-Man's 'Oath to maintain them to the utmoſt, and conſequently they cou'd not 'give them up.' To which it was anſwer'd, 'That all Charters came 'originally from the Crown; that an unforfeitable Charter was a Nullity in itſelf; it was ſetting up *Imperium in Imperio*, a Government 'Independent of the Power that really created it; that the Acts of Parliament were as much a Declaration and a Confirmation of the King's 'Original Right, as of their Priviledges, &c. and therefore the Free-'Mens Oaths were under the ſame Conditions and Limitations.

Arguments on both Sides.

Theſe, and many other Particulars being argued at large, the Matter hung till the 12th of *June*, the firſt *Tueſday* in *Trinity*-Term, when, after a great Concourſe and mighty Expectations, Judgment was given by Mr. *Juſtice Jones*, in the Abſence of the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Saunders*, who was then ſick, and unfit to appear. His Lordſhip, having conciſely ſumm'd up all the paſt Proceedings, in a very remarkable Speech, gave Judgment, and declared it to be the unanimous Opinion of that Court, *That the Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of* London *be ſeiz'd into the King's Hands.* After which he particularly declar'd, by the King's expreſs Command, *That Judgment ſhou'd not be enter'd, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure be further known.* This Sentence made a great Noiſe, and the latter Part was look'd upon as a Deſign to make the Citizens reſign their own Liberties, inſtead of being condemn'd to a Deprivation of them. However great Complaints were made, and this Judgment was obſerv'd by Mr. *Hawles* and others, to be ſtrange and unwarrantable, conſidering the Importance of it; it being deliver'd by two Judges only, and no Reaſon given of that Judgment; whereof Sir *Francis Wythens* was one, who, he thinks, hear'd but one Argument in the Caſe. However, *Jones* and He, to confirm this Judgment with more Authority than their own, they both declar'd upon the Bench, that their Brother *Raymond* was of the ſame Opinion with them, and ſo was the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Saunders*; tho' he was at that Time paſt his Senſes, and had only Underſtanding enough to expoſtulate with them, for troubling him, when he had loſt his Memory. The ſame Author, exclaiming againſt this and other Irregular and Unjuſt Judgments in the latter End of this Reign, tells us, That being once with a certain Nobleman, of a conſiderable Character in the Council, who complaining, 'That the King 'was miſ-led by the Advice of his Lawyers'; he ask'd him, 'Whether 'the King put his Judges and Council upon doing what was done, without conſidering whether it was Legal, as the common Vogue was he 'did; or that his Lawyers firſt advis'd what to be done, was Law:' The Nobleman anſwer'd him, on his Honour, *That the King's Counſel at Law, firſt advis'd the King might do by Law what he wou'd have done, before he commanded them to do it.*

The City caſt.

Reflections upon it.

It

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It can hardly be deny'd, that however ſmall the Pretentions were for this Proſecution, the Provocations were not inconſiderable in the Eye of any Government; and the City ſeem'd ſo ſenſible of this, that two Days after Judgment given, a *Common-Council* was call'd, to conſult how to proceed in this Exigency. Here they reſolv'd to draw up a ſubmiſſive andyielding Petition, which was order'd ſoon after to be preſented to the King at *Windſor*: It was entituled, *The humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of* London, *in Common-Council Aſſembled*; in which the Petitioners 'Acknowledg'd their hearty 'and unfeigned Sorrow for the Miſgovernment of the City of late 'Years, whereby the Citizens had fallen under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, 'which had occaſion'd a *Quo Warranto*, and Judgment to be pronounc'd 'againſt them; that they were deeply and thankfully ſenſible of his Ma-'jeſty's great Favour in not requiring Judgment to be immediately en-'ter'd thereon: And conſidering this their diſtreſſed Condition, they 'humbly caſt themſelves at his Royal Feet, imploring his Princely Com-'paſſion and Grace, to be extended to this his Ancient City, moſt hum-'bly begging his Majeſty's Pardon for all their Offences, with moſt ſo-'lemn Promiſes and Aſſurances of conſtant Loyalty and Obedience to 'his *Majeſty*, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, and of a regular Adminiſtration 'of his Government in that City for the future; and humbly begg'd 'his Majeſty's Commands and Directions.' Upon the Reading this Petition in the Common Council, and putting the Queſtion whether they approv'd of it, it is remarkable that there were but two Perſons in the Aſſembly that held up their Hands by Way of Diſſent; ſo much intimidated were the Generality of the Body at this Time.

The City's Submiſſion.

This Petition was carry'd to *Windſor* on *Monday* the 18th of *June*, and preſented to the King by the Lord Mayor, and ſeveral loyal Aldermen and Citizens of *London*. After the Reading of it, they were all order'd to withdraw; and being call'd in again, the Lord-Keeper *North*, by the King's Command, in a Speech declar'd to them, 'That for the 'ſakes of ſo many of the preſent Magiſtrates, and other eminent Citizens 'in *London*, who were of undoubted Loyalty and Affection to his Ma-'jeſty's Service, his Majeſty wou'd ſtill ſhew the City all the Favour they 'cou'd reaſonably deſire; And tho' he had obtain'd Judgment in a *Quo* '*Warranto*, it was not his Intention to prejudice them in their real '*Properties* or *Cuſtoms*. That the City had not been well adviſ'd, to 'defer their Application to his Majeſty thus long, even till the Court had 'pronounc'd Judgment; It might have been done with much better 'Grace, if it had been more early. However his Majeſty wou'd not 'reject their Suit, if they agreed upon the Particulars the King did now 'require of them: For, ſays he, his Majeſty requires your Submiſſion 'to theſe following Regulations: 1. *That no Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Re-'corder, Common-Serjeant, Town-Clerk, or Coroner of the City of* London, *or Steward of the Borough of* Southwark, *ſhall be capable of, or 'admitted to the Exerciſe of their reſpective Offices, before his Majeſty 'ſhall have approv'd them under his Sign-Manual. 2. That if his Ma-'jeſty ſhall diſapprove the Choice of any Perſon to be Lord Mayor, and 'ſignify the ſame under his Sign-Manual to the Lord Mayor, or, in De-'fault of a Lord Mayor, to the Recorder, or Senior Alderman; the Ci-'tizens ſhall within one Week proceed to a new Choice: And if his Ma-'jeſty ſhall in like Manner Diſapprove the ſecond Choice, his Majeſty may, 'if he pleaſe, Nominate a Perſon to be Lord Mayor for the enſuing Year. '3. If his Majeſty ſhall, in like Manner, Diſapprove the Perſons choſen 'to be Sheriffs, or either of them; his Majeſty may appoint Perſons to be 'Sheriffs for the enſuing Year, by his Commiſſion, if he ſo pleaſe. 4. The*

Preſented to the King.

The City reſtored upon certain Terms.

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'*Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen may alſo, with the Leave of his* '*Majeſty, diſplace any Alderman, Recorder,* &c. ut ſupra. 5. *Upon the Elec-* '*tion of an Alderman, if the Court of Aldermen ſhall judge, and declare* '*the Perſon Preſented to be Unfit, the Ward ſhall chuſe again; and up-* '*on a Diſapproval of a ſecond Choice, the Court may appoint another in* '*his Room.* 6. *The Juſtices of the Peace are to be by the King's Com-* '*miſſion; and the Setling of theſe Matters to be left to his Majeſty's At-* '*torney, and Solicitor General, and Council learned in the Law.*' Then the Lord Keeper told them, 'That theſe Regulations being made, his Ma-' jeſty wou'd not only Pardon this Proſecution, but Confirm their Charter ' in ſuch a Manner, as may be conſiſtent with them.' Concluding thus, ' *My Lord Mayor*, the Term draws towards an End, and *Midſummer-* ' *Day* is at Hand, when ſome of the Officers us'd to be choſen, whereof ' his Majeſty will reſerve the Approbation: Therefore it is his Majeſty's ' Pleaſure, that you return to the City, and conſult the *Common-Council*, ' that he may ſpeedily know Your Reſolutions hereupon, and accordingly give his Directions. That you may ſee the King is in Earneſt, and ' the Matter is not capable of Delay, I am commanded to let you know, ' He hath given Order to his Attorney General to enter upon Judgment ' on *Saturday* next, unleſs you prevent it by your Compliance in all theſe ' Particulars.

Which are conſented to.

According to this Order, two Days after, a Court of *Common-Council* was again held in *Guild-Hall*; where the Queſtion being put, Whether they ſhou'd aſſent and ſubmit to his Majeſty's Order of Regulations, as above expreſs'd; the Court was divided, but it was carry'd in the Affirmative by a Majority of Eighteen Voices; the *Yeas* being 104, and the *Noes* 86. The next Day the Sheriffs waited on his Majeſty at *Windſor*, to ſatisfy him they had ſubmitted to his Regulations, and had put off the Election of Sheriffs from the 24th of *June*, to the 6th of *July*. And thus ended the whole Proceedings, which have been often accounted hard and unjuſt on one ſide, and baſe and mean on the other; yet it is to be remember'd, that the Judgment againſt the City, their yielding Petition, and their final Submiſſion, all happen'd at ſuch an extraordinary Juncture of Time, when the People were ſo amus'd and amaz'd with new and ſtrange Diſcoveries againſt the Government, that hardly any Notice was taken of theſe uncommon Proceedings. Upon which Diſcoveries and Conſpiracies we ſhall enter in the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

From the Firſt Diſcovery of the Rye-Houſe-Plot, *to the Day of the Death of King* Charles *the Second.*

Containing the Space of One Year, 7 Months, and above 3 Weeks.

The RYE-HOUSE *Plot, &c.*

I. 1. AT a Time when the Three Kingdoms injoy'd a ſetled Peace, and profound Security, while the greateſt Part of the Neighbouring World was involv'd in Wars and Calamities, on the 12th Day of *June*, the King and Council, and ſoon after the City and Country, were ſuddenly awaken'd and ſurpriz'd with the Diſcovery

Sprat. King's Declaration. Welwood. Wright. Tryals. Gazettes.

Diſcovery of an extraordinary Conſpiracy againſt the King and Government; which in effect gave a fatal Blow, and brought Ruin to an already declining Party. In Plots and Conſpiracies, there are uſually ſo many Secrets, as well as Shams, that it is the hardeſt Buſineſs for an Hiſtorian to lay them open; but we ſhall take our Account from what has been given by the Government, from the ſworn Informations of particular Perſons, and the Tryals and Confeſſions of ſome of the Sufferers: In order to the clearing of which, we ſhall be oblig'd to go a little back, as far as the Month of *October* laſt. This Conſpiracy was moſt commonly call'd The *Rye-Houſe-Plot*; that Houſe, and the Deſign there being the principal Scene, and the moſt diſtinguiſhing Branch of it. But according to the largeſt Extent, it has been often call'd the *Fanatick*, the *Whiggiſh*, or *Preſbyterian-Plot*. Some have call'd it a Piece of State-Policy, and no better than an Impoſture: But others, who could not get over the Difficulties ariſing from plain Confeſſions, as well as other Proofs, have ſtood up for the Reaſonableneſs, if not Juſtice of the Cauſe, and have call'd it a Combination or Aſſociation of Patriots, for the Defence of the invaded Liberties and Religion of the Nation. 1683. Car. 35 Ref. 24

The Riſe of it.

But by whatever Name it was diſtinguiſh'd, it ſeem'd plainly to have had its firſt Riſe from the Arts and Management of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, who brought it more eſpecially to operate in the Months of *October* and *November*, when his Party, as well as himſelf, was driven out of all Holds, and into a Sort of a Deſparation, by the Eſtabliſhment of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and the Danger of the Loſs of the City Charter, as has been already remember'd. The Deſign itſelf was two-fold, a general Way by an Inſurrection, and ſeizing the King's Guards, and a more compendious Way of Aſſaſſinating the King and Duke: The former was of longer Standing, and conſulted and promoted by the ſuperior Agents; but the other was more lately reſolv'd on, tho' long in *Embryo*, and undertaken by the inferior Sort. The chief Perſons concern'd in one Part or other, tho' not equally Guilty, beſides the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, the Head of them, were, Firſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, whom his Party had long alienated from his Duty and Gratitude to his Royal Father, poyſon'd his Mind with forbidden Hopes, and made a prime Inſtrument to effect all their Deſigns. Next, the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, who for ſome Years had been ingag'd in the warmeſt Deſigns of the Party; eſpecially after he found his private Crimes were not like to paſs in a quiet State with Secrecy or Impunity. Then, the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe high Spirit, and ſecret Ambition had betray'd him into the moſt dark Deſigns, contrary to the expreſs Advice and Injunction of his dying Father. Next, the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, who had always been a buiſy Promoter of Republican Projects for Alterations in Church and State; and for a Time the ſecond Favourite of the Diſaffected, while he was impriſon'd with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. And the Lord *Ruſſel*, a Perſon of eminent Rectitude, Piety, and Sobriety, but inſenſibly drawn into dangerous Company, and miſ-led by a Notion, to this Effect, 'That 'Reſiſtance was lawful upon the ſmaller, as well as the greater Invaſions 'of the Conſtitution.' Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, a Perſon who had been deeply ingag'd in the late Times of Confuſion, and had merited ſo well of the *Good old Cauſe*, that he was nominated to be one of the King's Judges, tho' he did not actually ſit amongſt them.

The Chief Perſons concern'd in it.

Beſides theſe of noble Blood, we are to mention ſome others, as Mr. *John Hambden* the Younger, an unfortunate Gentleman, who retain'd the Hereditary Temper of a Family, which ſhew'd that the violent Defence of the beſt Things are often attended with the moſt pernicious Conſequences. Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, a debauch'd Bully and Bra-

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vo, who had forfeited his Life, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by Murdering Mr. *Scroop*, a conſiderable Gentleman, in the Play-Houſe. Lieutenant Colonel *Walcot*, an old Officer in *Cromwell*'s Army, who was introduc'd by the Lord *Howard*, under the Name of a ſtout and able Soldier, into the intimate Acquaintance of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who made him one of his Legatees in his Will, and from whom he never after parted till his Death. Colonel *John Romſey*, who had gotten Credit in *Portugal*, by his Courage and Skill in Military Affairs; and being a Soldier of Fortune, and fit for any deſperate Attempt, he was likewiſe recommended to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, to whom he became an entire Creature and Dependent. *Thomas Shepard*, Merchant of *London*, a violent Nonconformiſt, but of a plentiful Eſtate, and of as eminent Repute as any of his Rank on the *Exchange*. The two *Goodenough's*, *Richard* and *Francis*, both zealous Friends to the Party, who had been for ſome Years, and by Turns, Under-Sheriffs of *London*; ſo that the whole Art and Myſtery of Securing *Ignoramus* Juries paſs'd through their Hands. Major *Holms*, a Fifth-Monarchy-Man, an old Officer under *Cromwell*, and a Truſtee for his Family, acquainted with the Earl of *Argyle* in *Scotland*, and made privy to all his Secret Deſigns. *Richard Rumbald* Malſter at the *Rye-Houſe*, another old Army-Officer, a deſperate Perſon, who had often before laid Deſigns for Murdering the King. *William Rumbald*, his Brother, a Perſon much of the ſame Temper. *Aaron Smith*, a furious Zealot, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf when he was Solicitor in the Tryal of *Stephen Colledge*, *William Hone*, a Joyner, a melancholy Enthuſiaſt, of the ſame Trade and Spirit with *Colledge*. *John Rouſe*, an active Agent in all the tumultuous Proceedings of the City Elections. *Zachary Bourn*, a Brewer, and *Joſiah Keeling* a Salter, both Independents; *Thomas Lea*, a Dyer, and *Andrew Barber*, both Anabaptiſts. Laſtly, *John Ayloff*, *Joſeph Tyley*, *Edward Norton*, *Edward Wade*, *Richard Nelthorp*, and *Robert Weſt*, all of them Republican Lawyers, Men of notable Heads, and voluble Tongues, who had undertaken to reform the chief Errors in Church and State.

Others in Scotland.

Beſides theſe in *England*, by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Means, a Correſpondence was form'd and kept up with *Scotland*, where ſeveral Inſtruments were employ'd and ingag'd in the ſame general Deſign. Of all which, the Head and Chief was the Earl of *Argyle*, who after his Condemnation and Flight, formerly mention'd, became a reſtleſs and indefatigable Promoter of all Projects againſt the preſent Eſtabliſh'd Government. Among the reſt that joyn'd with him, were Sir *Hugh* and Sir *John Campbell*, near Relations to the ſaid Earl; Sir *John Cockran*, Mr. *Baillie* and Mr. *Monroe*, who were employ'd in *London*, to joyn and act with the *Engliſh* Managers of the Deſign. Beſides theſe, there were the Lord *Melvil*, Mr. *James Steuart*, Sir *Patrick Hume*, *Hugh Scot*, *William Carſtares*, and ſome others. But of all the Conſpirators, whether *Engliſh* or *Scotch*, the deepeſt Man, next to the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Argyle*, was *Robert Ferguſon*, a *Scotch* Man living in *England*: He had been divers Years a fierce Independent Preacher in the City of *London*, and had long exercis'd his virulent Pen againſt the Government, in which he had a peculiar Talent; and by means of a fluent Tongue, a ſubtil Head, and invincible Spirit, he animated the whole, and moreover excited and actuated the blackeſt Part of the Contrivance.

The Earl of Shaftsbury's *Concern in it.*

All theſe had for a conſiderable Time proceeded with ſlow Steps, and *Leaſurely*, as their chief Mover the Earl of *Shaftsbury* expreſs'd it, till *Michaelmas* and *October* put them beyond common Hopes, and precipitated them into extraordinary Methods. The Earl himſelf was ſo allarmed, that he immediately abſconded, and us'd all poſſible Means to terrify his

his Aſſociates into ſpeedy Action, by the Proſpect of the preſent imminent Dangers. Accordingly, he ſent for the Lord *Howard* in his Retirement, and told him, *That finding the due Elections of the City fruſtrated, and the falſe Sheriffs eſtabliſh'd, he could no longer think any Honeſt Man ſafe; and had therefore made his Retreat, having done all Things neceſſary for a ſudden Inſurrection: That many Thouſands were ready in the City to Maſter the Gates, and Attack* White-Hall: *That they within were to be aſſiſted from the Adjacent Counties with a Thouſand or twelve Hundred Horſe, under good Officers.* Only he complain'd of the Backwardneſs of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and other great Men, who had promis'd, 'by Riſing in other remote Counties at the ſame Time, to give 'Diverſion to the Standing Forces.' This being communicated by his Lordſhip to the Duke, he alſo complain'd of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s *Acting of late on a ſeparate Bottom, and that his preſent Fears had blinded his uſual Prudence*; and therefore he deſired a ſpeedy Meeting with him, to re-eſtabliſh a better Underſtanding for the future. This being reported to the Earl, he reply'd, *His People were impatient of longer Delays, having advanc'd ſo far, that there was no Retreat*; and thereupon he proceeded to declare his vehement Suſpicion of the Duke of *Monmouth*; *That his Dilatorineſs proceeded from ſome private Correſpondence between Him and the King*; *That it was to be fear'd his Grace acted with a different Proſpect from theirs, only minding his own Advancement: Whereas his own Reſolutions were, that ſince it was plain their Liberties were not to be ſecured, but under a* COMMON-WEALTH, *he alone with his Intereſt would attempt the Deliverance of his Country: If the reſt of the Lords would concur with him, they might ſhare in the Glory; elſe he hop'd he ſhould be able to effect the Work without them, by the Help of an honeſt briſk Party in the City.* Upon this Anſwer, the Duke ſuſpecting that before all Perſons could be in a Readineſs, the Earl's unſeaſonable Anxiety for his own Safety might put him on raſh and dangerous Meaſures, therefore he was the more deſirous to have a Meeting with him. In a few Days, they and the Confederate Lords met; and their Differences and Suſpicions were in ſome meaſure piec'd up, and they began again to act joyntly towards a ſpeedy Inſurrection. 1683. Car. 35 Ref. 24

To this purpoſe ſeveral Days were propos'd, One about the latter End of *October*, but it was deferr'd till the Concurrence of the ſeveral Counties could be ſignify'd up: Then that of Queen *Elizabeth*, *November* 17th was nam'd, but rejected, becauſe the King's Guards were commonly in Arms to ſuppreſs the wonted Tumults. At laſt the 19th of *November* was fix'd on; which happening to be of a *Sunday*, while ſome excepted againſt it for that Reaſon, *Ferguſon* boldly reply'd, *That the Sanctity of the Day was ſuitable to the Sanctity of the Work.* The Day being thus determin'd, they immediately prepar'd their ſeveral Parts: eſpecially the great Managers held Aſſemblies to receive Accounts, how the Counties were diſpos'd, and to conſult upon ſurprizing the Guards; for which End the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, undertook to view their Poſture, and reported back, *That the ſeizing them was a Thing very feaſible.* In the mean Time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was very uneaſy, and weary of lodging in Holes, where every Sound and Breath of Air became frightful to him, wherefore with repeated and importunate Meſſages he urg'd the other Lords to keep to the Day; expoſtulating with them upon their former Slowneſs, whereby they had loſt ſo many plain Opportunities. At length one Day, when their great Council about *London* was aſſembled at Mr. *Shepard*'s Houſe in *Ab-Church-Lane*, the Earl ſent Colonel *Romſey* to quicken their Debates, and once for all learn the final Reſult of their Determinations.

But

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The Failures at laſt.

But they having juſt before receiv'd ſeveral Advices out of the *Weſt*, that their Friends there, eſpecially in *Taunton* and *Devonſhire*, could not poſſibly be ready on ſo ſhort a Warning, immediately ſent him back ſuch Word; concluding it could not be avoided, but He and They muſt be content to reſpite the Time to a longer Day. This poſitive Anſwer broke all his Meaſures, and made him inſtantly reſolved to leave *England*. Wherefore removing his Lodging into *Wapping*, where he and his Cauſe had many Friends; the very Night that Place was burnt, being the Night of the ſame 19th of *November*, when he expected to ſet the Nation on a Flame, he privately ſculk'd down the River, and took Shipping for *Holland*; leaving his Friends with this Ominous Prognoſtick, *That their Deſign cou'd not long be conceal'd, there being ſo many acquainted with it.* Which indeed prov'd true, tho' he liv'd not to ſee it fulfill'd; and of the Thirty *Engliſh* Agents, formerly mention'd, Eight, *viz.* the Lord *Howard*, *Romſey*, *Shepard*, *Weſt*, *Keeling*, *Brown*, *Lea* and *Barber*, all afterwards turn'd Diſcoverers and Informers.

The Steps of the chief Perſons concern'd.

2. After the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Departure and Death, which happen'd in a ſhort Time, the Great Machine mov'd upon other Hinges; for while he continu'd in *England*, all the Deliberations of the Actors ſeem'd to receive Life and Vertue from his Direction and Approbation. But now, tho' much diſpirited, they reſolv'd to puſh forwards, and form'd themſelves into ſeveral Cabals and Committees. They had a ſupreme Council of Six, compos'd of the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Howard*, Colonel *Sidney* and Mr. *Hambden*; among whom the Lord *Ruſſel* was ſometimes preſent, and others admitted upon eſpecial Occaſions, as *Romſey*, *Armſtrong*, *Shepard*, *Ferguſon*, &c. Theſe met at Mr. *Hambden*'s Houſe, ſometimes at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s, but moſt frequently at Mr. *Shepard*'s in *Ab-Church-Lane*; while other Subordinate Cabals aſſembled at Mr. *Weſt*'s Chambers in the *Temple*, and at ſeveral Publick Houſes and Taverns, in and about *London*, to conſult and communicate their Reſolutions to each other. Having their Meetings ſo often in Places of Publick Entertainment, to prevent the Obſervation of Drawers and Servants, they invented a Jargon whereby they veil'd their Deſigns under Canting Terms and borrow'd Words: The King they ſometimes call'd *Church-Warden of White-Hall*; the King and Duke, the *Black-Bird* and the *Gold-Finch*, the *Captain* and *Lieutenant*. Blunderbuſſes, Muſquets and Piſtols, went by the Names of *Swan-Quills*, *Gooſe-Quills* and *Crow-Quills*. The Inſurrection was ſtiled the *General Point*, the Aſſaſſination the *Lopping Point*, and *Striking at the Head*, with ſeveral other Names borrow'd from Terms of Law, which the Lawyers among them had wantonly abus'd. But when they were free, and amongſt themſelves, they diſcours'd of the whole Contrivance in plain Language; their common Healths being ſuch as theſe, *To the Man who firſt draws his Sword againſt* Popery *and* Slavery, *in Defence of the* Proteſtant *Religion. Confuſion to the two Brothers*, Popery *and* Slavery; meaning the two Royal Brothers at *White-Hall*. And when ſome of them, leſs harden'd in Cruelty, expreſs'd ſome Horror of ſuch a villanous Blow, and deſir'd that the Infamy might be thrown on the *Papiſts*; others, particularly *Ferguſon*, declared, *They thought the Action too good for the* Papiſts *to have the Honour of it*; and often applauded it as a *Glorious Work*; *That it wou'd be an Admonition to Princes to take heed how they oppreſſed their Subjects*; *That he hop'd to ſee the Fact rewarded in Parliament, and the Actors have the Honour of Statues erected to them, with the Title of* PRESERVERS OF THEIR COUNTRY. So alſo when *Nelthorp* and *Walcot*, and ſome few others, declar'd themſelves willing

willing to joyn in the Inſurrection, but at firſt ſhrunk at the Horror of the Aſſaſſination, *R. Rumbald* and *R. Goodenough* impiouſly maintain'd the King and the Duke's Murder as *the more pious Deſign of the two,* and recommended it as *Keeping one of the Ten Commandments, and the beſt Way to prevent Shedding Chriſtian Blood.* 1683. Car. 35 Ref. 24

As to the Inſurrection.

As to the Point of the Inſurrection, the City of *London* was by them divided into Twenty Parts; and to that End one of the largeſt Maps of the City and Liberties was hung up in Mr. *Weſt*'s Chamber, the moſt uſual Place of their Rendezvouzes; the making the ſeveral Partitions and Allotments of the whole, being committed to *R. Goodenough,* who by reaſon of his general Acquaintance, by being ſo often Under-Sheriff, was judg'd the fitteſt Man for that Work. Each Part was to furniſh out a competent Number of Men, who in Time of Action were to be commanded by ſome of the old Officers of *Cromwell*'s Army, that were in Town for that purpoſe. By this means they doubted not but they ſhou'd have a ſecret Body of Eight or Ten Thouſand of well appointed Men; *Goodenough* alone having aſſured them, that out of ſeven Diviſions only there were three Thouſand Men ready at an Hour's Warning for the firſt Onſet. The Counties were alſo to be in Readineſs at the exact Time, and the Conſpirators in each of them to be commanded by a truſty and experienc'd Head. In the mean Time, to advance their Numbers, the active Agents were employ'd in *London* to encourage their Friends that were privy to the Deſign, and bring in ſuch as were thought to be diſaffected, by ſtarting the Matter firſt in general and ambiguous Terms, according to Inſtructions given them, and then as they found them Suſceptible, coming cloſer home, and laying open the whole Contrivance. Ways were alſo concerted for bringing in the Sea-Men about *Wapping,* by throwing up a Golden Ball on *Black-Heath*; they being thought diſcontented for Want of Pay. And when all Things ſhou'd thus be in readineſs, it was reſolv'd that the *Tower* of *London* ſhou'd be attempted by Stratagem, the *Savoy* forc'd, the Guards ſurpriz'd, and the King and the Court beſet in *White-Hall*; which was to be attack'd on all Sides, both by Water and Land; not doubting but there to make ſure of the King, his Brother and Friends, or at leaſt if they ſhou'd attempt to fly, to intercept them by Men poſted on all the Roads about, to hinder their Eſcape. And all Things thus ſucceeding, that they might not want any neceſſary Means for purſuing their Deſign to the utmoſt, they projected the ſeizing the King's Revenues in the *Cuſtom-Houſe, Exciſe-Office, Chimney-Money,* the Plate in *Lombard-Street,* and the Caſh of the Wealthy Citizens, who, if they appear'd unwilling to part with it, the Villain *Ferguſon* advis'd *That ſome of them ſhou'd be hang'd up for a Terror to the reſt.* But, once for all, it may be here obſerv'd, That the Execution of all theſe and many more Treaſons and Cruelties was propos'd, before they had agreed upon any certain Form of Government to be ſet up in the Place of that which they had reſolv'd to pull down: Only, as they had agreed to deſtroy the Magiſtracy of *London,* the preſent and the late Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, *&c.* ſo they reſolv'd that Alderman *Corniſh* or *Gould* ſhou'd be declar'd Lord Mayor, and *Papillon* and *Dubois* Sheriffs, *&c.*

And as to the Aſſaſſination.

And now the *Lopping Point,* as they call'd it, the Aſſaſſination, kept pace in the inferior private Cabals; and the Politicians amongſt them look'd upon it as more compendious and expeditious in compaſſing the great Deſigns. Many Ways were therefore propos'd for effecting this extraordinary Point: Some were for having the King and the Duke ſet upon in St. *James*'s Park, as they were going privately and ill attended to that Palace: Others were for ſinking their Barge, when they went down the River for their Diverſion; or elſe to do it in their Return from the *Play-*

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Play-Houſe by the Wall in *Covent-Garden*: Others again were for ſhooting them with Pocket Blunderbuſſes in the *Play-Houſe* it ſelf; which extreamly pleas'd *Fergusſon*, who thereupon ſaid, *That then they wou'd die in their Calling*: And others were for undertaking it between *Windſor* and *Hampton-Court*, or in their Going to *Wincheſter*; or if they ſhou'd happen to be preſent at the *Bull-Feaſt* in *Red-Lyon-Fields*. But the moſt preferable Method, and which was finally determin'd, was to attempt it upon the two Brothers Return this Year from *Newmarket*; and the Place reſolv'd on was the *Rye-Houſe*, within two Miles of *Hodſden* in *Hertfordſhire*, inhabited by *Richard Rumbald* formerly mention'd, a Place private, commodious, and of ſome natural Strength. The Attempt was to be made by a Party of Forty bold Men, arm'd with Blunderbuſſes and Piſtols, and Commanded by *Rumbald* and Captain *Walcot*, who were privately to muſter in the ſaid *Rye-Houſe*, againſt the Day of the King's coming back, deſign'd on the 31ſt of *March*: And while the King's Coach ſhou'd be ſtopp'd by a Cart purpoſely overturn'd in a narrow Paſſage of the Way, ſome ſhou'd fight the ſmall Guard that uſually attended his Majeſty, and others fire into the Coach, and kill both the Brothers at the ſame Time. One-Ey'd *Rumbald* undertook to be a Marks-Man with a Blunderbuſs, which he profanely ſaid, *Mr.* Fergusſon *ſhou'd Conſecrate*; and *Walcot*, who ſtood upon a Point of Honour, not to kill any Man baſely, was to charge and fight the Guards. And it was further reſolv'd, That upon the ſame Day, many Lords and Perſons of Quality of their Party, ſhou'd be invited to Dine in *London*, that they might be the more ready to appear among the Citizens upon the Arrival of the News; the Actors having contriv'd the Manner of their Eſcape by ſo near a Paſſage, that they hop'd to get to the City, before the News cou'd be brought by other Hands.

The Rye-Houſe *the Place appointed.*

That Deſign defeated.

But while all Things were in a great Forwardneſs, and they were triumphantly entertaining themſelves with the Rewards of ſome, and the Puniſhment of others, Heaven was pleas'd to defeat all their pernicious Counſels, by ſuffering the Fire formerly mention'd to break out at *Newmarket*, which oblig'd the King and the Court to return from thence about a Week ſooner than was intended. The Conſpirators receiv'd the News with various Apprehenſions, and their confus'd Sentiments of it appear'd both in their Looks and Words: One of them cou'd not forbear calling it *a Providential Fire*, and *Walcot* himſelf ſaid, *He thought it an Expreſſion of God's diſapproving the Undertaking*; but the inveterate *Fergusſon* ſaid, *That he perceiv'd God had reſerv'd the King for his own Judgment*; yet he declar'd, *That the Deſign muſt inſtantly be re-aſſum'd*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* undertook to be a principal Aſſiſtant.

The Inſurrection goes on.

In the mean Time the ſuperior Managers for the Inſurrection were carrying on their Treaty with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners: For no ſooner were the *Scots* in *London* inform'd by their Correſpondents in *Edinburgh*, that the People there were in a greater Readineſs than they firſt imagin'd, but they ſtruck in with the *Engliſh*, and agreed upon certain Conditions, 'That they ſhou'd riſe firſt, if the *Engliſh*, upon ſpeedy Notice, wou'd 'immediately ſecond them; That the Inſurrection in both Kingdoms 'ſhou'd be before Harveſt; That Arms and Ammunition ſhou'd be tranſ-'ported out of *Holland* into *Scotland*, whither the Earl of *Argyle* ſhou'd 'haſten to head their Party there.' Theſe Things in general were quickly concluded; but there were ſome Particulars that rais'd ſuch Difficulties, as were like to overturn the Deſign: The *Engliſh*, now more ſetled in their Intentions, wou'd have had the *Scots* declare immediately for a *Common-wealth, and the Extirpation of Monarchy*; but the *Scots* declin'd that Point, affirming, *That the Generality of their People wou'd never*

never hearken to that at firſt. In the next Place, The *Scots* demanded Thirty Thouſand Pounds to be ſent them for Arms, Ammunition, &c. but the *Engliſh*, who would truſt them with any thing ſooner than Money, after many Expoſtulations from *Argyle* and his Agents, cou'd be brought to no more than Ten Thouſand Pounds, and rais'd many Doubts and Scruples about that Sum; which caus'd the *Scots* to reſent the Matter, and to tell them, *That they were only good at Fire-ſide Plotting; whereas, for their Part, they were reſolv'd to riſe, tho' they had nothing to fight with but their Claws.* However at length, they came to an A- ‘greement, That the Ten Thouſand Pounds ſhou'd be rais'd, and put ‘into the Hands of Mr. *Shepheard*, who was to return the Bills for it ‘by *Ferguſon* to *Amſterdam*. 1683. Car. 35 Ref. 24

3. Thus ſucceſsfully was the Deſign going forwards, when a timely Diſcovery ſtopt it in its full Career: This was firſt made on the 12th Day of *June*, by *Joſiah Keeling*, Citizen and Salter of *London*; a Perſon of good Credit in the common Buſineſs of his Calling, but one whoſe perverſe Principles as to Religion and Government, had tranſported him into ſtrange Undertakings; for he was a ſpecial Aſſiſtant at the unheard-of Arreſt of the Lord Mayor of *Lonon*; and was alſo to have been one of the Forty Aſſaſſines, who with *Rumbald* and *Walcot*, were to have murder'd the King and the Duke at the *Rye-Houſe*. This Man having for ſome Time labour'd under great Uneaſineſs of Mind, and the Laſhes of a tormenting Conſcience, for being involv'd in ſo much Guilt, appear'd voluntarily before the Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, and there made open Confeſſion of the whole Matter, and ſubſcrib'd his Depoſitions. But finding that the King and his Miniſters were exceeding diffident of his ſingle Intelligence on a Buſineſs of ſo vaſt a Moment, he conſider'd which Way he might beſt ſtrengthen his Evidence. To that End he prevail'd upon *Goodenough*, who had an entire Confidence in him, that his Brother *John Keeling* might be admitted into the next Meetings of the Conſpirators, he himſelf promiſing to be anſwerable for his Secrecy. This was done, and thereupon both the Brothers gave in their joynt Teſtimony upon Oath on the 14th of *June*, touching the Progreſs of the Treaſon. So they continu'd to do for a Day or two more, till *John Keeling* dropt ſome Expreſſions to his Relations, which they whiſper'd among their Acquaintance, *That ſomething was working, which might do Miſchief to Honeſt People.* This, and freſh Alarms from the Government, caus'd ſeveral of them to meet and conſult what to do; but Fear and Confuſion ſo wrought upon them, that they all ſeparated, and reſolv'd upon Flight. Only *Walcot* ſaid at parting, *God wou'd yet deliver the Nation, tho' he did not approve of the preſent Inſtruments.* And *Ferguſon*, to keep up his former Character, took his leave in theſe Words, *He perceiv'd they were Strangers to this Kind of Exerciſe, but he had been us'd to fly, and wou'd never be out of a Plot as long as he liv'd; and that he hop'd yet to meet ſome of them at* Dunbar *before* Michaelmas. *The whole Defeated by* Keeling's *Diſcovery.*

Immediately after, an unuſual Commotion appear'd every where in all Mens Looks and Actions, a Mixture of Joy and Wonder, for the Diſcovery, and the Strangeneſs of it; and the whole Kingdom was in ſome ſort of a Conſternation. Warrants were immediately iſſu'd out againſt ſeveral of the Conſpirators, eſpecially thoſe of *Keeling*'s Acquaintance; and on the 23d of *June* was publiſh'd the King's Proclamation for Apprehending Colonel *John Romſey*, *Richard Rumbald* Maſter, *Richard Nelthorpe* Eſquire, *Edward Wade* Gent. *Richard Goodenough* Gent. Capt. *Walcot*, *William Thompſon*, *James Burton* and *William Hone*; for *Proclamations againſt the Conſpirators.*

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any of which, a Hundred Pounds was offer'd to the Diſcoverer. Upon this Proclamation, Colonel *Romſey*, for a Pardon and Reward, ſurrender'd himſelf the next Day; and being examin'd by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, he made a large Confeſſion; which was ſoon after confirm'd by two others, Mr. *Weſt* and Mr. *Sheppard*: So that on the 28th of *June* there came out a Second Proclamation, for the Apprehending of *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, *Ford* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* Knight, and *Robert Ferguſon*, who were all fled; for any of which five Hundred Pounds was offer'd as a Reward to the Diſcoverer. Shortly after the Lord *Howard* came in; and upon his Information, Warrants for High-Treaſon were iſſu'd out againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and others, who were taken up accordingly. As to the Duke of *Monmouth*, he had formerly been taken up, upon Suſpicion of promoting Sedition and Riots, and was admitted to Bail; but finding his Name in the Proclamation, he took the firſt Opportunity to make his Eſcape. But for *Ferguſon* himſelf, we are told, That when the Warrants were deliver'd to Mr. *Legat* the Meſſenger, to ſeize him with the reſt of the Offenders, Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* gave *Legat* a ſtrict Command not to take *Ferguſon*, but to ſhun him where-ever he met him; which is a Myſtery not eaſy to be underſtood, but has caus'd Variety of Conjectures.

The Satisfaction and Addreſſes of the Nation.

Mens Minds now began to be fill'd with Pleaſure, as well as Horror; and on the 2d of *July*, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, in a full Body waited on his Majeſty in the *Banquetting-Houſe* at *White-Hall* with their Addreſs of Congratulation, 'Declaring their Thanks to Almighty God for bringing to light 'this impious and execrable Machination, deſign'd for the Deſtruction of 'of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and of his deareſt Brother *James* Duke 'of *York*, and for the Deſtruction of his Majeſty's beſt Subjects, and to 'involve this and the future Generation in Confuſion, Blood and Miſery; 'carry'd on, notwithſtanding their ſpecious Pretences, by known Diſ-'ſenting Conventicles, and Atheiſtical Perſons, &c.' Which Addreſs being moſt kindly received by his Majeſty, they then waited on his Royal Highneſs the Duke, and made their Compliments to him on the ſame Occaſion. Immediately after, the honourable Society of the *Middle-Temple* Addreſs'd in the like Manner, who declared themſelves 'Concern'd 'more than ordinary to ſhew their Loyalty, in regard ſome of the firſt 'diſcover'd Conſpirators did unhappily appear to be of that Society.' They were follow'd by the other *Inns of Court*, the City of *Weſtminſter*, the Borough of *Southwark*, and by all the Counties and Corporations in the Kingdom, whoſe Addreſſes flow'd in with an Inundation from all Parts, in greater Numbers, and with warmer Expreſſions, than ever had been known; to the great Diminution, as well as Mortification of the *Whig-Party*, at that Time. At the ſame Time alſo, the ſeveral Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of Foreign Princes Congratulated his Majeſty, in their Maſters Names, for his happy Delivery from the Conſpiracy and Aſſaſſination. And the *French* King, to ſhew his Affection to his Brother of *England*, publiſh'd alſo in his Dominions an Edict or Proclamation for the Apprehenſion of the Four before-mention'd, *Monmouth*, *Gray*, *Armſtrong* and *Ferguſon*, promiſing five Hundred Piſtoles for the Diſcovery of each of them.

Walcot's Tryal.

II. I. While all Mens Minds were excited by Curioſity, and fill'd with Expectations, ſeveral of the Perſons accus'd of the Plot were brought to Tryal; and the firſt was Lieutenant Colonel *Thomas Walcot*, who was try'd at the *Old-Baily*, on the 12th of *July*, before the Lord Chief

Tryals. *Sprat. Kennet. Burnet.* State Tracts *Hawles. &c.*

Chief Juſtice *Saunders*, and other Judges for High-Treaſon againſt the King and Government. The Witneſſes againſt him were four; Colonel *Romſey*, *Joſiah Keeling*, *Zachary Bourn* and Counſellor *Weſt*; who in their Depoſitions firſt gave ſome general Account of the Plot, and then of the particular Share in which the Priſoner was concern'd: *Romſey* firſt ſwore, 'That the Priſoner came to *Weſt*'s Chamber where the Deponent was preſent, when a Liſt was brought of the Aſſaſſines, and agreed to joyn with them, intending to command a Party to charge the Guards; That he undertook to go and view *Rumbald*'s Houſe, and bought a Horſe for that purpoſe: That he was preſent at the Dividing *London* into Twenty Parts in order to an Inſurrection; and at the Conſult for Buying of Arms after the Diſappointment at the *Rye-Houſe*: That he was at the Meeting for carrying on the Conſpiracy on *Thurſday* before the Diſcovery; and that after it, they met at Captain *Tracy*'s, *Walcot*'s own Lodging, the Deponent being preſent'. 2. *Keeling* depos'd, 'That *Walcot* was at the trayterous Aſſembly at the *Salutation-Tavern*, where the Deponent was call'd *Gulick*, and a Health drunk to the *Engliſh Gulick*; *Weſt* declaring that *Gulick* in *Dutch* was *Keeling* in *Engliſh*; adding, *He hop'd to ſee* Keeling *at the Head of as good an Army at* Wapping, *as they heard one* Gulick *was then at* Cologne.' 3. *Bourn* ſwore, 'That *Walcot* us'd to come to *Ferguſon* when he lodg'd at his Houſe; and that He and ſeveral others met at the *Dragon* on *Snow-Hill*, and often in other Places, in order to raiſe Men, and divide the City into Twenty Parts, for ſecuring the King and the Duke: That almoſt every Time they met, at leaſt three Times, the Priſoner at the Bar was there: That he was at the laſt Meeting at *Tracy*'s, where they debated of *Standing to it with Sword in Hand, and of Killing* Keeling *for making the Diſcovery*. 4. *Weſt* teſtified, That the Priſoner, upon the Election of the *London* Sheriffs, ask'd him, *Will the People do nothing to ſecure themſelves?* and acquainted him with the Inſurrection then deſigned within three Weeks or a Month: That the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was in the Deſign, and had engag'd the Priſoner: That he had an Expectation of being Colonel of Horſe; asking the Deponent, *Whether he would have any Command under him?* That upon his Refuſal, he deſir'd him to lend him a Suit of Silk Armour: That the ſaid *Walcot* told him of ſeveral Deſigns to attack the King and the Duke: That in the Buſineſs of the *Rye-Houſe*, he undertook to command the Party that was to ſet upon the Guards: That after the Diſappointment, he met with the other Conſpirators, where they diſcours'd of it, and complain'd they had not Arms in Readineſs: That he ſometimes made One at the Deponent's, and at the *Young-Devil*-Tavern: That he was preſent at the Meeting at *Tracy*'s, relating to their Eſcape; the Priſoner himſelf then ſaying, *God wou'd ſtill deliver the Nations*, &c.

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Witneſſes, Romſey,

Keeling,

Bourne.

And Weſt.

Beſides theſe living Witneſſes, there was a Letter produc'd under his own Hand, which made a great Impreſſion both upon the Court and Jury: It was written to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, immediately after he found his Name in the King's firſt Proclamation, and intimated to his Honour, 'That he was come to Town to lay himſelf at his Majeſty's Feet: That this was the firſt Crime he had been guilty of ſince the King's Reſtoration, and too ſoon by much now: That he was ready to diſcover to his Majeſty all that he knew in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which might be ſomething more than the firſt Diſcoverer cou'd acquaint him with, eſpecially as to *Ireland*: That his Intimacy with a *Scotch* Miniſter, through whoſe Hands much of the Buſineſs paſs'd, occaſion'd his knowing very much; and that the Buſineſs was laid very Broad,

Walcot's Letter.

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‘ or he was miſ-inform’d ; concluding with a Propoſal, That he would ‘ follow the Traytors who were fled, and give Notice what Meaſures ‘ they ſhou’d take ; with other the like Expreſſions. There was likewiſe a Paper given in Evidence that was taken about him in *Newgate* ; in which he deſir’d *Romſey* and *Weſt* to ſpare him, ſaying, *They had Ground enough to ſerve the King upon other Men.* But as to his private Confeſſion to the King upon his firſt Examination, that was not produc’d againſt him ; tho’ in that he told ſeveral new Particulars of the Conſpiracy, and nam’d the Men of Quality who had undertaken to raiſe the ſeveral Shires.

His Defence, The Priſoner’s Defence conſiſted Firſt of a plain Denyal of having had any hand in the Aſſaſſination ; ſaying, ‘ He knew well enough, if he had ‘ undertaken to charge the Guards, while others kill’d the King, he was ‘ equally guilty with thoſe that kill’d him ; but that he was ſick of the ‘ Gout during the Meetings, while the King was at *New-Market* : ‘ Moreover, that thoſe Witneſſes were ſufficiently involv’d themſelves, ‘ and ſwore againſt him to ſave their own Lives : That he never knew ‘ *Goodenough* and *Rumbald* : That the laſt Meeting at his Lodgings was ‘ appointed by *Romſey*, he himſelf knowing nothing of it : That he came ‘ accidentally to the other Meetings only to hear News. He confeſs’d ‘ he heard there was a Deſign amongſt ſeveral Great Lords and Gentlemen for *Aſſerting Liberties and Properties* ; but that he was not at ‘ their Conſultations. In ſum, He had heard a great deal of an Inſurrection, but had no Part in it, and therefore his Fault cou’d be only ‘ *Miſpriſion of Treaſon.* And as to the Letter produc’d againſt him, he ‘ alledg’d, *That what he had promis’d to diſcover, he had only heard from* ‘ Ferguſon.’ In Anſwer to this Defence, the King’s Council alledg’d, ‘ That there is nothing more juſt than to make uſe of ſome Traytors to ‘ convict others, elſe Treaſon might take effect without Diſcovery : That ‘ becauſe the Witneſſes had been concern’d in the Plot, therefore they ‘ were to be believ’d ; for who ſhou’d know it but thoſe that were concern’d ? That better Witneſſes cou’d not have been had, except the ‘ Thing had ſucceeded : That the very being at Treaſonable Conſults, ‘ and keeping them private, is not only *Miſpriſion*, but *High-Treaſon.* ‘ And as to having the Gout, *Weſt* told him, he remember’d it very well ‘ by a good Token, that the Priſoner himſelf ſaid, *He was afraid when* *And Condemnation.* ‘ *the Time came, he ſhou’d not be able to draw on his Boot.*’ In Concluſion, he was, in a very ſhort Time, brought in Guilty of High-Treaſon by the Jury.

Hone’s *Tryal.* 2. On the ſame Day another Criminal was brought to the Bar, *William Hone* a Joyner, who wou’d have immediately confeſs’d himſelf guilty of a great Part of the Accuſation. But refuſing to confeſs all, he was requir’d to Plead, and his Tryal was brought on the next Day. Then again he deſir’d he might retract his Plea, and offer’d to plead Guilty ; but ſince he wou’d not own the whole Indictment, for the Satisfaction of the Nation, which was very curious at that Time, the following Witneſſes appear’d againſt him. Keeling, 1. *Keeling* ſwore, ‘ That the Priſoner ‘ was at the *Dolphin*-Tavern, where ſeveral ſorts of Arms were agreed ‘ on to be provided under the borrow’d Names of *Swan-Quils*, *Gooſe-Quils*, *Crow-Quils*, *Sand* and *Ink* : That after that Meeting, *Hone* ‘ told the Deponent, he was one of them who were to go down to the ‘ *Rye-Houſe* to aſſaſſinate the King. That he ſince alſo told him, *That* ‘ *it would never be well till the* Black-Bird *and the* Gold-Finch *were* ‘ *knock’d on the Head* ; explaining thoſe Terms to be meant of the King ‘ and the Duke.’ To which Atteſtation, *Hone* reply’d, *That as to the*

Black-

Black-Bird *he own'd it, but not as to the* Gold-Finch. 2. *Weſt* depos'd, 'That *Goodenough* having told him he wou'd try *Hone*, whether 'he wou'd attempt on the Duke without the King, the Deponent ask'd '*Hone*, whether he had ſeen *Goodenough*? He anſwer'd, He had, and 'that he had ſpoken to him about a *Job for the Duke*. That at ano-'ther Time alſo the Priſoner ask'd the Deponent, *Maſter, ſhall we do* Weſt, '*nothing*? Adding, *That if the Duke of* Monmouth *wou'd be true, and* '*appear, he wou'd bring fifty or threeſcore Men from the other Side of the* '*Water, to help to do the Buſineſs.* And that the Deponent demanding 'what Buſineſs? he anſwer'd, *A briſk Puſh at the two Brothers.* That 'being further queſtion'd, What Brothers? he ſaid, *The Captain and* '*Lieutenant*; which were the counterfeit Names they ſometimes us'd for 'the King and Duke. 1683. Car. 35 Reſ. 24

Beſides theſe two Witneſſes, who were more immediately concern'd themſelves, Sir *Nicholas Butler* depos'd, 'He had known *Hone* many 'Years, and always knew him guilty of Plotting and Contriving, and 'Ready for ſuch Enterprizes as this; particularly he had projected the 'Taking off the King and the Duke with Croſs-Bows from *Bow-Steeple*, 'whilſt they were ſtanding in a Houſe directly over-againſt it on the Lord 'Mayor's Day: That the Priſoner confeſs'd this very thing, when exa-'min'd before his Majeſty; and that he had alſo acquainted ſeveral Per-'ſons, *That he was to make one to kill the King and the Duke.*' Laſtly Captain *Richardſon*, the Keeper of *Newgate*, teſtify'd, 'That the Priſo-'ner confeſs'd to Sir *Nicholas Butler*, in his Preſence, that *Goodenough* 'came to him and told him, *He wanted Labourers*; that *Hone* ask'd him 'for what? *Goodenough* ſaid *It was to kill the King and the Duke*; and 'that he did agree to be one of the Number: That *Hone* did ſay another 'Time, *He was for killing the King and ſaving the Duke*; but that '*Goodenough* was for Both: That he told him of the Buſineſs of the *Rye-*'*Houſe*, calling it *The Place where the King was to have been kill'd.*' To all this *Hone* the Priſoner made no Anſwer, but *That he was drawn in by* Goodenough; and as to the killing the King from *Bow-Steeple*, he ſaid *he was told of it by Another.* And ſo the Caſe appear'd ſo plain, that the Jury found him guilty of High-Treaſon, without going out of the Court. *Sir* N. Butler, *And* Richard-ſon. Hone *caſt.*

3. The Third Tryal was of the higheſt Importance to the Publick, and brought on with the greateſt Expectation of the People, which was that of *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Bedford*, a Per-ſon often mention'd, of that Worth and Probity, but of that Intereſt and Popularity, that the Court was brought under ſome Neceſſity of bring-ing him to Deſtruction; and his very Tryal rais'd the Pity of Thou-ſands of People. But his own and his Family's Actions being ſo well re-member'd, either Policy or Revenge was almoſt ſure to take place; and his Tryal came on with great Formality at the *Old Baily*, on the ſame Day with *Hone*'s, and before Eight ſeveral Judges, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Saunders*, the Lord Baron *Mountague*, Mr. Juſtice *Windham*, Mr. Juſtice *Jones*, Mr. Juſtice *Charlton*, Mr. Juſtice *Levins*, Mr. Juſtice *Withens*, and Mr. Baron *Street*; together with the Attorney and Solicitor-Gene-ral, the King's Council at Law, and a conſiderable Jury ſummon'd by the preſent Sheriffs, Sir *Dudley North*, and Sir *Peter Rich*; and the whole was carry'd on with as much Art and Management, as Grandeur and For-mality. At his Arraignment the Priſoner ſtruggled hard to obtain a Day longer for his Tryal, as having Witneſſes that might come before Night; and then he urg'd to have it deferr'd till the Afternoon, but in both he was over-rul'd; the Niceneſs of the Time being *now* a ſpecial Advantage *The Lord* Ruſ-ſel's *Tryal.* *The Formality of it.*

to

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to either Side. However he was allow'd to make uſe of what Papers he had, which was thought a Favour, becauſe ſome others had been formerly refus'd that Liberty. Next, he deſir'd to have a Copy of the Pannel of the Jury; to which the Attorney-General anſwer'd, That he had indulg'd him ſo far as to ſend him a Note of the Men return'd, but no other Pannel cou'd be given him. The Jury being call'd, he challeng'd the Foreman, for being no Free-Holder in *London*; which being a Point of Law, he had Council allow'd him, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Mr. *Holt* and Mr. *Ward*, who argu'd the Validity of the Challenge. But the Judges in the Court over-rul'd the Plea, and gave their ſeveral Opinions, 'That in Caſe of 'Treaſon, a *Free-Hold* was no good Cauſe of Challenge, eſpecially in the 'City of *London*, where Cuſtom had been otherwiſe, and the Citizens 'were ſuperior to common Free-Holders;' and he was further told, 'That there cou'd be no Hardſhip in his Caſe, ſince he might Challenge 'thirty five without Cauſe, and his Jury conſiſted of Men of unqueſtionable Quality and Subſtance.

Witneſſes; Romſey,

The Jury ſworn, the three chief Witneſſes that appear'd were Colonel *Romſey*, Mr. *Shepard*, and the Lord *Howard*. 1. The Colonel depos'd, 'That in the End of *October*, or in the Beginning of *November* 1682, 'there met at Mr. *Shepard*'s Houſe in *Ab-Church-Lane*, the Duke of *Mon-'mouth*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſſel* the Priſoner, Sir *Thomas Arm-'ſtrong*, and *Robert Ferguſon*: That the Earl of *Shaftsbury* deſir'd him 'to go to them thither, to know what Reſolution was taken about the 'Riſing at *Taunton*; that he did go, and Mr. *Shepard* carry'd him up 'where they were, and he deliver'd his Meſſage. That the Anſwer was, '*Mr.* Trenchard *had fail'd them*; *and there cou'd be no more done in the* '*Matter at that Time*: That there was at the ſame Time a Diſcourſe 'by all the Company about ſeeing what Poſture the Guards were in, that 'they might know how to ſurprize them; That ſome of them undertook 'to go and ſee: That the Lord *Ruſſel* in particular did ſpeak about the

Shepard,

'Riſing, and *gave his Conſent to it*.' 2. Mr. *Shepard* teſtify'd, 'That 'in *October* laſt, *Ferguſon* requeſted of him, in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s 'Name, the Conveniency of his Houſe, for the Meeting of ſome Perſons 'of Quality; and that the ſame Day in the Evening the Duke of *Mon-'mouth*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* and *Fer-'guſon* came: That they deſired to be private, and none of his Servants 'to come up: That their Diſcourſe was how to ſurprize the Guards: 'That the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, 'went one Night to the *Mews* to view them: That the next time they 'came, *Armſtrong* ſaid, *The Guards were remiſs, and the Thing was fea-'ſible*: That they had two Meetings of this Kind at his Houſe; That in 'one of them ſomething was read by *Ferguſon* in the Nature of a *Decla-'ration*, ſetting forth the Grievances of the Nation in order to a Riſing: 'That he cou'd not poſitively ſay that the Lord *Ruſſel* was there when 'it was read; but the ſaid Lord, the Priſoner, was there, when they diſ-'cours'd of ſeizing the Guards.

And the Lord Howard.

In the third Place, the Lord *Howard* began his Teſtimony with a long Story about the Plot in general, which was complain'd of as foreign, and deſign'd only to exaſperate the Jury; but what peculiarly related to the Priſoner, was to this Effect: 'That after the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Flight, 'the chief Perſons concern'd in the Conſpiracy in his Time, began to 'conſider they had gone ſo far, that it wou'd be unſafe for them to make 'a Retreat; and that in ſo great an Affair, conſiſting of ſo many Particulars, 'which were to be manag'd with ſo much Niceneſs, it wou'd be neceſſa-'ry to have ſome Select Council; and that therefore they reſolv'd to 'erect a Cabal among themſelves, which uſually conſiſted of ſix Perſons,

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'the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel '*Sidney*, Mr. *Hambden* Junior, and the Deponent; and this was about 'the middle of *January* laſt. That they met at Mr. *Hambden*'s Houſe, 'where it was preſently agreed, their proper Province was to take care 'of the Inſurrection: That the chief things they debated were, *Whe-* '*ther that Inſurrection ſhou'd begin firſt in* London, *or the Country*; then, '*what Counties and Towns were fitteſt, and moſt ready for Action*; then, '*What Arms were to be got, and how to be diſpos'd*; then, *that it was* '*neceſſary to have a common Bank of twenty five or thirty Thouſand* '*Pounds, to anſwer the Occaſions of ſuch an Undertaking*; but that the 'greateſt Point was *to order it ſo, as to draw in* Scotland *into a Conſent* '*with them*; becauſe it was requiſite that all Kinds of Diverſion ſhou'd 'be given to the King's Forces. That about Ten Days after, every one 'of the ſame Perſons met again at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Houſe: That they 'then came to a Reſolution of ſending ſome Perſons to the Earl of *Ar-* '*gyle*, to ſettle the Correſpondence with him, and that a Meſſenger ſhou'd 'be diſpatcht into *Scotland* to invite ſome *Scotch*-Men hither, who beſt 'underſtood the State of *Scotland*, to give an Account of it: That the Per- 'ſons determin'd to be ſent for, were Sir *John Cockran*, the Lord *Melvil*, and 'one of the Name of *Cambel:* That Colonel *Sidney* was intruſted to take 'care of a Meſſenger; and he told the Deponent, he had ſent *Aaron* '*Smith:* That then they agreed, not to meet again till the Return of the 'Meſſenger; who was gone about a Month before they heard any thing 'of him: That all this Debate at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s went without Contra- 'diction, *all there preſent giving their Conſent:* That as for raiſing of 'Money, every one was put to think of ſuch a Way, that Money might 'be Collected without giving Cauſe of Jealouſy. That after this, the 'Deponent met no more with them; but when he return'd out of the 'Country, he was inform'd that *Aaron Smith* was come back, and that 'Sir *John Cockran* was alſo come to Town.

The Lord Ruſſel's Defence.

To all this the Lord *Ruſſel* made Anſwer, 'That he cou'd not but think 'himſelf mighty unfortunate to ſtand charg'd with ſo high a Crime, 'and that intermix'd with horrid Practices and Speeches of other People, 'while the King's Council took all Advantages to heighten Things againſt 'him. That he was no Lawyer, and a very unready Speaker, and alto- 'gether a Stranger to Things of this Nature: That he was ſenſible he 'was not ſo provided, as to make his Defence as otherwiſe he ſhou'd do; 'but he thought the Gentlemen of the Jury were Men of Conſcience, 'that valu'd Innocent Blood, and hop'd they wou'd conſider the Witneſ- 'ſes, that they ſwore to ſave their own Lives: That the two Times they 'met, was upon no form'd Deſign, only to talk of News and Things in 'General: That the Lord *Howard* having a voluble Tongue, they de- 'lighted to hear him diſcourſe: That he knew of no ſuch Council of ſix 'choſen, for who ſhou'd chuſe them?' As to Colonel *Romſey*, 'he was 'notoriouſly known to have been highly oblig'd to the King and the 'Duke; and it was ſtrange he ſhou'd be capable of ſuch a Deſign as to 'Murder the King: That the Time was Elapſed by the 13th of the King, 'which limits Proſecution to ſix Months: Neither was the Deſign of Le- 'vying War, Treaſon, unleſs it appear'd by ſome Overt-Act.' And then he deſiring to know upon what Statute he was Indicted, he was told 'the 'Statute of the 25th of *Edward* the Third. Upon which he inſiſted up- on a Matter of Law, and particularly, 'That the Buſineſs at Mr. *Shepard*'s 'Houſe was ſworn to only by one Witneſs.' To which he was anſwer'd, 'That if there were one Witneſs of one Act of Treaſon, another of a ſe- 'cond, and another of a third, that manifeſted the ſame Treaſon, it was 'ſufficient.' And the Attorney-General and Sir *George Jeffreys* made a home

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home thruſt at him: The Former ſaid, *Your Lordſhip remembers, in my Lord* Stafford's *Caſe, there was but one Witneſs to one Act in* England, *and another to another in* France: And the Latter ſaid, *There was not ſo much Evidence againſt Him, as there is againſt your Lordſhip.*

Witneſſes for him.

For a further Defence of his Lordſhip, there appear'd a noble Train of Witneſſes, which very much affected the Audience, *viz.* The Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Angleſey*, Mr. *Edward Howard*, the Lord *Cavendiſh*; the Lord *Clifford*, Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Burnet*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Fitz-Williams*, Mr. *Lutton Gore* and Mr. *Spencer*. Some of theſe teſtify'd that the Lord *Howard*, before he was taken, declared, *He believ'd the Lord* Ruſſel *innocent, and knew nothing againſt him.* Others ſpoke to his Lordſhip's private Character, and declar'd his great Worth and Probity, his virtuous and ſober Life, and conſequently the great Improbability of his being thus ingag'd.

Anſwers.

As to what concern'd the Lord *Howard*'s ſaying he believ'd the Priſoner Innocent, it was anſwer'd by that Lord Himſelf, who confeſs'd, 'He had ſaid ſo, being then himſelf not accus'd, ſo that he 'intended to out-face the thing both for Himſelf and the Party; but 'now his Duty to God, the King, and his Country required it, he muſt 'ſay the Truth; and that tho' the Council of Six were not choſen by any 'Community, yet they did erect themſelves by mutual Agreement one 'with another into that Society.' The reſt was anſwer'd by the King's Council at Law, who expatiated upon the Matter, and particularly inſiſted, 'That the Witneſſes againſt the Lord *Ruſſel* were not profligate 'Perſons, nor Men who wanted Faith and Credit before that Time; but 'ſuch againſt whom there had been no legal Exceptions made by Him-'ſelf: That there was no Contradiction, no Correſpondence or Contri-'vance at all between them; and that it cou'd not be imagin'd ſuch 'Men ſhou'd damn their own Souls to take away the Life of a Gentle-'man, againſt whom they had no Quarrel.' As for Colonel *Romſey*'s being much oblig'd to the King and the Duke, 'It was apparent by many In-'ſtances, that no ſuch, tho' the greateſt Obligations, had hinder'd ill Men 'from Conſpiring againſt his Majeſty. For was not the Earl of *Eſſex*, 'were not divers others of the Conſpirators in like manner oblig'd, and 'advanc'd in Eſtate and Honour by the King?' As for the ſeveral Divines, and Men of Honour and Quality produc'd to teſtify the Virtue and Sobriety of his Lordſhip's Converſation, it was anſwer'd, 'That an Affecta-'tion of Popularity had often prov'd a Snare ſtrong enough to tempt 'many Men, who had otherwiſe been of great Temperance and Virtue: 'Nor indeed cou'd there be any more dangerous Enemies to a State or 'Kingdom, than ſuch as come ſober to endeavour its Deſtruction.' Which ſingular Obſervation was now particularly turn'd againſt the Lord *Ruſſel*: For Mr. *Weſt* depos'd, 'That the Under-Actors in the Conſpiracy moſt 'depended on the ſaid Lord, for this very Reaſon, *becauſe they look'd 'on him as a Man of great Sobriety.*' In Concluſion, notwithſtanding the Lord's ſolemn Atteſtation of his Innocence, the Jury, after an Adjournment of the Court to the Afternoon, brought him in Guilty of High-Treaſon. This Verdict has been generally accounted a great Hardſhip, and the Sum of that Hardſhip was, 'That it was only ſworn that '*Treaſonable Words* were ſpoke in his Hearing, *to which he was Con-'ſenting*; tho' no *Words* of his were expreſs'd, that imported any ſuch '*Conſent*; therefore at moſt it cou'd be only a *Miſpriſion.*

He is found guilty.

The ſtrange Death of the Earl of Eſſex.

4. But that which was believ'd to have very much influenc'd the Jury, was a diſmal Attempt made in the *Tower* that Morning of the Tryal, upon the Body of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was found with his Throat cut with a Razor from Ear to Ear; which was immediately look'd

look'd upon to be done with his own Hands, and to be the Effect of Pride and Deſpair. This caus'd an unuſual Commotion in People's Minds, and the News was timely brought to the *Old-Bayly*; and was probably the main Reaſon why the Lord *Ruſſel* was ſo urgent to put off his Tryal a little longer, and likewiſe why on the other Side they would not allow the Favour. However it was, the Fact was twice mention'd and inſinuated by the King's Council, for no other End, that appear'd, but to exaſperate the Jury, now ſuſceptible of any Impreſſion; and it is reported that ſome of them ſaid, *That it went further with them than all the Evidence of the Witneſſes produc'd.* As to the Truth and Circumſtances of the Murder, which then made a mighty Noiſe, there gradually aroſe innumerable Conjectures, and ſeveral Murmurings and ſcandalous Reports, as if it proceeded from the Treachery and Deſigns of the Court, and not from the Earl's own Hands. And more eſpecially, becauſe the King and the Duke of *York* were at that very Time within the *Tower*, where they had not been for ſeveral Years before. But the Coroner's Inqueſt, which conſiſted of conſiderable Men, after a full Examination of the Earl's Chief Servant and the Warder, unanimouſly found him a *Felo de ſe.* And I have been aſſur'd from two eminent Divines, who ſaw the Body ſoon after the Fact, that there was not the leaſt Appearance of Violence offer'd by any other Perſon, no Marks of Struglings, nor no Signs of Villany: And that the Circumſtances appear'd ſo plain, that his Lady, his Brother Sir *Henry Capel*, and his neareſt Relations were ſatisfy'd, and acquieſc'd in the Jury's Verdict: And this they did the more readily, becauſe it was well known that the Earl us'd frequently to juſtify Self-Murder; which I have been further aſſur'd by another Divine, an Ear-Witneſs, and an intimate Acquaintance. It is very remarkable that the Fact was committed juſt by the Place where he took his laſt leave of his Father the Lord *Capel*, when he went to his Execution, and where he had receiv'd ſo ſolemn a Charge from him to adhere to the Royal Cauſe; the Memory of which, being reviv'd by the coming of the King and Duke, from whom he had receiv'd ſo many Favours, was thought to have thrown him into this fatal Fit of Deſpair. More of this is taken notice of in the ſecond Volume, in the latter End of 1648.

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Conjectures upon it.

As to the Character of this unfortunate Nobleman, it has been more than hinted at already, in his former Proceedings in the Privy-Council, and his warm Deſigns upon the Lieutenancy, and more abſolute Government of *Ireland*, the obtaining of which he had been promis'd by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. He was a Man of conſiderable Parts and Abilities, and had ſeveral valuable Qualities, as Generoſity and Bravery, and great Marks of Honour and moral Honeſty, tho' not without ſuch a Mixture of Cunning as could not be approv'd of by Sir *William Temple*: But as to Religious Principles, we are aſſured from ſuch as beſt knew him, that he had not any great Belief of the Truth of the Goſpel; and that he had too much of a reſtleſs and aſpiring Temper; and tho' he had receiv'd ſeveral Favours from the Crown, yet he had met with ſome Diſappointments which he knew not well how to bear; which drove him into new Methods, to extol the Dignity of Parliaments, to affect Popularity, and to aſſume the ſpecious Name of a Patriot. It is certain that the King was moſt ſenſibly affected at the firſt Account of this Tragical Accident, and with a Sigh ſaid, *My Lord of* Eſſex *needed not to have deſpair'd of Mercy, for I ow'd him a Life.* And he afterwards declar'd thus in Print, 'As 'for the deplorable End of the ſaid Earl, his Majeſty freely owns, there 'was no Man in his Dominions more deeply afflicted with it than him-'ſelf; his Majeſty having been thereby depriv'd of an extraordinary Op-

The Earl's Character.

The King affected.

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'portunity to exerciſe his Royal Clemency, and to teſtify to all his Loy-
'al Subjects and Old Friends, how highly he valu'd the Memory and
'Sufferings of the Lord *Capel*.' Accordingly, when the Earl's Son, a young Lad, was brought or appear'd before him, his Majeſty receiv'd him with peculiar Tenderneſs and Good-Nature, and adviſ'd him, *To preſerve the Principles, and follow the Example of his Glorious Grand-Father.*

Rouſe's *Tryal.*

5. To return to the Tryals: The fourth Perſon brought before the Judges at the *Old-Bayly*, was *John Rouſe*, a Perſon formerly mention'd, a noted Incendiary in the City of *London*, who having been Indicted for Treaſonable Words, eſcap'd Puniſhment by an *Ignoramus*-Jury. The Subſtance of the Accuſation againſt him at this Time, was, 1. *Thomas Lea* ſwore, 'That the ſaid *Rouſe* undertook to provide a Hundred Arms
'for the City-Diviſions: That he ſaid, *Nothing could be done unleſs the*
'*King were ſeiz'd*; adding, *We remember Forty One, when the King*
'*went and ſet up his Standard*; *therefore we will ſeize them, that they*
'*ſhall not ſet up their Standard.* That he propos'd to have a Ball play'd
'on *Black-Heath*; to that End ſome Sea-Captains muſt be ſpoken to,
'he promis'd to ſpeak to Ten: That when the Ball ſhould be won, e-
'very Captain might take his Party, and tell them they had other Work,
'and then go with long Boats and Arms to ſeize the *Tower*: That the
'Priſoner had ſeveral ſuch Diſcourſes, and went divers Times to view
'the *Tower* to that End: That after the Diſcovery, he ſaid to *Goode-*
'*nough* and *Nelthorp*, *Be not diſcourag'd, but let the Buſineſs go on*; that
'he ſaid, *Take off the King and the Duke, and then no Man can have*
'*Commiſſion to fight for them*: That he alſo affirm'd, *He was under an*
'*Oath of Secrecy, never to truſt but one at a Time with the Deſign.*'

Lea,

Leigh,

2. *William Leigh* Mate ſwore, 'that the ſaid *Rouſe* further endeavour'd to
'get Sea-Men to ſeize on, and command ſome of the King's Ships, ly-
'ing as Guard-Ships at *Woolwich* and *Deptford*: That being ask'd, *What*
'*he would do with Ships without Powder and Shot, with which they*
'*could not be provided without ſurprizing the* Tower? he reply'd, *We*
'*muſt ſecure the* Tower *and* White-Hall *both, or we can do nothing.*

And Corbin.

Beſides theſe Two, to prove the ſaid *Rouſe*'s former Trayterous Temper of Mind, Mr. *Corbin*, who had ſworn before the *Ignoramus* Jury, now teſtify'd, 'that upon ſome Diſcourſe concerning the Parliament at
'*Oxford*, the Priſoner ſaid, *He foreſaw it would be a ſhort Seſſions, but*
'*that theſe frequent* Prorogations *and* Diſſolutions *would not avail him:*
'*For whatever the King has, the Parliament gave him, and they may*
'*take it away when they pleaſe: That the King had forfeited his Crown,*
'*and had no more Right to it than he had.*' Againſt this, all the Defence *Rouſe* made was, 'That the Words atteſted by *Corbin*, were ſpo-
'ken upon a Suppoſition of the Pope's Power over Princes: That as for
'*William Leigh* he had nothing to ſay againſt him, but hop'd he was an
'Honeſt Man; and for *Thomas Lea*, Himſelf firſt began thoſe Treaſo-
'nable Diſcourſes, which *Rouſe* intended to have reveal'd, had not the
'other got the Start of him.' But this being only ſupported by his ſingle Affirmation without one Witneſs to ſtrengthen it, the Jury preſently brought him in Guilty of High-Treaſon.

His Defence and Condemnation.

Blague's *Tryal and Acquittal.*

At the ſame Time and Place was try'd Mr. *William Blague*, a Sea-Captain, for being concern'd in the ſame Deſign of Seizing the *Tower*, *&c.* together with *John Rouſe*; but the Evidence againſt him being imperfect, with reſpect to High-Treaſon, and ſome Circumſtances appearing in his Favour, the Jury brought him in Not Guilty.

6. About

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The Executions of Walcot, Hone, *and* Rouſe.

6. About a Week after the Tryals, on the 20th of *July*, the three ordinary Criminals, *Walcot*, *Hone* and *Rouſe*, were drawn upon Sledges to their Excution at *Tyburn*, where they all had Speeches, Confeſſions and Prayers; being attended, beſides the Sheriffs, by Dr. *Cartwright* Dean of *Ripon*, and Mr. *Smith* Ordinary of *Newgate*. *Walcot* acknowledg'd 'what he had told the King, and writ to the Secretary of State; 'That the *Buſineſs was laid very deep*; and he ſaid, An Act of Indulgence would do well, *becauſe the King had a great many Men to take 'Judgment of.* He ſaid he did not blame the Judges, nor the Jury, nor 'the King's Council, but ſome Men that came as Witneſſes againſt him, 'who were deeper concern'd, and more engag'd than Himſelf. He 'perſiſted, he was to have had no Hand in the King's Death, tho' he confeſs'd 'it was propos'd when he was preſent, therefore the King might juſtly 'make him ſuffer. He declar'd he did not know that this Conſpiracy 'was older than laſt *Auguſt* or *September*; but ſo old he own'd it was.' The next was *Hone*, who more expreſly 'own'd himſelf Guilty of the 'Crime for which he ſtood Condemn'd, according to the Laws of God 'and Man. He again alledg'd that he was drawn in; and confeſs'd he 'did ſay, *He was for Killing the King, and Saving the Duke of* York:' And in his Prayer he particularly begg'd Pardon for that Sin. Laſtly, *Rouſe*, among other Things ingenuouſly confeſs'd 'He had deſerv'd the 'Sentence paſs'd againſt him; that he had heard and underſtood too 'much in ſeveral Kinds of Meetings, eſpecially of ſome, who tho' they 'call'd themſelves *True Proteſtants*, were *Ten thouſand Times worſe than 'any others.*' In his Prayer he has theſe Words; *Dwell and reign in the Heart of the King, give him a Long, Proſperous and Happy Reign. —— Bleſs him in his Royal Family and Relations, in his Royal Brother. —— Give Loyalty towards our dread Sovereign, who is a merciful and gracious Prince, whom thou haſt ſet as thy Vicegerent to reign over us. —— We muſt needs acknowledge and ſmite upon our Thighs, that we in Juſtice are brought hither; That we have nothing to do, but to condemn our ſelves, and juſtify the Juſtice of the Land, and to pray to God to bleſs his Majeſty to Reign in theſe Nations, and thoſe that ſhall ſucceed him upon the Throne.*

Attempts made to ſave the Lord Ruſſel.

Theſe Executions were the next Day ſucceeded by that of the Lord *Ruſſel*, whoſe Caſe was pity'd, and whoſe Perſon was admired to a very high Degree; and having many great and rich Friends, ſeveral Attempts were made, as well for his Eſcape, as his Pardon. For the obtaining of the latter, we are aſſured that his Father offer'd his Majeſty no leſs than a Hundred thouſand Pounds for his Life, a Sum very Tempting at this Seaſon; but the Neceſſity of the Times, and the Influence of the Duke of *York*, are thought to be the main Reaſons why the King prov'd Inexorable. Upon which, a Petition was drawn up for Six Weeks Reprieve, which was preſented by the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Wife; and tho' carry'd by ſo excellent a Lady, and Daughter to the King's greateſt Friend, the Earl of *Southampton*, it was rejected: and it is ſaid the King's Reply was, *Shall I grant that Man Six Weeks, who, if it had been in his Power, would not have granted me Six Hours?* As to the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Eſcape, it was particularly projected by his intimate Friend the Lord *Cavendiſh*, who was willing to run any Hazard to ſerve him; and therefore being about the ſame Size, tho' of no Reſemblance in Faces, he ſent a Meſſage to him by Sir *James Forbes*, that he would come and change Cloaths with him in Priſon, and try if by ſuch a Diſguiſe he could make his Eſcape. But the Lord *Ruſſel* was too generous to throw his Friend into ſuch imminent Danger at this Time; therefore he declined

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He Prepares for Death.

ned the obliging Offer, and ſeem'd to have no other Thoughts but to prepare himſelf for Death. In which Preparation he met with no common Difficulties from the two celebrated Divines attending him, Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Burnet*, who much endeavour'd to ſettle his Belief of the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*, about which his Lordſhip was of a different Opinion from them. He thought 'That a viſible Deſign to bring 'in *Popery* and Arbitrary Power, which he took to be the preſent Caſe, 'was ſufficient to juſtify Reſiſtance.' But they told him 'That remote 'Fears and Conſequences, together with Illegal Practices, were not ſuf-'ficient in that Caſe; but ſtill the Laws of God and the Land did bind 'Subjects to Submiſſion.' He alledg'd, 'That upon that Hypotheſis, he 'did not ſee a Difference between a Legal and a *Turkiſh* Conſtitution.' But they anſwer'd, 'That a *Total Subverſion* alter'd the Caſe; and then 'the King's Authority would come under ſuch a *Suſpenſion* as might 'give Liberty to his Subjects to *Save* themſelves.' After ſome Struglings, his Lordſhip ſeem'd ſatisfy'd for a while, but Dr. *Tillotſon* having Reaſon to think otherwiſe, wrote him a remarkable Letter the Day before his Execution, which is here inſerted, eſpecially becauſe it ſo fully gives the Reaſons and Grounds for *Paſſive Obedience*, which Doctrine was now in its Height, and embrac'd by Men of all Profeſſions. The Letter will admit of no Abridgment, and is as follows:

Dr. Tillotſon's Letter to him.

'*My Lord*, I was heartily glad to ſee your Lordſhip this Morning 'in that calm and devout Temper at the Receiving of the *Bleſſed Sacra-'ment*; but Peace of Mind, unleſs it be well grounded, will avail little: 'And becauſe tranſient Diſcourſe many Times hath little Effect for want 'of Time to weigh and conſider it, therefore in tender Compaſſion to 'your Lordſhip's Caſe, and from all the Good-Will that one Man can 'bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordſhip's deliberate 'Thoughts theſe following Conſiderations concerning the Points of *Re-'ſiſtance*; if our Religion and Rights ſhould be invaded, as your Lord-'ſhip puts the Caſe, concerning which I underſtand by Dr. *Burnet*, 'that your Lordſhip had once receiv'd Satisfaction, and am ſorry to find
1. 'a Change. I. That the Chriſtian Religion doth plainly forbid the Reſi-
2. 'ſtance of Authority. II. That tho' our Religion be eſtabliſh'd by Law '(which your Lordſhip urges as a Difference between our Caſe, and 'that of the Primitive Chriſtians) yet in the ſame Law which Eſtabliſh-'es our Religion, it is Declared, *That it is not Lawful upon any Pre-'tence whatſoever to take up Arms*, &c. Beſides that, there is a parti-'cular Law Declaring the *Power of the Militia to be ſolely in the King*. 'And that ties the Hands of Subjects, tho' the Law of Nature and the 'general Rules of Scripture had left us at Liberty; which I believe they 'do not, becauſe the Government and Peace of Human Society could
3. 'not well ſubſiſt upon theſe Terms. III. Your Lordſhip's Opinion is 'contrary to the Declared Doctrine of all *Proteſtant Churches*; and 'tho' ſome particular Perſons have taught otherwiſe, yet they have 'been contradicted herein and condemned for it by the Generality of '*Proteſtants* And I beg your Lordſhip to conſider how it will agree 'with an Avow'd Aſſerting of the *Proteſtant Religion*, to go contrary 'to the general Doctrine of *Proteſtants*. My End in this is to convince 'your Lordſhip that you are in a very Great and Dangerous Miſtake, 'and being ſo convinc'd, that which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will 'appear of a much more heinous Nature, as in Truth it is, and call for a 'very particular and deep Repentance; which if your Lordſhip ſincere-'ly exerciſe upon the Sight of your Error, by a Penitent Acknowledg-'ment of it to God and Men, you will not only obtain Forgiveneſs of 'God, but prevent a mighty Scandal to the *Reform'd Religion*. I am

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'very loath to give your Lordſhip any Diſquiet in the Diſtreſs you are 'in, which I commiſerate from my Heart, but am much more concern'd 'that you do not leave the World in a Deluſion and Falſe Peace, to the 'Hindrance of your Eternal Happineſs. I heartily pray for you, and 'beſeech your Lordſhip to believe that I am, with the greateſt Sincerity 'and Compaſſion in the World, *My Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt faith-* '*ful and afflicted Servant.* 1683. Car. 35 Reſ. 24

He goes to his Execution.

It does not appear what Effect this Letter had upon his Lordſhip: The next Day, being *Saturday* the 21ſt of *July*, having taken his laſt leave of his ſorrowful Lady, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and ſeveral others of his Friends at *Newgate*, his Lordſhip took Coach with Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Burnet*, who accompany'd him to the Scaffold erected in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*; where Ten Companies of the King's Guards, and a Troop of Horſe, were ready drawn up to ſecure the Peace againſt ſo mighty and a vaſt Concourſe of People that appear'd there on that melancholy Occaſion; and where there were ſo many weeping Eyes and bleeding Hearts. Having mounted the Scaffold cover'd with Mourning, his Lordſhip gracefully bow'd to thoſe that were preſent, and after a ſhort Pauſe, he told the Sheriff, *That he expected the Noiſe would be ſuch that he ſhould not be heard, and therefore he had ſet down in Writing what he thought fit to leave behind him; proteſting his Innocence of any Deſign againſt the King's Perſon, or of altering the Government.* He then told the Sheriff he had been informed *That Captain* Walcot *had ſpoken ſome Things concerning his Knowledge of the Plot*, and deſir'd to know whether the Report were true. The Sheriff anſwer'd, *That he did not hear him ſo much as name his Lordſhip.* The Other reply'd, *He hop'd he did not, for to his Knowledge, he had never ſeen or ſpoken with him in his Life*; and then *in the Words of a Dying Man, he profeſs'd, he knew Nothing of a Plot, either againſt the King's Life or Government: But that he had done with the World as going to a better, that he had forgiven all the World heartily, and thank'd God he dy'd in Charity with all Men: He wiſh'd all the* Proteſtants *might love one another, and not make way for* Popery *by their Animoſities.* Then Kneeling, his Lordſhip pray'd to Himſelf, after which Dr. *Tillotſon* kneel'd down and pray'd with him, and then he pray'd a Second Time by himſelf; which done, he embrac'd the two Divines, and made himſelf ready: And ordering the Executioner, after he had lain down a ſmall Moment, to do his Office without a Sign, he laid himſelf down upon the Block. The Executioner miſſing his firſt Stroke, tho' with that he took away Life, at two more he ſever'd his Head from his Body; which were order'd by the Sheriff to be deliver'd to his Friends and Servants, as being given them by his Majeſty's Favour and Bounty.

His Speech.

And Death.

The Paper he left behind him.

The Paper he left in the Sheriff's Hands was very long, and made a great Noiſe: The Subſtance of it was; 'Firſt he bleſs'd God, that he was 'born of worthy good Parents, and had had the Advantage of a *Religious* '*Education*, which for many Years had ſo influenc'd and poſſeſs'd him, 'that he felt the Effects of it in his preſent Extremity: That as he had 'liv'd, ſo he dy'd a true and ſincere *Proteſtant*, and in the Communion of 'the Church of *England*, tho' he cou'd never yet comply with, or riſe 'up to all the Heights of ſome People: That he had always lov'd his 'Country much more than his Life, and never had any Deſign of *Chang-* '*ing the Government*, which he valu'd and look'd upon as one of the 'beſt Governments in the World, and wou'd have ſuffer'd any Extremi- 'ty, rather than conſented to any Deſign to take away the King's Life. 'That for the King he wiſh'd him well, and ſincerely pray'd for him; 'That the *Proteſtant* Religion, the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom 'might flouriſh under his Government, and that he in his Perſon might

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'be happy both here and hereafter. That as for the Share which he had 'in the Proſecution of the *Popiſh* Plot, he proceeded in it in the Sincerity of his Heart; being fully convinc'd, That there was a Conſpiracy 'againſt the King, the Nation, and the *Proteſtant* Religion. That as for 'his preſent Condition, he had no Repinings in his Heart at it; and that 'he freely forgave the World, and thoſe concern'd in taking away his 'Life, conjuring his Friends never to think of Revenge. He deny'd 'that he was privy to the Undertaking of ſeizing the Guards; but own'd 'that there was ſome Diſcourſe at Mr. *Shepard*'s, about the Feaſibleneſs 'of it; and ſeveral Times by Accident, in general Diſcourſe elſewhere, 'he had heard it mention'd, as a Thing might eaſily be done, but never 'conſented to it as fit to be done; and particularly, at the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s he flew out and exclaim'd againſt it. He further own'd, That at 'Mr. *Shepard*'s there were ſome Things ſaid with more Heat than Judgment, which he did ſufficiently diſapprove, yet for theſe he ſtood condemn'd; but he thank'd God, his Part was ſincere and well meant. How 'much he was acquainted with theſe ill Deſigns, was but *Miſpriſion* at 'moſt; and ſo he dy'd Innocent of the Crime he ſtood condemn'd for. 'He thought it a ſtrange Fetch, That the Deſign of Seizing the Guards, 'ſhou'd be conſtru'd a Deſign of Killing the King. Towards the Concluſion, to ſum up all, he declar'd, as he never had any Deſign againſt 'the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatſoever, ſo he never was 'in any Contrivance of Altering the Government; he cou'd not repreſs 'the Heats and Wickedneſſes of other Men, tho' he now ſuffer'd for them.

Cenſures upon it and Him.

This Paper had no ſooner appear'd in Publick, but it was follow'd by as many ſevere Animadverſions and uncharitable Reflections, as had formerly happen'd to the Speeches of the Five Jeſuits, and others that ſuffer'd in the *Popiſh* Plot; and moſt were ready to think it was drawn up with more Art than was agreeable to his Lordſhip's known Simplicity and Sincerity, therefore Others were ſuſpected to have the Wording of it. Dr. *Sprat* ſays, As to the whole Matter of it, Time had ſince ſhewn it to be full of *Enormous Falſhoods*; to maintain which he brings new Proofs from the private Confeſſions of the Duke of *Monmouth* and *Caſtares* to the King, both which made it appear his Lordſhip was more acquainted with theſe Tranſactions than he was willing to acknowledge. Others ſaid, he confeſs'd enough to ſhew his Crime, but not his Repentance; and condemn him for in effect acknowledging the *Miſpriſion* without teſtifying the leaſt Sorrow for that Crime. The moſt that was ſaid for his Lordſhip's Integrity was, That ſo far as he was concern'd, which was ſtill leſs than the reſt, he acted according to Principle, and did really believe, 'That it was lawful for Subjects to procure by Force from 'their Princes, whatſoever they judg'd neceſſary for the Preſervation of 'their Civil, or Religious Rights; provided they did not alter the Government, and in the doing thereof, their Parts were ſincere and well 'meant.' However it was, it cannot be deny'd but that he had hard Uſage, both at and after his Tryal; and that he did not die ſo much for his late Actions, as for thoſe of his Family, and his former Zeal for the Excluſion Bill, *&c.* which rais'd him to ſuch a Degree of Popularity as made him look'd upon as a dangerous Man. But the more we conſider his Hardſhips, the more we are to think upon the Judgements of Heaven: For whatever may be ſaid in Favour of his Standing up for the Liberties of his Country, he can hardly be clear'd from Thirſting after the Blood of others, eſpecially the Lord *Stafford*, againſt whom his Zeal tranſported him ſo far, that he was one of thoſe who with *Bethel*, *Corniſh*, &c. queſtion'd the King's Power in allowing that Lord to be only Beheaded.

III. 1. The

Collections. *Wright.* Tryals. *Sprat. Hawles. Welwood. Ward. Calamy.*

III. 1. The ill Succeſs of the *Whig* Party, and the general Belief of the new Conſpiracy, made the *Tories* ride in Triumph this Year, and occaſion'd the Straining, and perhaps not Sufficiently Explaining the Points of *Prerogative* and *Subjection*: They now alledg'd 'That the Diſcovery 'of the Plot had decided the Argument, and had ſhewn the Neceſſity of '*Paſſive Obedience*;' and accordingly it ſeem'd equally eſpous'd by the Court, the Pulpit, the Bench and the Bar; and, beſides the Arguments brought from the Laws of God, and thoſe of the Land, the Humour of the People carry'd it to that Height, that it was dangerous, or at leaſt unfaſhionable, to oppoſe it. Under the Impulſe of this Zeal, the Univerſity of *Oxford* made a ſolemn Decree, which paſs'd in the Convocation there, on the ſame Day of the Execution of the Lord *Ruſſel*, and preſented it to the King under this Title, *The Judgment and Decree of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *Paſs'd in their Convocation, on* July 21, 1683. *againſt certain pernicious Books, and damnable Doctrines, deſtructive to the Sacred Perſons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all Human Society.* In which Decree they formally condemn'd twenty ſeven Propoſitions, collected out of ſeveral Modern Authors, as *Buchanan, Bellarmine, Milton, Dolman, Hobbs, Goodwin, Owen, Baxter, Jenkins, Goodman, Julian, Proteſtant Reconciler*, &c. Which Propoſitions they declar'd to be 'Falſe, Seditious and Impious; and moſt of them Here-'tical and Blaſphemous, Infamous to Chriſtian Religion, and Deſtructive 'of all Government, both in Church and State.' And the Books from whence they were taken were at the ſame Time order'd to be burnt, in the publick Court of the *Schools*.

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The Oxford Decree.

This was a very acceptable Preſent to the King, tho' it arriv'd at a Time when he was well nigh ſatiated with the Multitude of Addreſſes, which this Summer came crouding in upon him from all Parts of his Dominions. However, to add to the general Exultation, his Majeſty publiſh'd his *Declaration to all his Loving Subjects*, dated *July* 28th, whereby was ſet forth a ſmooth Narrative of the Treaſonable Conſpiracy, as it had been lately diſcover'd by the Oaths of ſome, and the Confeſſion of others of the Accomplices; for which happy Diſcovery, his Majeſty appointed by the ſaid *Declaration* a Solemn Day of Thankſgiving to Almighty God, to be Celebrated throughout the Kingdom, on *Sunday* the 9th Day of *September* next: And that the ſaid *Declaration* be publickly read in all Churches, as well on *Sunday* the 2d Day of *September*, as on the Day of Thankſgiving aforeſaid. This Day was ſolemniz'd after a moſt extraordinary Manner, and with mighty Pomp and Magnificence, in all Parts of the Nation; and there was hardly a little Pariſh in *England* that was not at a conſiderable Expence to teſtify their great Joy and Satisfaction. And it is obſervable what a Popiſh Writer ſays; Nor were thoſe of the Communion of the Church of *Rome* unmindful of this Deliverance, but did alſo concur with his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects in Expreſſing their Loyal Joy on the ſame Occaſion, and on the ſame 9th of *September* did Celebrate in all their publick Chappels at *London* an Extraordinary Service on that Account.

The King's Declaration.

Great Rejoycings.

To add further to the Joy of the Time, the King join'd in a popular Act, and highly acceptable to his Subjects, and that was the Marriage of his Neece the Lady *Anne*, ſecond Daughter of the Duke of *York*, to Prince *George* Brother to the King of *Denmark*; a Proteſtant Prince, who arriv'd at *White-Hall* about ten Days before the Match was determin'd. The Ceremony of it was perform'd upon *Saturday* the 28th of *July*, being St. *Anne*'s Day, about Ten in the Evening, by the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of King, Queen, Duke and Dutcheſs, and moſt of

The Marriage of the Lady Anne *with Prince* George.

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of the great Perſonages of the Court. All that Night, and the next, the Bells, Bonefires, &c. proclaim'd the Publick Joy. And immediately after the happy Pair receiv'd the Compliments and Congratulations of all the Foreign Ambaſſadors and Publick Miniſters then in Town; and alſo of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, in their greateſt Splendor. It is remarkable that the King, whoſe Heart in Point of Religion was more at *Rome* than any other Place, ſhou'd take Care that his two Neices ſhou'd be ſtrictly bred up in the Religion of the Church of *England*, and both marry'd into *Proteſtant* Families, even againſt the Inclination, and the Deſign and Intereſt of their own Father.

Election of Sheriffs, &c.

2. To proceed to the Affairs of the City of *London*, where the Struggles formerly had been greater than in any Parts of the Kingdom, the Day for Election of Sheriffs for that City and *Middleſex*, which of Courſe is on the 24th of *June*, was this Year adjourn'd to the 5th Day of *September*; on which Day the Livery-Men of the City being aſſembled at *Guild-Hall*, they confirmed the Lord Mayor's Choice of *Peter Daniel* Eſquire, and choſe *Samuel Daſhwood* Eſquire to ſerve with him, as Sheriff for the Year inſuing. At the ſame Time Mr. Deputy *Ailworth* was choſen into the Office of Chamberlain of the City of *London* in the Room of Sir *Thomas Player*, Remov'd. All which, with the other Elections of *Bridge-Maſter*, and *Ale-Cunner*, are obſerv'd to have been perform'd with the ancient Gravity and Moderation, and no ways with ſuch Riotous and Factious Heats and Animoſities as of late Years. Shortly after, on *Michaelmas* Day, the uſual Time for the Election of a new Lord Mayor, the Choice was adjourn'd over for Six Days longer; but before that Day came, the King, taking Advantage at the Delays of the City's not ſigning the Particulars, relating to the Charter, formerly yielded, caus'd the Attorney General to enter Judgment of Seizure in the *Quo Warranto*, which was actually done upon the 4th of *October*: And thereupon his Majeſty gave his Commiſſion to Sir *William Prichard*, the preſent Lord Mayor, to execute the ſaid Office during Pleaſure; and the ſame to the two new Sheriffs, *Daniel* and *Daſhwood*, who all took the uſual Oaths. At the ſame Time Mr. *Jenner* of the *Inner-Temple* was Knighted by the Name of Sir *Thomas Jenner*, and made the King's Recorder of *London*, in the Room of the noted Sir *George Treby*, now diſplac'd.

Changes in the City.

This Point being gain'd by the King, on *Sunday* the 7th of *October*, the continuing Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs appear'd at *Guild-Hall* Chappel, as uſually in their Gowns and Chains; but ſeveral of the Loyal Aldermen attended in their ordinary Habits; ſixteen of them being made Juſtices of the Peace by the King's new Commiſſion, in which Eight Diſaffected Aldermen were left out, viz. *Allen*, *Frederick*, *Laurence*, *Clayton*, *Ward*, *Shorter*, *Gold* and *Corniſh*. But on the 13th of *October*, the King thought fit to ſend a new Commiſſion to the City, Impowering the aforeſaid ſixteen well affected Aldermen, together with Eight new Perſons, Sir *Benjamin Newland*, Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*, Sir *John Buckworth*, *Samuel Daſhwood*, one of the preſent Sheriffs, *Charles Duncomb*, *Jacob Lucy*, *Peter Palavazine*, and *Benjamin Thorogood*, to act as Aldermen in their ſeveral *Wards* in the ſaid Commiſſion mention'd. And accordingly ſeveral of them attended on the Lord Mayor the Day following, being *Sunday*, at *Guild-Hall* Chappel, after the uſual Form and Manner, in Gowns and Chains, and the next they aſſembled in a Court of Aldermen, according to the ancient Cuſtom.

Sir Henry Tulſe, Lord Mayor.

Not long after, at St. *Simon* and *Jude*'s Day, the annual Solemnity of ſwearing the Lord Mayor in the *Exchequer*, his Majeſty thought fit to give a further Inſtance of his Authority, by Appointing Sir *Henry Tulſe* by

by his Commiſſion to execute that Office during his Pleaſure. Accordingly that Day he was after the uſual Manner attended to *Weſtminſter* by the ſeveral Companies, did the uſual Ceremonies in the *Hall*, made the uſual Cavalcade in *London*, but without Pageants, and din'd at *Grocers*-Hall; the other Companies dining without Noiſe at their ſeveral Halls as in former Years. So that now all Things in the City ſeem'd to be in a quiet and eaſy Condition; only about a Week after, on the 5th of *November*, ſome Tumults and Riotous Actions were committed by the Multitude in and about the City; eſpecially upon the Sieur *Citters*, Ambaſſador from the *States* of the *United Provinces*, by aſſaulting his Coach, and throwing into it ſeveral Squibs, Stones and Firebrands, whereby his Lady, who was then with him, was dangerouſly wounded. Complaint whereof being made to the King and Council, two Days after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to publiſh an Order for the future, 'That 'no Perſons whatſoever do preſume to throw any Squibs, or other Fire-'Works, in the Streets of *London*, or *Weſtminſter*, or other Place with-'in the Weekly Bills of Mortality, nor Aſſemble together for the Mak-'ing of Bone-Fires: And the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Juſtices of 'Peace in their reſpective Limits, are required to take due Care for 'the Performance of the ſaid Order of Council.

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Bonefires, &c. forbid.

3. All this while the Proſecution of the late Conſpirators went forward with ſlow and regular Steps; and about the Beginning of *Auguſt*, in a Proclamation from the King, a Deſcription was given, and a particular Reward promis'd, for the Diſcovery of theſe Conſpirators that fled; '*Richard* and *Francis Goodenough*, *Richard Nelthorp*, *Nathaniel Wade*, '*Joſeph Tyley*, *Stephen Lobb*, *Hugh Weſtlach*, *Edward Norton*, *John* '*Row*, *John Ayloffe*, and *Robert Ferguſon*;' of whom the laſt was thus remarkably deſcrib'd, 'A Tall Lean Man, Dark-brown-Hair, a great '*Roman*-Noſe, Thin-Jaw'd, Heat in his Face, ſpeaks in the *Scotch* Tone, 'a Sharp Piercing Eye, Stoops a little in the Shoulders; he hath a ſhuf-'ling Gate that differs from all Men, wears his Perriwig down almoſt 'over his Eyes, about forty five Years of Age,' As to thoſe accus'd Perſons they had in Poſſeſſion, the Court ſeem'd very dilatory; and it was near four Months after the Execution of the Lord *Ruſſel*, before the Chief and the Oldeſt of them, Colonel *Sidney*, was brought to his Tryal. Before which Time, there happen'd a conſiderable Change in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: The celebrated Sir *George Jeffreys* was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, in the Room of Sir *Edward Saunders*, Deceaſed; and in the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Francis Pemberton* being put out, Sir *Thomas Jones* was made Lord Chief Juſtice there in his Room; and Sir *Richard Holloway* was ſworn one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, in the Room of Judge *Raymond*, Deceas'd.

Proſecution of the Plot.

A Change in the Bench.

All Things being prepared, on the 21ſt of *November* came on the Tryal of the honourable Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, Brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, a Perſon of excellent Parts, who had been deeply involv'd in the Grand Rebellion, as was formerly hinted, and nominated one of the late King's Judges: Upon the preſent King's Return, his fixt Averſion to the Reſtor'd Government was ſuch, that he wou'd not perſonally accept of the Oblivion and Indemnity then generally granted to the whole Nation; but he became a voluntary Exile for many Years, till about 1677 he came again into *England*, and by the King's ſpecial Grace obtain'd a particular Pardon, upon repeated Promiſes of conſtant Quiet and Obedience for the time to come. So that upon this new Accuſation againſt him, he was not to expect any Favour; nor indeed did he meet with any. He was brought before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffreys*, and other Judges, at

An Account of Colonel Sidney.

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the *King's-Bench* Bar: The Indictment, at the Time he came to the Hall, was so far from being Found by the Grand Jury, that it was not so much as Presented to them; but the King's Council, who had packt that Jury, as *Hawles* tells us, knew it wou'd be Accepted and Found upon Sight, which was accordingly done, and the Colonel Arraign'd. He was Indicted 'for designing to depose the King, and being one of the Great 'Council of Six; for sending *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland*; and for Wri-'ting a most Treasonable Libel against the Government, which was 'found in his Closet, on the Table, when his Papers were seiz'd.' He struggled hard to quash this Indictment, as consisting of different and distinct Accusations; but he was told by the Court that he must Plead over or Demurr, which last was at his Peril, and upon no other Terms Exceptions cou'd, or ought to be Admitted; after which he Pleaded Not Guilty. His Arraignment was upon the 7th, but his Tryal did not come on till the foremention'd 21st of *November*; a critical Time, when the Duke of *Monmouth* was then making his Peace with the King.

His Tryal.

The Tryal began with the Evidences of *West*, *Romsey* and *Keeling*, who gave a particular Account of the Plot, but said nothing directly against the Prisoner himself, who complain'd of it as a great Hardship, as prepossessing the Jury: But the Court answer'd him with an unlucky Retort, That it had been practis'd in all the Tryals in the *Popish* Plot, and particularly by Sir *William Jones*, a Person unexceptionable to the Prisoner. The only direct and living Witness against him was the Lord *Howard*, who as to the Council of Six, and the Colonel's being one of them, depos'd to the same Sense as he had done at the Lord *Russel*'s Tryal; adding now one Particular, which more especially affected him,

The Lord Howard's *Evidence.*

'That the said Colonel, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Deponent were 'the first Movers of Erecting that Council; the Duke of *Monmouth* 'ingaging to incline the Lord *Russel* to it, and Colonel *Sidney* promising 'for the Earl of *Essex* and Mr. *Hambden*. At their first Meeting at 'Mr. *Hambden*'s in *January*, he said it was chiefly debated how to make 'a Coalition of Councils between them and *Scotland*; That it was pro-'pos'd that some fit Person shou'd be thought on to send thither to u-'nite them and the *English* Conspirators into one Sense and Care. At the 'next, which was at the Lord *Russel*'s House, they determin'd that the '*Scotch* Gentlemen to be sent to, shou'd be *Melvin*, *Cockran* and the '*Cambels*; That Colonel *Sidney* offer'd he wou'd take Care of the Person 'to be sent, saying, *He had one in his Thoughts whom he judg'd a fit Man 'to be trusted*, naming *Aaron Smith* for the Man. The Company thought 'him a proper Person, and the Duke of *Monmouth* undertook to invite '*Melvin* hither, and a Letter was to be sent to *Cockran* by *Smith*; That 'these *Scotch* Men were desired to come and acquaint their Council here, 'how they found *Scotland* temper'd, what Opportunities or Advantages 'there might be of putting that Kingdom into a Commotion, and how 'they might there keep Time and Place with the *English*. That shortly 'after, the Deponent went to Colonel *Sidney*'s, and found him just going 'into *London*; and that he took out of a Cabinet several Guineas, say-'ing, *They were to be given to* Aaron Smith *for his Expences*: That he 'was sent accordingly, and the Colonel told the Deponent afterwards, '*He was gone, and was upon the Road, and that he had heard from him 'when he was about* Newcastle.' Then as a considerable Circumstance, it was prov'd by others, That these *Scotch* Men did come up to *London*, soon after *Aaron Smith* arriv'd in their Counntry. It being demanded of the Colonel, Whether he wou'd ask the Lord *Howard* any Questions, he answer'd *He had no Questions to ask him*; whereupon the Attorney-General said, *Silence——you know the Proverb.*

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The Treasonable Pamphlet in his Study

The next Head of the Accusation concern'd the Treasonable Pamphlet found in the Prisoner's Study, prov'd to be his own Hand-Writing, and charg'd not only to be against Monarchy in general, but the *English* Monarchy in particular. The Positions thought most culpable were: 'That Power is originally in the People of *England*, and delegated to 'the Parliament; and that the King is subject to the Law of God, as 'he is a Man, and to the People that make him, as he is a King; and 'the Parliament is Judge of the particular Cases thereupon arising: That 'the King must be content to submit his Interest to theirs, since he is 'no more than any of them in any other Respect, than that he is by Con-'sent of all rais'd above any other; and if he doth not like this Condi-'tion, he may renounce the Crown; but if he receive it upon this Con-'dition, and swear to perform it, he must expect the Performance will 'be exacted, or Revenge taken by those he hath betray'd. We may 'therefore change or take away Kings without breaking any Yoak, or 'that is made a Yoak which ought not to be made one; for the Injury 'is in Making, and Imposing, and there can be none in Breaking it. 'That the People must needs be the Judges of what happens between 'them and the King whom they did constitute; and that the Power of 'Calling and Dissolving of Parliaments is not in the King.

His Defence.

What the Colonel said for himself, in the several Parts of his Tryal, was long and notable, and shew'd that under these Difficulties he had been long accustom'd to the Art of Fencing. He argu'd the great Improbability of Erecting a Council of Six; and that Persons so little knowing one another, shou'd presently fall into so great and intimate Friendship. As to the Duke of *Monmouth*, added he, *I never spoke with him above three Times in my Life, and one Time was when my Lord* Howard *brought him to my House, and cozen'd us both; for he told the Duke I invited him, and he told me the Duke had invited himself, and neither of them was true.* So he took Occasion to strike several Ways at that Lord's Reputation, who was the only direct Witness against him. 'He insisted 'upon denying the Plot, and his varying his Evidence, with respect to the 'Lord *Russel*'s and the present Tryal, together with some Additions and 'Deviations: He alledg'd his Lordship's Indigence, and his owing him 'Money, which Debt might probably be cancell'd by his Conviction: 'And more especially to invalidate his Credit, he laid open his Lord-'ship's further Difficulties, and particularly that he confess'd, *That he 'cou'd not get his Pardon until he had done some other Jobbs, till he was 'past the Drudgery of Swearing.* To prove these and the like Allega-'tions against this single Witness, he produc'd the Earl of *Anglesey*, the 'Earl of *Clare*, Mr. *Philip Howard*, Mr. *Edward Howard*, Dr. *Burnet*, 'Mr. *Ducas* and Mr. *Blake*; which last Witness testify'd his Lord-ship's Words concerning the *Drudgery of Swearing*. As to the Papers charg'd upon him, he wou'd not grant them to be his, or if they were found in his Study, he affirm'd, 'That they might have been written ma-'ny Years ago in Answer to Sir *Robert Filmer*'s Book of Monarchy; 'and written with no Intention of *Publishing* them, but *Disputandi gra-'tia*, only for private Diversion, and the Exercise of his Pen.' After this he hung with his whole Weight upon the Necessity of two Witnesses to the same Fact, and argu'd, 'That for One to come and tell a Tale of 'an Imaginary Council, and Another of a Libel, a Paper writ no Body 'knows when, is a Thing never to be got over: But if the Law of God 'be, that there must be Two Witnesses to the same Fact, in the Case of 'Life and Death, there is an End of this Matter. Now, added he, there 'are but two Things, which if allow'd of, no Body will be safe from Per-'jury; the One is, to suffer Men to give their Testimony, One to one

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'Thing, and another to Another, ſo that the Fraud cannot be diſcovered; and the Other is, to take away the Puniſhment: Now the Puniſhment is in ſome Meaſure taken away; and do but take away the other Point, whereby the Fraud cannot be diſcover'd, and then no Defence can be made. That both Witneſſes ſhould be to the ſame Point, ſee the Story of *Suſanna*: Two Elders teſtify'd they ſaw her in the Act of Adultery, and both of them ſaid the ſame Thing; but until they were taken aſunder and examin'd, the Fraud was not diſcover'd; and then one nam'd one Tree, and the other Another; ſo She eſcap'd, and they were puniſh'd.

The Court's Anſwer to it. In Anſwer to this Defence, the Court undertook to ſupport the Credit of the Lord *Howard*, who they ſaid 'could have no Advantage in Swearing againſt the Priſoner upon the Account of Debt, ſince the Eſtate that was to pay it would be forfeited to the Crown; and that as to the *Drudgery of Swearing* alledg'd againſt him, it might be ſo irkſome, when a Man accuſes himſelf, as to provoke a Man to give it ſuch an Epithet. As to Papers found in his Study, they told him that *Scribere eſt agere*; and that there was ſufficient in them to prove the Malice of his Heart, and his Treaſonable Deſigns.' As to the great Point of the Neceſſity of two Witneſſes, they firſt gave him a retaliating Stroke, the Caſe of the Lord *Stafford*, where before the two Houſes of Parliament it was Declared, 'That one Witneſs to a Conſpiracy in *England*, and another to a Conſpiracy in *France*, were held two Witneſſes ſufficient to convict him of High-Treaſon.' To unite theſe two different Teſtimonies, they refin'd upon the Argument, and brought two Inſtances; the Sollicitor-General ſaid, 'Suppoſe a Man was in a Room, and there were two Men, and he talks with both apart, and he comes to one and endeavours to perſuade him *that it is lawful to riſe in Arms againſt the King, if ſo be he breaks his Truſt*; and he ſhould go to another Man, and tell him *the King hath broken his Truſt, and we muſt ſeek ſome Way to redreſs our ſelves*; and perſuade the People to Riſe; theſe two Witneſſes do ſo Tack this Treaſon together, that they will be two Witneſſes to prove him Guilty of High-Treaſon. The other Inſtance was produced by the Lord Chief-Juſtice, as a Try'd Caſe not long ago, and was propos'd thus, 'If I buy a Knife of *I. S.* to kill the King, and it be prov'd by one Witneſs I bought a Knife for this Purpoſe, and another come and proves I bought ſuch a Knife of *I. S.* they are two Witneſſes ſufficient to prove a Man Guilty of High-Treaſon: And ſo it was held by all the Judges of *England* then preſent.' The whole ſumming up the Evidence was very ſevere, with a particular Inſinuation, 'that he was not only Guilty of the Practices charg'd upon him, but he could not have been otherwiſe, *becauſe his Principles led him to it*.' *Hawles* and others warmly reflect upon the Tryal, and the Verdict of the Jury

Found Guilty. that found him Guilty; and the firſt tells us 'that this was the firſt Indictment of High-Treaſon, upon which any Man loſt his Life, for *Writing* any thing without *Publiſhing* it.

He was found Guilty upon the 21ſt of *November*, but did not receive Sentence till five Days after, when he was brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar in order to it. Here he had a new Struggle for his Life, but in vain, and in Concluſion he cry'd out, *I muſt appeal to God and the World, I am not heard.* When Sentence according to the uſual Form was paſs'd

His Speech at his Sentence. upon him by the Lord Chief Juſtice, he immediately ſaid, *Then, O God, O God! I beſeech thee to ſanctify theſe Sufferings unto me, and impute not my Blood to the Country, nor the City through which I am to be drawn; Let no Inquiſition be made for it; but if any, and the ſhedding of Blood that is Innocent, muſt be reveng'd, Let the Weight of it fall only upon*

upon thoſe, that maliciouſly perſecute me for Righteouſneſs ſake. Whereupon the Chief-Juſtice ſaid, *I pray God work in you a Temper fit to go into the other World, for I ſee you are not fit for this.* Upon which the Colonel held up his Hand, and cry'd, *My Lord, feel my Pulſe, and ſee if I am diſorder'd; I bleſs God, I never was in better Temper, than I am now.* However, being return'd to the *Tower*, he ſent a long Petition to the King, in which he ſet forth with great Boldneſs the Injuſtice he had met with, the Violence of the Chief-Juſtice, and the Jury's being hurry'd into a Verdict they did not underſtand, deſiring to be admitted into his Majeſty's Preſence; and concluding, 'That if he did not ſhew 'it was for his Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt to preſerve him from this 'ſad Oppreſſion, he would not complain, tho' he were left to be de'ſtroyed. 1683. Car. 35 Reſ. 24

His Execution, in reſpect to his Quality, was alter'd from the uſual Puniſhment of High-Treaſon, to that of Beheading. Being brought upon a Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, on the 7th of *December*, he deliver'd to the Sheriffs a written Paper; wherein, after having excus'd his not Speaking what he wrote, by alledging this Reaſon, *That this was an Age, which makes Truth paſs for Treaſon*; he objects againſt his Witneſſes, and particularly the infamous Life of the Lord *Howard*: And afterwards he falls ſeverely upon the Judges, ſaying, *Leſt the Means of Deſtroying the beſt Proteſtants in* England *ſhould fail, the Bench was fill'd with ſuch as had been Blemiſhes to the Bar.* As to his Papers found in his Cloſet, he rather ſtood up in Vindication of them, tho' he complain'd of the Want of Proof in that Matter; and again exclaim'd againſt a packt Jury, and other Hardſhips: Concluding all with a Prayer, in which he has theſe ſtrange Expreſſions: *Tho' I fall a Sacrifice to Idols, ſuffer not Idolatry to be eſtabliſh'd in this Land: Bleſs thy People and ſave them. Defend thy own Cauſe; Defend thoſe that defend it: Stir up ſuch as are faint; Direct thoſe that are willing; Confirm thoſe that waver; Give Wiſdom and Integrity unto all.* —— *Grant that I may dye Glorifying thee for all thy Mercies; and that at the laſt thou haſt permitted me to be ſingled out as a Witneſs of thy* Truth, *and even by the Confeſſion of my Oppoſers, for that* Old Cause *in which I was from my Youth engag'd, and for which thou haſt often wonderfully declar'd thy Self.* This laſt was thought ſo Enthuſiaſtical and Shocking, that his Death was much leſs pity'd and lamented than that of the Lord *Ruſſel*, tho' the Hardſhips he met withall were look'd upon to be greater than any before him. *His Execution, and laſt Speech.*

4. What ſeem'd to have forwarded this Gentleman's Fate was the private and unexpected Arrival of the Duke of *Monmouth* from his Retirement, before the Tryal began, and his Reception when it was in effect depending. That popular Nobleman had abſconded ever ſince the King's Proclamation for the Apprehending Him amongſt other Conſpirators; but now, in Confidence of his Father's old Tenderneſs and Affection, he reſolv'd to ſubmit and diſcover Himſelf. In order to which, he found Means to hold a ſecret Correſpondence with the King, and to convey the following remarkable Letter into his Hands: *The Duke of* Monmouth's *private Return.*

His Firſt Letter to the King.

'If I could write to your Majeſty ſooner, with any Safety to my ſelf, I 'would have done it, to have told you, That there is nothing under 'Heaven has ſtruck me ſo to the Heart, as to be put into a Proclama'tion *For an Intention of Murdering of You, Sir, and the Duke.* I do 'call God Almighty to Witneſs, and I wiſh I may dye this Moment I 'am Writing, if ever it enter'd into my Head, or ever I ſaid the leaſt 'Thing to any Body that could make them think I could wiſh ſuch a 'Thing; I am ſure there cannot be ſuch Villains upon Earth to ſay I 'ever did. But I am ſo innocent as to this Point, that I will ſay no more

'of

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‘ of it; for I know God Almighty is Juſt, and I do not doubt but he ‘ will put it into your Heart, that I am clear of this moſt horrid and ‘ baſe Accuſation. But, *Sir*, the chief Intent of this Letter is to beg Pardon ‘ both of You, *Sir*, and the Duke, for the many Things I have done, that ‘ have made you both angry with me; but more eſpecially of the Duke, ‘ tho' I might have ſome Juſtification for my ſelf, that many People made ‘ me believe he intended to deſtroy me: For to You, *Sir*, I do proteſt ‘ before God Almighty, and I wiſh I may never proſper more, that all I ‘ have done was only to ſave You; as I ſhall convince your Majeſty, if ‘ ever I am ſo happy to ſpeak to You; and I hope you will let me do ‘ it before it be long; for I have that to ſay to you, *Sir*, that will ever ‘ I hope ſettle you quiet in your Kingdom, and the Duke after You, ‘ *whom I intend to ſerve to the utmoſt of my Power*; and *Sir*, to con- ‘ vince him that I will do ſo, if your Majeſty will give me your Pardon, ‘ I will deliver my ſelf up into his Hands, that the Duke may bring me ‘ to You: Beſides, *Sir*, I ſhould be glad to have him by when I ſpeak to ‘ You, but no Body elſe; and by this Kindneſs of the Duke's, if ever I ‘ ſhould do any Thing afterwards againſt him, *I muſt be thought the Un- ‘ gratefulleſt Man living*. What Good can it do You, *Sir*, to take your ‘ own Child's Life away, that only erred and ventur'd his Life to ſave ‘ Yours? And beſides, *Sir*, I am ſure I can be ſerviceable to you; and, if ‘ I may ſay ſo, make the reſt of your Life happy, or at leaſt contribute a ‘ great deal towards it. You may believe me, *Sir*, for I do not tell you ‘ this out of Fear, but becauſe I do think my ſelf ſure of it. I do beg ‘ of you, *Sir*, if you have any Thoughts of Mercy of me, that you will ‘ let me know it ſoon, for the ſooner I ſpeak to you, the better. And ‘ now, *Sir*, I do ſwear to You, *That from this Time, I will never diſ- ‘ pleaſe you in any Thing; but the whole Study of my Life ſhall be to ‘ ſhew how truly Penitent I am for having done it, and how well I will ‘ deſerve the Life you give me*. And for the Duke, that he may have a ‘ more firm Confidence of the Service I intend to do to him, I do here ‘ Declare to your Majeſty, *That I will never ask to ſee your Face more, ‘ if ever I do any Thing againſt him; which is the greateſt Curſe I can ‘ lay upon my Self*.

The King's Anſwer.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King, mov'd by an indearing Affection, could ſcarcely diſſemble his Joy and Satisfaction; and thereupon immediately return'd this Anſwer with his own Hand; *If the Duke of* Monmouth *deſires to make himſelf capable of my Mercy, he muſt render himſelf to the Secretary, and reſolve to tell me all he knows, reſigning himſelf entirely to my Pleaſure*. Which plain Declaration of his Majeſty's Will, drew from the Duke this Second Letter, no leſs to be remember'd than the Other.

The Duke's Second Letter.

‘ You muſt allow me, *Sir*, ſtill to importune you, not without Hopes ‘ of Prevailing at laſt upon your Genroſity, ſo as it may get the better of ‘ your Anger to me. I am half diſtracted, *Sir*, with the Thoughts of ‘ having offended You; and the Torment it gives me is perhaps greater ‘ than your forgiving Nature would know how to inflict upon the moſt ‘ Criminal Offenders. The Character I lye under is too heavy for me to ‘ bear; even Death itſelf would be a Relief to me, could I have it with- ‘ out the Aggravation of leaving the World under your Diſpleaſure: I ‘ muſt therefore throw my ſelf upon your Compaſſion, which being a ‘ Virtue ſo agreeable to your Nature, I hope your Child, *Sir*, will not be ‘ an unfortunate Inſtance of your denying it, when 'tis implor'd. I con- ‘ feſs, *Sir*, I have been in Fault, miſ-led, and inſenſibly engag'd in Things ‘ of which the Conſequence was not enough underſtood by me; yet I ‘ can ſay I never had a Criminal Thought towards your Majeſty, not pre-

‘ tending

'tending by that to inſiſt upon an abſolute Juſtification of my ſelf. Your 1683.
'Majeſty will conſider, that whilſt I was under the Apprehenſions of Car. 35
'great Anger and Violence againſt me, it might eaſily corrupt my Judg- Reſ. 24
'ment; and by ſeeing Things in a wrong Light, betray me into very Fa-
'tal Miſtakes: But now that I have had Time to recollect my ſelf, eve-
'ry Thing like a Fault towards your Majeſty appeareth to me in ſuch a
'reproaching terrifying Shape, that I have a Remorſe for it, which cou'd
'it be ſeen, I aſſure my Self it would move your Compaſſion to me. I hum-
'bly beg, *Sir*, to be admitted to your Feet, and to be diſpos'd of as you
'direct, not only now, but for the Remainder of my Life; And tho' my
'Reſignation is too full to admit any Reſerve, your Majeſty will permit
'me to offer to you, whether you will let paſs any Thing as a Penalty
'upon me, which may lay a Stain upon my Innocent Children? Whether
'you will make me undergo the Ignominy of a Tryal, before you give
'me your Pardon? And of what Uſe and Satisfaction it can be to you to
'forgive me, and yet give me the cruel Puniſhment of hearing my ſelf
'Arraign'd for Treaſon againſt ſuch a King, and ſuch a Father? And
'whether my being carry'd to the *Tower*, in Caſe you be pleas'd to ex-
'cuſe my Tryal, can have any Effect but an unneceſſary Mortification
'of One, who God knoweth is already enough afflicted, and ſome kind
'of Blemiſh too, to my Family, as well as an uſeleſs Limitation of your
'Majeſty's Mercy. *Sir*, I lay theſe Things before you in the moſt ſub-
'mitting Manner that is poſſible, with an intire Reſignation to what you
'ſhall determine. Neither do I imagine to receive your Pardon *other-
'wiſe than by the Interceſſion of the Duke*, whom I acknowledge to have
'offended, and am prepared to ſubmit my ſelf in the humbleſt Manner;
'and therefore beg your Majeſty would direct how I am to apply my
'ſelf to Him; and I ſhall do it, *not as an outward Form, but with all
'the Sincerity in the World.* If what I have ſaid can move you to for-
'get my paſt Faults, it will be a Grace I ſhall endeavour to deſerve by
'all the Actions of my Life: And I am ſo ſenſible how ill a Guide my
'own Will hath been to me, that I am reſolv'd for the future to put it
'entirely into your Majeſty's Hands, that I may by that Means never
'commit a Fault, but for want of your Directions, or your Commands.
'*Dear Sir*, be pleas'd to revive by a kind Anſwer *the moſt miſerable diſ-
'conſolate Creature now living*, Monmouth.

He is admitted to the King's Preſence.

Upon the Receipt of this ſecond Letter, his Majeſty could no longer doubt the Sincerity of the Duke of *Monmouth*, therefore on *Sunday* the 25th of *November*, he without Reſerve admitted him into his Preſence, being introduc'd by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*. The Secretary being withdrawn, and the King and his Brother by themſelves, the Duke of *Monmouth* firſt threw himſelf at his Majeſty's Feet, acknowledging his Guilt, and ask'd his Pardon; then he confeſs'd himſelf faulty to the Duke of *York*, ask'd his Pardon alſo, and aſſur'd him, *If he ſhould ſurvive his Majeſty, that he would pay him all the Duty that became a Loyal Subject, and be the firſt that ſhould draw his Sword for him, ſhould there be Occaſion.* In making his Confeſſion, he deny'd he had any Knowledge or Thought of the Aſſaſſinating part of the Conſpiracy; but as to the Deſign of the Inſurrection, he made no ſcruple to own his Share; and to ſet it forth ſo largely, that there was little of the Conſpiracy before known, which the ſaid Duke did not confirm; and many Paſſages of it were before unknown, which he reveal'd. He confirm'd the Deſign of the Meeting at Mr. *Shepard's* Houſe, where the Lord *Ruſſel* was preſent and conſenting, and that of Colonel *Sidney*'s being one of the Council of Six, which corroborated the Lord *Howard*'s Evidence; and he further added that Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Mead*, Mr. *Griffith*, and all the conſiderable Nonconformiſt Miniſters, knew of the Conſpiracy.

Being

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He obtains his Pardon.

Being thus frank in his Confeſſion, his Majeſty made no Delay to give him all the Proofs of his entire Forgiveneſs, and of his renew'd Affections and Bounty to him; preſently cheriſhing him near his Perſon with his wonted Tenderneſs; declaring in Council the perfect Satisfaction he had receiv'd by his Submiſſion, and ordering his Pardon to be diſpatch'd with all Expedition: And over and above, at his very earneſt Intreaty, he granted him an uncommon Favour, namely, *That he ſhou'd not be brought to be a Witneſs againſt any Man.* Yet no ſooner was the Pardon compleated in due Form of Law, but the King and the whole Court was afreſh allarm'd with the continual Reſort to him of divers Perſons, whom his Majeſty knew to be engag'd, and had ſufficient Proof to convict them in Courſe of Law, if he wou'd have produc'd it all. To which at the ſame time were added many high and bold Speeches of his Accomplices and Dependents, ſaying, *That the Duke of* Monmouth *had made no Confeſſion, but had aſſerted the Innocency of ſome that had ſuffer'd*; Which manifeſtly tended to vilify the Truth of the whole Diſcovery.

Whereupon at laſt the King was awaken'd, and thought fit to put him gently in mind by what was ſo lately paſs'd, of his Danger of Relapſing into the ſame Miſchief, out of which nothing but his Royal Goodneſs had recover'd him. And for the better Security of the Duke himſelf, as well as the Kingdom, his Majeſty inſtantly demanded of him *to give ſome ſuch Satisfaction to the whole Nation in Publick, as he had lately given to Himſelf and Brother.* The Duke ſeem'd willing to comply with the King's reaſonable Deſires; and all that his Majeſty oblig'd him to do, was to write over, and ſubſcribe a Letter, which his Majeſty himſelf was pleas'd ſo to Word, as not only to conſult the Duke's Safety, but alſo his Credit, ſo much as it cou'd poſſibly ſtand with his own Safety or Credit.

He Signs a Paper.

The Letter was in theſe Words; 'I have heard of ſome Reports of me, 'as if I ſhou'd have leſſen'd the late Plot, and gone about to diſcredit the 'Evidence given againſt thoſe, who have dy'd by Juſtice. Your Ma'jeſty and the Duke know how Ingenuouſly I have own'd the late Conſpi'racy; and tho' I was not conſcious of any Deſign againſt your Majeſty's 'Life, yet I lament the having had ſo great a Share in the other Part of 'the ſaid Conſpiracy. *Sir*, I have taken the liberty to put this in Writing 'for my own Vindication; and I beſeech you to look forward, and en'deavour to forget the Faults you have forgiven me: I will take care ne'ver to commit any more againſt You, or come within the Danger of 'being again miſ-led from my Duty, but make it the Buſineſs of my Life 'to deſerve the Pardon your Majeſty hath granted to *Your Dutiful Mon'mouth.*' This was thought a very eaſy and moderate Penance from a Perſon whoſe Failures appear'd upon the Encreaſe, and as ſuch was ſeemingly accepted by the Duke, who without Heſitation wrote the Letter over, ſubſcrib'd it with his own Hand, and preſented it to his Majeſty.

After all which, his former Adherents and Flatterers ſtill flocking about him, and animating him to *continue faithful to his old Friends*, and aſſuring him, *He cou'd not fail ſhortly to overbear all Oppoſers, by the Power of his recover'd and increas'd Favour*; they ſo far prevail'd upon his unſtable Mind, as to overthrow all his new made Vows of Loyalty. Inſomuch that preſently after he came raſhly to the King, and earneſtly intreated, *That the* foreſaid *Letter might be return'd to him again*; alledging, *That he fear'd ſome Opportunity might be taken from it by his Enemies to blaſt his Reputation, and perhaps to bring him in to give Evidence againſt others his Companions in the Conſpiracy.* His Majeſty had often promis'd him enough to free his Mind from any ſuch Apprehenſions; but when all Proteſtations on his Part cou'd have no Effect, and the Duke

He relapſes,

ſtill

ſtill vehemently inſiſted, *That the Paper he had ſign'd might be deliver'd him back*, the King told him once for all, *He wou'd never keep it againſt his Will, that he might not have the leaſt Occaſion to ſay he was forc'd to write what he did:* But withal he ſeriouſly warn'd him to conſider, *What irreparable ill Conſequences on his Part, were like to follow upon his Obſtinacy*; and therefore gave him Time till the next Morning to deliberate calmly with himſelf, what was to be his final Reſolution. The next Day the Duke of *Monmouth* appearing ſtill more fixt in his fatal Demand, his Majeſty freely put the Letter again into his Hands; but withal from that Moment baniſh'd him from his Preſence and the Court; being the 7th of *December*, and the ſame Day that Colonel *Sidney* was executed. 1683. Car. 25 Reſ. 34

And is baniſh'd from the Court.

The Duke of *Monmouth* ſoon after retired to *Holland*, and met with a very handſome Reception at the *Hague:* His Majeſty, retaining a ſecret Affection for him, it ſeems was well pleas'd with the Entertainment he found in another Court, tho' for Reaſons of State he was oblig'd to forbid him his own. And we are further told, that he privately ſupply'd him with Mony, and ſometimes writ to him with his own Hand; and cou'd not eaſily ſuffer thoſe Courtiers, who, by miſtake, thought it a Compliment to ſpeak ill of him, and to aggravate his Diſobedience, in his Preſence. However, the Troubles that were given for ſeveral late Years by this Son, and the Care and Anxiety ſuſtain'd by the Father, is one clear Inſtance, among many others that might be given, That the Criminal Pleaſures of Kings, Princes, and other great Men, as they can receive no Mitigation from their high Condition, ſo they can prove no Alleviation of the Troubles and Vexations of this World.

He goes to Holland.

5. To draw towards a Concluſion of this remarkable Year: about the Beginning of *December* there began an extraordinary and wonderful Froſt, which laſted without any Intermiſſion till the 5th of *February*; during which Time the *Thames* was frozen over with a ſolid and contiguous Ice in all Places above the Bridge, continually cover'd with Thouſands of People. On the firſt Day of *Hilary* Term, the Lawyers went over the Ice from the *Temple* to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and back again, as familiarly as on the Land; ſome walk'd on foot, and others in Coaches, which carry'd People from *Temple-Stairs* to *Weſtminſter* for the ſame Fare as by Land, and ply'd between theſe two Places, as the Watermen do in Summer. Great Numbers of Booths were erected acroſs between the *Temple* and *Southwark*, in which Place an abſolute Fair was held, for above a Fortnight, of almoſt all ſorts of Trade, and Printing Preſſes erected both for Letters and Pictures; Bulls were baited, a whole Oxe roaſted, *&c.* Nor was the Froſt thus wonderful upon the *Thames* alone; but the Sea it ſelf was frozen for divers Miles from the Shore, on the Coaſts of *England*, *France*, and eſpecially *Holland*; inſomuch that for a conſiderable Space, no Packet Boat, or any other Veſſel of Intelligence, cou'd either come out of thoſe Parts, or go from hence. This Froſt was ſo memorable, that this Year hath often ſince been diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the *Great Froſt Year*; in which Time all the Roads in *England* were as good as at *Mid-Summer*. In the Extremity of this Weather, the King granted his Letters Mandatory, dated the 4th of *January*, to the Biſhop of *London*, to make a Collection in all Pariſhes in *London* and the Suburbs of the ſame, for the Relief of the Poor; encouraging his Subjects to ſuch a needful Charity by his own Example, having order'd large Sums of Mony to be iſſu'd out of his Treaſury for that purpoſe; which Letters were read in all Churches the two following *Sundays*, and generous Collections made accordingly.

The Great Froſt

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The Siege and Relief of Vienna.

Nor was this Year leſs remarkable abroad, partly for the Death of *Anna Tereſia* Queen of *France*, and *Alphonſo* King of *Portugal*; but above all for the furious and formidable Entrance of the *Turks* into *Hungary* and *Auſtria*; which ſtruck a Terror into all *Chriſtendom*. The *Mahometan* Army, conſiſting of above a Hundred and fifty Thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot, ſat down before *Vienna*, the Metropolis of the Empire, on the 9th of *July*, commanded by the Grand Viſier in Perſon. The Emperor had retired two Days before, and left the City under the Command of the noble Count *Staremberg*, who glorioufly defended it, notwithſtanding all the bloody Attacks, and indefatigable Endeavours of the Enemy; till on the 2d of *September*, when the Defendents were reduc'd to a deplorable Condition, the Siege was rais'd by the coming of the great King of *Poland*; who having joyn'd with the Imperial Forces, commanded by the brave Duke of *Lorrain*, not only beat off and routed the *Turkiſh* Army, with vaſt Slaughter, and no leſs Booty, but purſuing the Blow, took from them the Fort of *Barkan*, and the City of *Gran*, or *Strigonium*, after it had been poſſeſs'd by the *Turks* near fourſcore Years. To the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, ſeveral of the King's Subjects were preſent at the memorable Siege of *Vienna*, in Defence of which they ſignaliz'd their Valour; and in particular the Lord *Landſdown*, Eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Bath*, whom for his extraordinary Merits and Service the Emperor created a *Count of the Sacred Empire*.

One thing more, which renders this Year remarkable, was partly Domeſtick, and partly Foreign: *Tangier* in *Africa*, which came to the Crown of *England* by the preſent Queen *Catharine*, having coſt the King ſince he had it vaſt Sums of Mony, in defending of it againſt the *Moors*, and alſo in making an extraordinary Mole there, which not being found ſo feaſible as was expected, the Charges great and certain, the Expectation of any Advantage very uncertain; his Majeſty was pleas'd about the End of the laſt Summer to commiſſion the Lord *Dartmouth*, attended with about twenty Sail of Ships, to go and utterly demoliſh the ſaid Town, Caſtle and *Mole* at *Tangier*, to choke up the Haven, and to bring off the Ordnance, and *Engliſh* Inhabitants to *England*, ſending the Foreigners to their ſeveral Countries; but firſt compounding with every Man for his Ground, Eſtate, and Property in their ſeveral Houſes. All which was accordingly done in about ſix Months time; in which the King had a double End or Advantage this time, the Leſſening of a conſtant Charge, and a ſingular Opportunity of almoſt inſenſibly Encreaſing his Guards and Forces at home, by thoſe brought over from this Garriſon; which afterwards was the Subject of new Reflections.

Tangier *demoliſh'd.*

The Deaths of Archbiſhop Sterne,

As to the Deaths of eminent Perſons this Year, we ſhall begin with two Reverend and Loyal Prelates, and firſt Dr. *Richard Sterne* Archbiſhop of *York*, educated in *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Maſter of *Jeſus*, where he became very inſtrumental in ſending the Univerſity Plate to the late King in his Extremity; for which, and other Inſtances of Loyalty, he was ejected his Maſterſhip, ſtript of all, and us'd with great Barbarity beſides. After a Life of great Obſcurity, at the Reſtoration he was made Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and four Years after tranſlated to the See of *York*, where his Behaviour was worthy of that high Station: He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his accurate Book of *Logick*, and had particularly the Honour to aſſiſt in the Noble Undertaking of the *Polyglot Bible*. The next was Dr. *James Fleetwood*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was Educated in *King's* Colledge in the ſame Univerſity of *Cambridge*; and being afterwards forc'd for his Loyalty to forſake his Preferments, a Living and a Prebend of *Litchfield*, he betook himſelf to the Wars, and af-

Biſhop Fleetwood,

ter

ter that he became Tutor to ſeveral of the Loyal Nobility, with ſome of whom he had the Opportunity of Improving himſelf by Travels. For all his Learning and Pains, at his Majeſty's Return, he rewarded him with the Provoſtſhip of *King*'s Colledge, and afterwards with the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, where he dy'd in Peace and Honour. 1683. Car. 35 Reſ 24

After theſe two Prelates, we ſhall mention four other Doctors of Divinity, of different Characters; and firſt Dr. *John Durell*, born in the Iſle of *Jerſey*, and educated in *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*; and afterwards travelling, he became eminent abroad for his Learning and Skill in Theology; and after the King's Reſtoration, he obtain'd ſeveral Prebends, and laſt of all the Deanery of *Windſor*. He had ſignaliz'd himſelf in maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Church of *England*, when in its loweſt and moſt deplorable Condition; and alſo ſhew'd himſelf admirably vers'd in all the Controverſies on Foot between the Church and the *Diſciplinarian* Party; and to the laſt defended the Eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution, with ſuch Succeſs as was admired in Foreign Countries. The next was Dr. *John North*, younger Son of *Dudley* Lord *North* of *Kirtling*, educated in *Jeſus* Colledge in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Fellow; and afterwards, beſides Clerk of the Cloſet, and Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, he was by the King made Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge, in the Room of the famous Dr. *Barrow*; where he well diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his good Literature, and his particular Skill in the *Greek* Language. The Third was Dr. *Benjamin Whichcote*, of the ſame Univerſity, and ſometime Provoſt of *King's*-Colledge, and then Rector of *Milton*, a Donative belonging to the ſaid Colledge, near *Cambridge*, and Vicar of St. *Laurence Jury* in *London*; where he was juſtly celebrated for his extenſive Knowledge, and his excellent Life and Converſation, but eſpecially for his beneficent Temper, having bequeath'd a Thouſand Pounds in pious and charitable Legacies. The laſt was Dr. *John Owen*, once a Church-Man, then a Presbyterian, and at laſt a profeſs'd Independent, one of the moſt conſiderable and learned of the whole Party: He was a particular Favourite of *Oliver Cromwell*, by whom he was made Dean of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, where he made a mighty Figure for ſeveral Years; but after the Reſtoration he liv'd in and about *London*, where he had a conſiderable Congregation, and was much admired by Men of Note and Eminency. Almoſt his whole Life was taken up with the indefatigable Labours of his Pen; he was well skill'd in Languages, *Rabinical* Learning, *Jewiſh* Rites and Cuſtoms, had a great Command of the *Engliſh* Tongue, and was one of the moſt gentile and faireſt Writers, who have appear'd againſt the Church of *England*; and likewiſe had ſo much Fame, that he was invited to be a Profeſſor of Divinity in the *United Provinces*, but he refus'd the Honour.

Dr. Durell,

Dr. North,

Dr. Whichcote

Dr. Owen,

After theſe, we ſhall take notice of four others, altogether different in their Characters and Profeſſions; and firſt, Sir *William Scroggs*, who through ſeveral Degrees in the Law came to be Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, in which Place he ſhow'd himſelf a Perſon of very excellent and quick Parts, a penetrating Judgement, good Orator, and a fluent Speaker; but his Utterance being accompany'd with ſome Heſitancy, his Speeches affected more in the Reading than in the Delivery. Having been Impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons, and turn'd out of his Poſt, as is formerly mention'd, he retired to his Eſtate at *Weald-Hall* near *Burntwood* in *Eſſex*, where he enjoy'd his laſt Years in a ſedate Repoſe. The next was Dr. *Robert Moriſon*, an eminent Doctor of Phyſick, and Fellow of the Colledge at *London*, but more eſpecially diſtinguiſh'd by being one of the moſt excellent Botaniſts of the Age; for which he was firſt incourag'd by the King, and then by the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he

Sir William Scroggs,

Dr. Moriſon,

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Mr. Collins,

was made Botanick Profeſſor, and read many curious Lectures in the Phyſick Garden there. Having increas'd his Knowledge by his Travels, and publiſh'd ſeveral valuable Books, in the midſt of his Labours, he came to a ſudden End by a Bruiſe on his Breaſt from a Coach Pole in the Streets of *London*; to the great Concern of all Lovers and Admirers of his Faculty. The Third was Mr. *John Collins*, a Perſon of ordinary Education, but of extraordinary Induſtry, by which he became one of the moſt uſeful and neceſſary Perſons of his Time, as to ſeveral Parts of the Mathematicks, *viz.* Arithmetick, Merchant's Accompts, Dialling, Navigation, *&c.* and ſo remarkable for his practical Projections, that he was made Fellow of the *Royal Society*, and encourag'd by the greateſt Men in the Nation. Having wrote ſeveral Pieces, and riding into the *Weſt* upon an uſeful Project, he got a Surfeit when heated with the Weather, which brought him to an End as untimely as the laſt. The Fourth was Mr. *John Oldham*, born in *Gloceſterſhire*, and for ſome Time educated in St. *Edmund*'s-Hall in *Oxford*; from whence removing to *London*, he became intimately acquainted with the famous Earl of *Rocheſter*, and ſoon gain'd the Name of a ſublime Wit, and a Firſt-rate Poet. His Works manifeſt a prolifick and towering Genius, animated with Flame and Fury, Satyr and Hyperbole, and ſtrongly tinctur'd with the Viciouſneſs and Debauchery of the Times, which render'd them the more acceptable in this Age. After he had liv'd at large, he began to ſtudy Phyſick, and was taken into the Family of the munificent Earl of *Kingſton*; at whoſe Houſe in *Nottinghamſhire* he was ſnatch'd away in the Prime of his Years, the 30th of his Age.

And Mr. Oldham.

IV. 1. We are now arriv'd at the 36th, and in effect the laſt Year of this King's Reign; a Year of Peace and Pleaſure to all that lov'd Eaſe and Quietneſs, of Joy and Triumph to the prevailing Party, and of no leſs Dejection and Mortification to the other, who were forc'd to ſubmit; and now their very Numbers daily decreas'd, as well as their Power and Popularity. The King and the Duke had now gain'd the Day, driven the Enemy out of the Field, and ſeem'd to have nothing more to do, but to purſue, take and puniſh. Accordingly we find the Chief Tranſactions of this Year, beſides Promotions and Inlargements on one Side, to conſiſt of Proſecutions, Puniſhments and Penalties, Fines and Damages, Surrenders of Charters, and new Modelling of Corporations. To begin with Honours and Promotions: On *New-Years* Day, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, who had marry'd the King's Neece, was elected a Knight Companion of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*, in a Chapter held at *White-Hall*, being firſt Knighted by the Soveraign, and then ſolemnly Inveſted with the *George* and *Garter*: And about ten Days after, the two Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Northumberland* were Elected Knights Companions of the ſame glorious Order. About the Middle of *January*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Stile and Dignity of a Duke of this Kingdom, upon *Charles* Earl of *Burford*, his natural Son by *Elianor Gwin*, by creating him Duke of St. *Albans*. Soon after, on the firſt Day of *Hilary* Term, his Majeſty thought fit to make a particular Call of ſixteen Serjeants at Law, *viz.* Sir *Thomas Jenner* Knight, whom he had made Recorder of *London*, *John Windham* Eſquire, *Edwin Wyat* Eſquire, *Edward Burch* Eſquire, *Henry Bedingfield* Eſquire, Sir *Edward Nevile* Knight, Sir *Paul Barret* Knight, *Anthony Farrington* Eſquire, *John Jefferſon* Eſquire, *Edward Lutwiche* Eſquire, *Richard Heath* Eſquire, *Henry Selby* Eſquire, *John Millington* Eſquire, *Thomas Powel* Eſquire, *Owen Wynne* Eſquire, and Sir *George Pudſey* Knight. Theſe made a very pom-

pous

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Gazettes. *Wright.* *Sprat.* Tryals. *Wood.* *&c.*

Promotions,

And a Call of Serjeants.

pous Proceſſion to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where they perform'd the uſual Ceremonies, and preſented their Rings to the Lord Keeper, the Judges, *&c.* with a Poeſie or Motto agreeable to the Times, namely, *A Deo Rex, à Rege Lex*: Which ſome interpreted to be a Reſolving the Laws of *England* into the King's ſole Will and Pleaſure. 168¾. Car. 36 Reſ. 24

As to the Inlarging and Releaſing of State-Priſoners, the Lords in the *Tower*, upon a Parliamentary Impeachment, had often mov'd for Bail, which cou'd never be obtain'd till the Beginning of this Year. And the Earl of *Danby* more eſpecially had ſtruggled hard, and two or three Times argu'd with great ſtrength of Reaſoning before the Judges of the *King's-Bench*-Bar; but they durſt not venture to relieve him till this 12th of *February*, when they deliver'd their Opinions ſeverally, giving their Reaſons, and concluding all in one Judgment, *That his Lordſhip ought to be Bail'd*: And accordingly Bail was taken, the Earl being bound in a Recognizance of Ten Thouſand Pounds, and the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Albemarle*, and the Earls of *Oxford* and *Cheſterfield*, his Sureties, in five Thouſand Pounds apiece, upon Condition, 'That the Earl of *Danby* do 'appear in the Houſe of Lords the next Seſſion of Parliament, and not 'depart without Leave of that Houſe.' This prov'd a good Precedent for the Liberty of the *Popiſh* Lords; and therefore on the ſame Day, the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arrundel* of *Wardour*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, were brought from the *Tower*, and the Earl of *Tyrone* from the *Gate-Houſe*, to the Court of *King's-Bench*, upon Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, praying by their Council to be admitted to Bail. Mr. Attorney-General declared, *he had order from his Majeſty, to conſent to any Thing the Court ſhou'd think fit to be done*: Upon which the Lord Chief-Juſtice, and the other Judges did agree, 'That for the ſame Reaſons they had given in 'the Earl of *Danby*'s Caſe, *Theſe Lords ought likewiſe to be Bail'd*;' and accordingly Recognizances and Sureties were accepted. The ſeveral Bails were, For the Earl of *Powis*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Peterborough:* For the Lord *Arrundel*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Earl of *Scarſdale*, the Earl of *Bath*, and the Earl of *Clarendon:* For the Lord *Bellaſis*, the Earl of *Aylesbury*, the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and Sir *John Talbot*; And for the Earl of *Tyrone*, the Earl of *Roſcommon*, the Earl of *Mount-Alexander*, the Earl of *Carlingford*, and the Lord *Aneſley*. As to the Lord *Peters*, the other Lord in the *Tower*, he dy'd in his Confinement a little above a Month before; and upon his Death-Bed he ſent a Letter to the King, wherein he wholly diſown'd *in his laſt Words, and upon his Salvation*, the Matters of which he there ſtood charg'd; Which ſeem'd to have been a fair Introduction towards Releaſing of all the reſt.

The Lords in the Tower, &c. Bail'd.

2. On the other Side, the Lord *Brandon Gerard*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Booth*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Charlton* and Major *Wildman* (all accus'd of the laſt Plot, but not by two Witneſſes) having been formerly admitted to Bail, were on the 23d of *January* fully diſcharg'd, except Mr. *Hambden*, who was mark'd out and reſerv'd to be try'd for a *High-Miſdemeanor*, on the 6th Day of *February*. In this Tryal, the Lord *Howard* depos'd to the ſame Senſe as formerly 'touching the general Tranſacti-'ons of the Conſpiracy till the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Death; and particu-'larly afterwards of the Meeting of the *Council of Six* at Mr. *Hambden*'s 'own Houſe, where Mr. *Hambden* made an Introductory Speech to open 'the Aſſembly; and the Subject of the Debates was concerning the Time, 'Place, Men, Arms and Money to be provided towards a Riſing; and 'alſo

Mr. Hambden's Tryal.

1683/4. Car. 36 Ref. 24

'also that then the sending a Messenger into *Scotland* was propos'd, and 'referr'd to be debated the next Meeting. Farther, That Mr. *Hambden* 'was present at that next Meeting at the Lord *Russel*'s House; and 'amongst the rest deliberated of sending the Messenger into *Scotland*; 'when *Aaron Smith* was nam'd, and approv'd to be the Man.' In Defence of the Party accused, the Council struck very boldly at the Reputation of the Lord *Howard*, and wou'd have made him appear but a little better than an Atheist: And farther they brought Witnesses, as the Lord *Paget*, Mr. *Pelham*, and Sir *Henry Hobart*, to testify that Mr. *Hambden* was a prudent and virtuous Man, who follow'd a studious and contemplative Life, and therefore most unlikely to be engag'd in such an Affair. In Conclusion the Lord Chief-Justice *Jeffreys* made a long Speech; in which, speaking of Virtue and Religion, he cunningly turn'd it upon the Prisoner, by reflecting on a particular Transaction of his Grandfather *Hambden* in the late King's Reign. Said he, 'Was it not under the 'Shape of Religion, That that blessed Martyr came to the Block? Nay 'some Men in the late Times that were ingag'd on that Side, who find-'ing that the King prevail'd at the Beginning of the War, because he 'had Gentlemen of Quality and Courage to appear for him, were at a 'loss to know which way they shou'd put a Spirit into the common Peo-'ple to oppose the King; and some among them [Mr. *Hambden* the First] 'bid them *be sure to put* Religion *to be the Pretence, and that wou'd* *He is cast and Fin'd.* '*make them run headlong to what they wou'd have them.*' At length the Jury brought Mr. *Hambden* in guilty of *High Misdemeanor*; for which he was fin'd forty Thousand Pounds, and oblig'd to find Sureties for his Good Behaviour during Life. This was look'd upon by many as a great Hardship: But the King in his large Declaration, assures us, 'That if he 'had not granted the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Request *That he wou'd not* '*make him a Witness*, neither Mr. *Hambden*, nor scarce any one Man 'of all those that were freed upon Bail, had escap'd Death.

The Tryal of Braddon *and* Speak.

Two Days after Mr. *Hambden*'s Tryal, there came on one of a different Nature, namely that of *Laurence Braddon* and *Hugh Speak* Gentlemen, who were judg'd too officious and medling with relation to the late Plot: The Charge and Information against them sets forth, 'That where-'as the late Earl of *Essex*, committed to the *Tower* for High-Treason, 'had, on the 13th of *July* last, cut his own Throat, and was, by Inqui-'sition taken before the Coroner of the *Liberty of the* Tower, found '*Felo de se*; the said *Braddon* and *Speak*, to defame the Government, 'had conspired together, by Writing and otherwise, to spread a false 'and scandalous Report, *That the Inquisition was taken unduely, and* '*irregularly obtain'd*, and *That the said Earl was murder'd by some Per-*'*sons about him*; and had endeavour'd to suborn Witnesses to testify 'the same.' The Tryal lasted many Hours, with great Expectations; and over and above, the better to remove the Scandal, those on the King's Side brought Witnesses to prove, that the Earl of *Essex* did certainly murder himself, and had in effect a new Tryal about that Matter, more particular than what had been before the Coroner: And these Witnesses swore so plainly to the Fact and Circumstances, that there seem'd to remain no further Question. The Court rising late, left the Jury to give in a private Verdict to one of the Judges, which they deliver'd the next Morning, and it was, 'That the said *Braddon* was guilty of the whole 'Matter charg'd in the Information; and that *Speak* was guilty of all the *Their Fines.* 'Matter except the *Subornation*.' Upon which the former was fin'd two Thousand Pounds, and the latter one Thousand Pounds to the King, and both oblig'd to find Sureties for their good Behaviour during Life.

In

In this *Hilary* Term there were ſome other Puniſhments and Proſecutions; of which two were from Informations deliver'd and Convictions obtain'd in the laſt Term: The Firſt was of Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, a Clergy-Man formerly mention'd, who for his Book call'd *Julian the Apoſtate*, which in the Information is term'd *Scandalous* and *Seditious*, was now thus Sentenc'd by the Court of *King*'s-*Bench*; 'That he ſhou'd 'pay Five Hundred Marks for a Fine to the King; That he find Sure-'ties for his good Behaviour for a Year; That he ſhou'd be Committed 'to Priſon till this be paid and done; and that the Book be burnt by 'the Hands of the Common Hangman.' The other was *John Darby*, a Printer, who had been convicted of a Miſdemeanor, in Printing *My Lord Ruſſel's Speech*, which was term'd a *Seditious Libel*; and he was now brought to the Court of *King*'s-*Bench* to receive his Judgment. He humbly ſubmitted himſelf to the Court, and begg'd Pardon, with a Promiſe never to commit the like Offence; and therefore the Court gave a milder Sentence, 'That he ſhou'd pay Twenty Marks for a Fine to the 'King, and find Sureties for his good Behaviour for a Twelve-Month; 'and be committed to Priſon till that is paid and done.

1684. Car. 36 Reſ. 24

Proceedings againſt Mr. Johnſon,

Mr. Darby

The Deferring theſe Sentences and ſome Proſecutions, was by ſeveral Sanguine Men of their Party look'd upon as a Weakneſs in the Government, and was one great Cauſe of another Tryal at the End of this Term, which was that of Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton*, a Gentleman ſufficiently remember'd for being Head of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s *Ignoramus* Jury. He was try'd at *Guild-Hall* for *High Miſdemeanor*, on the 14th of *February*; and the Information againſt him was *For Scandalizing and Vilifying the Evidence in the laſt Horrid Plot*; with which he was charg'd in ſeveral Letters ſent into the Country; wherein he related 'The great Favour into which the Duke of *Monmouth* was return'd; 'and rejoyc'd, That all the Priſoners that were in the late *Sham Proteſtant Plot*, were Diſcharg'd upon Bail; That *Braddon* and *Speak* were 'not proſecuted; That the paſſing Sentence upon the Author of *Julian 'the Apoſtate*, and the Printer of the *Lord Ruſſel*'s *Speech*, were paſs'd 'over in Silence,' &c. To which were added theſe Expreſſions; 'Tis 'generally ſaid the Earl of *Eſſex* was Murder'd by other Hands: The 'brave Lord *Ruſſel* is afreſh lamented: The *Plot* is loſt here, unleſs you 'can find it in the Country among the *Addreſſers* and *Abhorrers*: The '*High Tories* and *Clergy* are Mortify'd, and Sir *George Jeffreys* is grown 'humble.' The Deſign in Concluſion was, 'To deſire their Friends to 'beſtir themſelves, to get in Sober Men, and to be ſure to keep the '*Sober Party* up.' Theſe and ſome other Particulars being prov'd againſt him, his Sentence was, 'That he ſhou'd pay to the King a Fine of 'Ten Thouſand Pounds, that he ſhou'd find Sureties for his good Beha-'viour during Life, and to be committed till the ſame be perform'd.' But rather than pay his Fine, he choſe to be a Priſoner, and continu'd ſuch all the reſt of this Reign, and a conſiderable Part of the next.

And Sir Samuel Barnardiſton.

The laſt Fin'd 10000 *Pounds.*

3. Several Acts of Hoſtility were this Spring fiercely purſu'd between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, both by Sea and Land, but ſtill without any formal Declaration of War: Upon which Account his *Britannick* Majeſty, being directly concern'd on neither ſide, but in Amity with both, was pleas'd to Iſſue out a particular Proclamation at *Newmarket*, Declaring, 'That the Peace ſhou'd be kept inviolably on both ſides, in all 'Roads, Creeks, and Ports of his Dominions; and that all his Command-'ers and Officers ſhou'd oppoſe themſelves againſt all that ſhou'd Aſſault 'any of the Ships of his Allies in any of his Roads, Creeks, or Places 'under

1684. Car. 36 Reſ. 25

A Proclamation as to Sea Affairs.

1684. Car. 36 Ref. 25

The D. of York *re-eſtabliſh'd.*

'under his Protection, *&c.*' And not long after, *May* 12th, under a Pretext of a better Management of the Sea Affairs, the King was pleas'd to Revoke and Determine the Commiſſion, formerly granted to ſeveral Perſons, For Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, and to commit thoſe Affairs to the care of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, tho' then diſabled by Law. And about a Fortnight after, as a further Favour his Majeſty thought fit to declare in Council at *Hampton-Court*, That he found it convenient for his Service, that his Royal Highneſs ſhou'd be preſent at the Meetings of the Council; and accordingly the Duke ſat that Day, and continu'd ſo to do. And now the Duke's Influence and Greatneſs began more manifeſtly to appear; and on the 26th of *June*, his Royal Highneſs, being Captain of the Artillery Company of *London*, in a particular Manner march'd at their Head through the City to the Artillery Ground, and attended with many of the Higheſt Rank, there led them up in Perſon, with extraordinary Joy and Acclamations.

He brings a Scandalum Magnatum *againſt* Dutton Colt.

In the Height of this Proſperity, two Perſons felt the Weight of the Duke's Greatneſs: The firſt was *John Dutton Colt* Eſquire, ſometime Bayliff of *Leominſter* in *Herefordſhire*, and Burgeſs of that Borough in the three laſt Parliaments, who was heard to ſpeak theſe Words: *The Duke of* York *is a Papiſt, and before any ſuch Papiſt Dog ſhall be Succeſſor to the Crown of* England, *I'll be hang'd at my own Door.* —— *If the King had no worſe Bayliffs nor Mayors in all his Corporations, and no worſe Parliament Men than my ſelf, we ſhou'd ſoon rout the Duke of* York, *the Lord of* Worceſter, *the Lord* Peterborough, *and all ſuch Popiſh Dogs, out of the Kingdom.* —— *If any of the Members of Parliament come to an untimely End, it ſhall preſently be laid on the Papiſts; and from that Time I will begin to cut the Throat of the firſt Papiſt I meet, if it be the Duke of* York *himſelf.* —— *If the King follows the Advice of that damn'd Popiſh Dog his Brother, and ſuch like evil Counſellors, in ſo often Diſſolving the Parliament, it will in the End be worſe for him.* —— *I will be hang'd at my own Door, before ſuch a damn'd Popiſh Raſcal as the Duke of* York, *ſhall ever inherit the Crown of* England.—Theſe and the like Words being fully prov'd againſt him at the *King*'s *Bench* Bar, on the 3d of *May* the Jury brought in their Verdict for his Royal Highneſs, and gave him for Damages a Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

And againſt Titus Oates.

The other Sufferer was the fam'd *Titus Oates*, whoſe Proſperity was now expired: He was ſuddenly taken up on the 10th of *May*, at the *Amſterdam* Coffee-Houſe, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of the ſame Duke, for directly calling him *Traytor*, and uſing other Scandalous Words, which naturally flow'd from his Mouth. He was carry'd to *Wood-Street* Compter, where he lay two Days, and then remov'd by *Habeas Corpus* to the *King*'s *Bench* Priſon. The next Term he let Judgment go by Default; whereupon a Writ of Enquiry of Damages was Executed at the *King*'s *Bench* Bar, where the Jury upon Hearing of the Evidence, gave a Hundred Thouſand Pounds Damages. From this Time he never got out of the Priſon till after the Revolution; for he was not only detain'd by this Action, but the next *Michaelmas* Term he was Indicted for Perjury in the *King*'s *Bench* Court, in relation to Father *Ireland*'s being in *London* at the Time the ſaid *Oates* Swore to, at his Tryal; to which Indictment he pleaded Not guilty, the Tryal was appointed to be the next Term. Shortly after, at the Seſſions in the *Old Bayley*, he had another Indictment of Perjury preferr'd againſt him, in Relation to his being preſent at the ſuppos'd Conſult of the *Jeſuits* at the *White Horſe* Tavern in 1678; and upon pleading Not guilty, this Indictment was alſo appointed to be Try'd in the *King*'s *Bench* Court the next

The laſt is further proſecued for Perjury.

next Term; and the Indictment was remov'd thither. But these Tryals did not come on till the Beginning of the next Reign; and it was look'd upon as unfortunate for the *Popish* Party, that he was not try'd in this. Then, for a further Disgrace to their Master, in the same Term, *Dalby* and *Nicholson*, two of *Oates*'s Men, were convicted; the first at the *Nisi Prius* for the County of *Middlesex*; the other at the *Nisi Prius* held for the City of *London*, at *Guild Hall*, for speaking most Scandalous and Seditious Words against his present Majesty, and the Government, for which they both stood in the Pillory. 1684. Car. 36 Ref. 25

4. But to return a little back, we are next to take notice of the Proceedings against two Capital Offenders, and both outlaw'd upon the Account of the late Conspiracy, Mr. *James Holloway*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*. The First, having been deeply ingag'd, and finding his Name in the *Gazette*, fled to the *West-Indies*, where he was accidentally taken, after he had suffer'd an Outlawry for High-Treason, and brought Prisoner to *London*, and put into *Newgate*. While he was there, he wrote a Paper which he call'd, *His Free Confession and Narrative*, address'd to the King's Majesty, and deliver'd by himself to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*. It confirm'd most of the Particulars that had been open'd and discover'd at the Tryals of the Persons executed before him; but there appear'd very little New in what was publish'd, besides what was to have been acted in *Bristol*; 'which Place was to have been surpriz'd by three hundred and 'fifty Men, of whom above half were to be rais'd in and about the City, 'and the rest to have been sent from *Taunton*.' But towards the Conclusion of it he tells the World, 'That he had given to his Majesty the 'Names of several other Persons, besides those already known, who were 'to have been concern'd in the *Plot*.' But all this did him no real Service; and being brought to the Bar, and demanded what he had to say, why *Execution* shou'd not be awarded against him, upon the Attainder of *Outlawry* for Treason? he answer'd, 'That he had made an ingenu-'ous Confession to his Majesty, and beg'd his Mercy.' Then the Court told him, 'That notwithstanding the *Outlawry* against him, he shou'd be 'indulg'd so far as to have a Tryal, if he thought he cou'd defend himself.' To which he reply'd 'That he cou'd not undertake to defend himself, 'for that he had confess'd before his Majesty, *That he was guilty of many* '*Things in the Indictment*.' And so coming to the Place of his Execution, at *Tyburn*, he declared his Belief of the Plot, and that he was concern'd in it: but at the same Time he accus'd the Government of Managing several Things ill, and against the King and Kingdom's Interest; and that what he intended was only for the Good of Both: And as to his Religion, he profess'd himself neither a *Dissenter* from the Church of *England*, nor joyn'd with it altogether.

Holloway's *Confession*,

And Execution.

The other, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, having been nam'd in the King's Proclamation, with a Reward equal to the Greatest, was apprehended at *Leyden* in *Holland*, by Order of the *States*; and being put on Board one of his Majesty's Yatchts at *Roterdam*, he was brought to *London*, and sent Prisoner to *Newgate* on the 11th of *June*. This ungovernable Gentleman had as many personal Obligations to the King as almost any Man living, and it is said that none had made more ungrateful Returns; so that he was to expect no Favour from the Court. Being shortly after his Commitment brought to the *King*'s-*Bench* Bar, and ask'd what he cou'd say for himself, Why Execution shou'd not pass against him, he alledg'd He was beyond Sea at the Time of the *Outlawry*, and begg'd he might be Try'd.' It was answer'd, 'That after a Record of *Outlawry*, the Judges had

Sir Thomas Armstrong *taken.*

1684. Car. 36 Ref. 25

His Plea.

'nothing to do but to appoint Execution.' Againſt which the Priſoner urg'd, 'That by the Statute of the 6th of *Edward* the Sixth, the Perſon 'outlaw'd had a Year's Time to reverſe the Outlawry, if he were be-'yond Sea.' The Bench reply'd, 'That by the plain Words of the Sta-'tute, none could have the Benefit of it, but ſuch as within one Year 'ſhould *Yield Themſelves* to the Chief-Juſtice of *England*, and offer to 'Traverſe the Indictment upon which the Outlawry was pronounc'd.' To this *Armſtrong* pleaded, 'that the Year not being yet out, he did now ren-'der himſelf to the Chief-Juſtice.' But that Plea not being admitted, becauſe he did not *Yield himſelf*, but was *brought Priſoner*, and could have no Advantage of the Statute; he then alledg'd, 'that the ſame had been 'lately granted to *Holloway*, who tho' in the ſame Condition, was offe-'red to take his Tryal, if he pleas'd.' It was anſwer'd, 'that was done 'out of meer Grace and Favour of the King, who, if his Majeſty thought 'good, might extend the like Favour to him alſo: But that was not the 'Buſineſs of a Court of Juſtice; they were only to take care to ſatisfy 'the Law.' Over and above, the Attorney-General acquainted the Court, 'that the Priſoner at the Bar deſerv'd no ſort of Indulgence or 'Mercy from the King; not only for that when he was ſeiz'd beyond 'Sea, Letters of freſh Communication with Foreign Miniſters, and other 'People, were taken from him, but alſo becauſe it appear'd to his Ma-'jeſty by full Evidence poſitively given, *That after the Diſappointment 'of the Meeting at the* Rye-Houſe, *by God's Providence in the Fire at* 'New-Market, Armſtrong *was one of the Perſons that actually engag'd 'to go, upon the King's haſty coming to Town, and to deſtroy him by the 'Way as he return'd.*

And Execution.

Being brought to the Place of Execution, he, as others had done, deliver'd to the Sheriffs a Paper, wherein 'he continu'd to object againſt the 'Legal Courſe of the Proceedings againſt him, complaining, that with 'an unordinary Roughneſs he had been condemn'd, and made a Precedent, 'tho' *Holloway* being alſo Outlaw'd, had his Tryal offer'd him a little be-fore.' As to the new Evidence againſt him, which the Attorney-General mention'd at the *King's-Bench*, he only anſwer'd it by a direct and flat Denyal; affirming upon his Death, *He never had any Deſign againſt the King's Life, nor the Life of any Man*; both which, as was then obſerv'd, might be eaſily allow'd to be equally true. Moſt People thought he had hard Meaſures in having his Tryal refus'd him, but he was the leſs pity'd, becauſe his Hands had been before defil'd with Blood. He was executed at *Tyburn* on *Friday* the 20th of *June*; which was obſerv'd by ſome to be the ſame Day of the ſame Month, and the ſame Day of the Week, on which the five Jeſuits were executed in the ſame Manner at the ſame Place, juſt five Years before. His Head was ſet up on *Weſtminſter-Hall* between thoſe of *Cromwell* and *Bradſhaw*; one of his Quarters upon *Temple-Bar*, two others at *Alderſgate*, and *Aldgate*, and the fourth was ſaid to be ſent down to *Stafford*, for which Town he had been a Burgeſs in Parliament. This Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* was the laſt Man that ſuffer'd Death upon the Account of the Plot, in this Reign.

Proceedings againſt inferior Offenders.

Several inferior Offenders were brought to Puniſhment in *Eaſter* and *Trinity* Terms; particularly, *Langley Curtis* and *Francis Smith*, both Bookſellers, and induſtrious Promoters of unlicens'd Pamphlets. The firſt was convicted 'for Printing a Scandalous and Seditious Pamphlet, 'call'd, *The Lord* Ruſſel's *Ghoſt, or, The Night-Walker of* Bloomsbury;' for which he was fin'd five Hundred Pounds, and order'd to ſtand in the Pillory in *Bloomsbury*-Market, and the ſaid Libel to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. The other, Mr. *Smith* at the *Elephant* and *Caſtle* in *Corn-Hill*, was Try'd 'For Printing and Publiſhing

'a

'a Scandalous and Seditious Libel, call'd, *The Raree Show*;' for which he was alſo fin'd five Hundred Pounds, and to ſtand Thrice in the Pillory, and to find Sureties of Good Behaviour during Life. Likewiſe *Samuel Packer*, Deputy to *Richard Goodenough*, when he was Under-Sheriff of *London*, was Convicted for Publiſhing another Scandalous and Seditious Libel; for which he was fin'd fifty Marks, and order'd to ſtand in the Pillory at three ſeveral Places in *Weſtminſter*. After him, *George Cawdron*, Steward to the Earl of *Clare*, was try'd upon an Information, 'for Speaking moſt Scandalous and Seditious Words againſt 'his Majeſty and the Government;' for which he was fin'd a Hundred Pounds, to ſtand in the Pillory in two ſeveral Places, and to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life. Beſides all theſe, the Town of *Nottingham*, having upon *Michaelmas* Day had a great Scuffle, upon an Election of a Mayor, and other Officers for that Corporation, ſome Claiming the ancient Cuſtom, and others inſiſting on the new Charter; for this Reaſon, thoſe that oppos'd the ſaid Charter, *viz. William Sacheverel*, *George Gregory*, and *Charles Hutchinſon* Eſquires, *William Greeves*, and Seventeen others, had an Information exhibited againſt them, 'For a 'great Riot by them committed, to the great Terror of many of his Maje-'ſty's Loyal Subjects;' and at a Tryal at the *King's-Bench* Bar, on *May* the 2d they were all, except one *Barker*, found Guilty of the ſaid Riot, and fin'd in Proportion. 1684. Car. 36 Ref. 25

5. And indeed, the greateſt Part of the Hiſtory of this peaceable Year, as formerly hinted, conſiſts of Proſecutions, Penalties and Puniſhments; and, what was in a great Meaſure the Effect of them, the Surrendry of Charters, and the Reforming, or rather Corrupting of Corporations: For many of the Cities, Towns, and Boroughs, conceiving their Priviledges could not long ſurvive thoſe of the great Metropolis, and finding the Court Reſolv'd in the Expectance and Demand of them, did generally agree to offer them up as a ſort of a Sacrifice to the King's Will and Pleaſure: And even many of the Courtiers were employ'd to make an Intereſt in thoſe Places where they were moſt concern'd, to obtain and extort the ſaid Surrendry. Particularly the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, in the Northern Circuit, at the Summer Aſſizes, is charg'd with making it his great Buſineſs to terrify the People into this Compliance; and at his Return waited on his Majeſty at *Wincheſter*, and deliver'd up to him the Charters of the City of *Lincoln*, and of ſeveral other Corporations within his own Circuit, as an Oblation of his own Loyalty, and a Triumph over the Liberties of the ſaid Corporations. However, the King commanded his Lordſhip 'To let the ſeveral Corporations know 'his gracious Acceptance of the Surrender of their Charters, and the 'Senſe his Majeſty had of their Loyalty; and accordingly he would let 'them find the good Effects thereof, upon the Renewal of their Char-'ters. *Surrendry of Charters.*

By theſe Meaſures, the Aſcendency of the Duke of *York* began to be more and more believ'd; and it look'd as if both the Brothers had taken a Reſolution to deſtroy Faction, and all the Reſemblances of it, whether good or bad. The Advantages of Power receiv'd by the King were manifeſt, and not eaſy to be reſiſted in a Conqueſt after ſo many Struggles and Conflicts. This Power did ſeveral Ways increaſe, and particularly by a Military Force, which was almoſt inſenſibly augmented by the broken Garriſon of *Tangier*, which was brought over in the Beginning of this Year. The City of *London* ſeem'd in effect ſubdu'd, and was forc'd to ſubmit to ſuch Sheriffs, and a Lord Mayor, as the King was pleas'd to *The King's own Forces.*

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appoint: The two former were Sir *William Goſlin* and Sir *Peter Vandeput*, and the Lord Mayor was Sir *James Smith*; all commiſſion'd under the Great Seal; and all very much to the Satisfaction of the *Tory* Party, whoſe Numbers and Strength daily encreas'd: So that whatever Appearances there might be of Arbitrary Power, yet ſtill there was a Majority in the City, and a much greater in the Country, that were pleas'd to ſee the Ruins of once a formidable Party, and to think this a Year of real Happineſs. As to the King's Forces by Land, which began to be call'd a *Standing Army*, a Muſter was made of them on the firſt of *October* at *Putney* Heath; which was accounted a moſt Gallant Military Appearance. The Horſe that Day conſiſted of the three Troops of Guards, and of their Three of Grenadiers, of the Earl of *Oxford*'s Regiment of Horſe-Guards, and the Lord *Churchill*'s Regiment of Dragoons. The Foot were two Battalions form'd from the *Royal* Regiment of Guards and their Grenadiers; One Battalion from the *Cold-Stream* Regiment of Guards and Grenadiers; One Battalion from the Earl of *Dunbarton*'s Regiment and their Grenadiers, and One from the *Admiral* Regiment. The Total of Horſe and Foot which then Rendezvouz'd were above four thouſand, all compleatly Train'd and Effective Men; and all that Day commanded by the Earl of *Craven*. At which Muſter both their Majeſties, and both their Royal Highneſſes, were preſent with very great Satisfaction.

The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion diſſolv'd.

In the ſame Month, the King, the more to bring Matters under his own Cognizance, thought fit to diſſolve the popular and acceptable Commiſſion granted in the Year 1681, to certain Commiſſioners to diſpoſe of all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments belonging to the Crown: So that the ſaid Preferments were now again in his Majeſty's immediate Diſpoſal. And the firſt worth the Remembering, was the Tranſlating Dr. *Turner* from the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter* to that of *Ely*, and Raiſing the Eloquent Dr. *Sprat*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, into the See of *Rocheſter*; which laſt had been employ'd by the King himſelf to write a full Account of the late Conſpiracy; which he did to the great Satisfaction of one Party.

A Statue erected to the King.

The King being at the Height of his Glory, moſt Men ſeem'd ready to fall down and worſhip him; and this Year a famous and Noble Statue was erected to his Honour, in the Middle or Centre of the Royal Exchange. It conſiſted of the exact Figure of his preſent Majeſty, done in Grey Marble, erected upon a curious Pedeſtal of the ſame; and the Statue was in the Garb and Habit of a *Roman Cæſar*. The Work-man that cut it was Mr. *Grinling Gibbons*, the moſt celebrated Statuary that ever *England* produc'd, and equal, if not ſuperior, to the beſt of *Europe* in this Age. This was perform'd at the Charge of the *Hamborough* Company, at five Hundred Pound Expence: The Inſcription on the Pedeſtal is as follows: CAROLO II. *Cæſari Britannico, Patriæ Patri, Regum Optimo, Clementiſſimo, Auguſtiſſimo, Generis humani Deliciis, utriuſque Fortunæ Victori, Pacis Europæ Arbitro, Maris Domino & Vindici, Societas Mercatorum Adventur. Angliæ, quæ per* CCCC *jam prope Annos Regia Benignitate floret, Fidei intemeratæ, Gratitudinis Æternæ, hoc Teſtimonium Venerabunda poſuit. Anno Sal. Humanæ* MDCLXXXIV. The King was ſo fully pleas'd with this Performance, that he gave ſpecial Orders that no Perſon ſhould ſo much as Copy it in any Print, without the particular Leave of the ſaid Mr. *Grinling Gibbons*.

6. During *Michaelmas* Term, there happen'd ſome further Tryals and Proſecutions, which ſhew'd the Humour and Temper of the Times: Particularly on the 6th of *November*, a Tryal was held at *Guild-Hall*, before

fore the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, upon an Action upon the Caſe brought by Sir *William Prichard*, formerly Lord Mayor of *London*, againſt Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*, of which the latter was lately dead, for Maliciouſly cauſing him to be Arreſted, and falſly Impriſon'd, during his Mayoralty: The Fact was repreſented by the Council, 'as a very 'Evil Deſign, and Malicious Practice, contriv'd with ſeveral of the Traytors, 'lately fled from Juſtice, as well againſt his Majeſty's Government, and 'the Magiſtracy of the City, as againſt the Perſon of the ſaid Sir *William* 'Prichard.' Upon which, after a full Hearing of the Evidence, the Jury brought in their Verdict for Sir *William*, and gave him no leſs than ten Thouſand Pounds Damages. 1684. Car. 36 Reſ. 25

As to Proſecutions, beſides that of *Titus Oates* formerly mention'd, there are Three to be remember'd in this Term: The Firſt was of *Elias Beſt*, commonly call'd *The Proteſtant Hop-Merchant*, who was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar for ſpeaking Scandalous and Seditious Words againſt the Government; for which he was fin'd a Thouſand Pounds, and order'd to ſtand Thrice in the Pillory, as alſo to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life. The next was Mr. *Butler* of *Northamptonſhire*, who was convicted at the *King's-Bench* Bar upon an Information for preſenting and reading to the Knights of the Shire choſen for that County at the laſt Election, a Seditious Paper of Addreſs to them, from ſome factious Perſons, for which he was fin'd five Hundred Marks, and bound to good Behaviour during Life. The laſt was a Matter of a higher Conſequence, the Proſecution of Mr. *Thomas Roſewell*, a Diſſenting Teacher at *Redriffe* in *Surrey*, who was try'd at the ſame Bar for High-Treaſon; and particularly charg'd with ſpeaking theſe Words in a Sermon preach'd on *September* the 14th, *That the People made a flocking to the King, upon pretence of Healing the King's Evil, which he could not do; but that we are they to whom they ought to flock, becauſe We are Prieſts and Prophets, that by our Prayers can heal the Dolours and Griefs of the People: We have had two wicked Kings together, who have permitted* Popery *to enter in under their Noſes, whom we can reſemble to no other Perſon, but to the moſt wicked* Jeroboam; *and if they would ſtand to their Principles, he did not fear, but they would overcome their Enemies, as in former Times with Rams Horns, broken Platters, and a Stone in a Sling.* The Priſoner made a very handſome Defence, eſpecially as to the Infamy of the Witneſſes; but in Half an Hour's Time the Jury brought him in Guilty of High-Treaſon. But Sir *John Talbot*, who was preſent at the Tryal, was pleas'd of his own Accord to repreſent the Paſſages of it, with his Opinion, to the King; who thereupon gave Directions to the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, that he ſhould have Council aſſign'd him, to plead to the Inſufficiency of the Indictment, in Arreſt of Judgment. Accordingly the Caſe was argu'd by Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, and Mr. *Bampfield*, and the Court took till the next Term to conſider of Judgment; but in the mean Time the King graciouſly granted him a Pardon; a Favour we do not find he granted to any one Perſon Convicted of High-Treaſon, either *Papiſt* or *Proteſtant*, for the ſeven laſt Years.

The Proſecution of Mr. Beſt.

Mr. Butler.

And Mr. Roſewell.

The latter pardon'd.

The Roads being this Winter very much infeſted with Robbers, his Majeſty thought fit, on the 19th of *December*, to order in Council, and declare his Pleaſure for Redreſs, 'That all his Officers of Juſtice, 'and other his loving Subjects, do uſe their utmoſt Diligence and En- 'deavour for the Apprehending all Robbers and High-Way Men;' And for the Encouragement of ſuch as ſhall apprehend any ſuch Offender, it was further Order'd, 'that ſuch Perſons, who ſhall at any Time from 'the

Orders againſt High-Way Men.

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'the preſent, till the 19th of *December*, 1685, and after that Day, till his 'Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to recall this Order, either by Proclamation or his 'Order in Council, apprehend any Robber or High-Way Man, and cauſe 'him to be brought into Cuſtody, ſhall within fifteen Days after his Con-'viction, have a Reward of Ten Pounds, for every ſuch Offender: And 'all Sheriffs of the Counties, where ſuch Conviction ſhall be had, are by 'the ſaid Order required, upon the Certificate of the Judge, or two Ju-'ſtices of the Peace, before whom ſuch Perſons ſhall be convicted, to 'pay to the Perſons who ſhall apprehend ſuch Offenders, the Reward 'aforeſaid, out of his Majeſty's Monies receiv'd by ſuch Sheriffs in that 'County, where ſuch Conviction ſhall be; which ſhall be allow'd to them 'upon their Accounts in the *Exchequer*: And all Lieutenants, Deputy-'Lieutenants, Juſtices of the Peace, *&c.* are required to be Aiding and 'Aſſiſting in all Things tending to the Execution of the ſame.

Honours and Promotions.

And now at laſt to come to Promotions, and Deaths of great Men, that happen'd this Year; we are firſt to remember that *Leoline Jenkins*, one of the King's principal Secretaries of State, having long pray'd his Majeſty to permit him, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition, to reſign his Place; his Majeſty was at laſt pleas'd to grant it, tho' with much Unwillingneſs, becauſe of the great Satisfaction he always had in his Services: So on the 14th of *April*, at *Windſor*, he deliver'd up the Seals to the King; who was pleas'd to give them to the Honourable *Sidney Godolphin* Eſquire, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, who was accordingly ſworn into the Secretary's Office ſhortly after, in a Council held at *Hampton-Court*. About the middle of *July*, the Earl of *Murray*, and the Earl of *Middleton*, the two Secretaries of State for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, were, by his Majeſty's Command, ſworn of his moſt honourable Privy-Council in *England*, and took their Places at the Board in *Hampton-Court*. Above a Month after, the King was pleas'd to declare in Council; 'That 'having given the Earl of *Radnor*, Lord Preſident of the Council, (with 'whoſe Services he was very well ſatisfy'd) Leave to retire, in Conſidera-'tion of his great Age; He had reſolv'd to make the Earl of *Rocheſter* Lord 'Preſident, Mr. Secretary *Godolphin* Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, 'and the Earl of *Middleton* Secretary of State:' And accordingly the Earl of *Rocheſter* took his place at the Board, and the Earl of *Middleton* was ſworn one of the principal Secretaries of State: And ſhortly after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to add a new Favour to Mr. *Godolphin*, and to grant to him the Title and Dignity of a Baron of *England*, by the Name and Stile of Baron *Godolphin* of *Rialton* in the County of *Cornwal*. In this *Michaelmas* Term, his Majeſty thought fit, upon the Death of Mr. Juſtice *Windham*, to remove Mr. Baron *Street* to the *Common-Pleas*, and in his Place to conſtitute Sir *Robert Wright*, his Majeſty's Serjeant at Law, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*.

The Deaths of Biſhop Gunning,

As to the Deaths of eminent Men, we ſhall begin with two great and learned Prelates, Dr. *Peter Gunning*, and Dr. *George Morley*, the one Biſhop of *Ely*, and the other of *Wincheſter*. The Firſt was a *Kentiſh* Man by Birth, and of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge* by Education, where he was for ſome Years a Fellow, and from whence he was ejected for his Loyalty, and refuſing the *Covenant*. After which he ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Honour and Credit of the Eſtabliſh'd Church of *England* in the moſt dangerous Times, and at *London* kept up a noble Congregation, daily oppoſing and ſtemming the Overflowings of Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptiſm, Socinianiſm, *&c.* with unuſual Vigour and Succeſs. Upon the Reſtoration, he was made Maſter of St. *John*'s Colledge, and the King's Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, where no Man more glorioufly adorn'd the

the Chair; from whence he was ſucceſſively rais'd to the Biſhopricks of *Chicheſter* and *Ely*, and all without the leaſt Application. Here he was not only admired for his uncommon Learning, and his profound Skill in Theology, but belov'd for his exemplary Piety and diffuſive Charity to all Perſons in Diſtreſs; and being an incomparable Diſputant, without the Help of Pen and Ink, he was further diſtinguiſh'd for his Art, not only in bringing over Papiſts and other Diſſenters, but in converting a conſiderable Number of *Jews*. The other, Biſhop *Morley*, was a *Londoner* by Birth, and had his Education in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and was afterwards taken into the particular Favour, and made Chaplain to the late King, to whom he was inviolably Loyal, and very Aſſiſting in ſome of his greateſt Difficulties. Being an Exile with his preſent Majeſty, he got into the great Acquaintance and Eſteem of ſeveral Learned Foreigners, as *Rivet*, *Heinſius*, *Salmaſius*, *Bochart*, &c. which made him fitter for the greateſt Employments at the Return of the King; who generouſly rewarded him firſt with the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and then with the rich one of *Wincheſter*, telling him, *That he knew he wou'd not be the richer for it*; which in one Reſpect prov'd true, by reaſon of the vaſt Sums he laid out in repairing and rebuilding his Palaces, and his munificent Benefactions, as well as charitable Donations. He was a Perſon of extenſive Knowledge and Experience, and tho' he was a ſtrict Churchman, in Oppoſition to all Sorts of Diſſenters, yet he was a great *Calviniſt*, and eſteem'd one of the main Patrons of that Perſuaſion; and having led a pious and primitive Life, he dy'd full of Years and Honour, in the 97th of his Age. 1684. Car. 36 Reſ. 25 *Biſhop* Morley.

The reſt to be mention'd were Perſons of very different Characters and Employments, of which we ſhall begin with *William* Lord *Brouncker*, Viſcount of *Caſtle-Lyons* in *Ireland*, a celebrated Vertuoſo, who was much incourag'd in the *Engliſh* Court, where he had ſeveral Places; but principally addicting himſelf to Mathematicks, he became a great Artiſt in that and Philoſophy, and was not only Fellow of the *Royal Society*, but Preſident thereof for fifteen Years; which Society he did very much honour and advance by his great Labours, and long Experience. The next was Dr. *Robert Wittie*, a Doctor of Phyſick, educated in *King*'s Colledge in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and Fellow of the Colledge of Phyſicians in *London*, a very ingenious and learned Man, who practis'd for ſeveral Years, and with great Succeſs at *Kingſton* upon *Hull*; and at length retiring to *London*, he dy'd in his old Age, having inrich'd the World with ſeveral Treatiſes in his own Faculty, and particularly a *Deſcription of* Scarborough Spaw *in* Yorkſhire. The third was Mr. *William Walker*, a Bachelor of Divinity, educated in *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge* Univerſity, from whence he became ſucceſſively School-Maſter in the Towns of *Lowth* and *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire*; where he ſhew'd himſelf excellently qualify'd for the Education of Youth, and became a moſt uſeful Writer, both as to School Learning and Divinity; and for the firſt he was diſtinguiſh'd by his *Treatiſe of Engliſh Particles*, and for the Latter by his *Modeſt Plea for Infant Baptiſm*. The laſt to be mention'd is *Wentworth Dillon* Earl of *Roſcommon*, an *Iriſh* Nobleman, but principally reſiding in the *Engliſh* Court, where he was both encourag'd by the King, and admired by all for his great Wit and Parts, which he more particularly diſplay'd in his Poetical Compoſitions; in which there appears the utmoſt Strength and Energy, with the moſt labour'd and judicious Exactneſs; and that ſingle Poem call'd *An Eſſay on Tranſlated Verſe*, has in it ſo many juſt and maſterly Strokes, that, in its Kind, was perhaps *The Lord* Brouncker, Dr. Wittie, *Mr.* Walker, *And the Earl of* Roſcommon.

perhaps never exceeded in the *Engliſh*, or any other Language whatſoever.

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Honours and Preferments.

V. I. The ſmall Remainder of this Reign was of a piece, and of the ſame Nature with the preceding Year, and chiefly taken up with Promotions, Proſecutions, and Modelling of Corporations; in all which the King and the Duke daily found the Advantage and Satisfaction. As to Promotions and Honours conferr'd, his Majeſty, having Knighted Captain *John Clark*, Citizen of *London*, and *Edmund Warcup* of *Northmoor* in *Oxfordſhire*, a little before, on the Firſt of *January* he conferr'd the ſame Honour of Knighthood upon *William Creagh*, of *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne*, being preſented by his Royal Highneſs to his Brother; who did him this Honour, as a Mark of his gracious Acceptance of the Loyal Zeal he had on ſeveral Occaſions expreſs'd for his Majeſty's Service. A few Days after, *John Drummond* Eſquire, one of the King's Secretaries of State for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board at *White-Hall*. About a Week after that, *William Bridgeman*, and *Philip Muſgrave* Eſquires, were ſworn Clerks of the Privy-Council, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Dolman* and *Francis Gwynn* Eſquire, to whom his Majeſty had given leave to reſign. Dr. *Peter Mew* having been tranſlated from the See of *Bath* and *Wells* to *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Thomas Kenn*, a Man eminent for a Pious and Devotional Life, was advanc'd to his Biſhoprick, and ſolemnly Conſecrated on the 25th of *January*. The laſt Honour his Majeſty beſtow'd was that of Knighthood, upon *Henry Brabant*, of *Newcaſtle* Eſquire, particularly for his many Loyal Services; and this was upon the 28th of *January*, five Days before the King's fatal Sickneſs.

Wright. Gazettes. Sprat. Welwood. Hawkins. Huddleſton. Mulgrave.

Tho' the Court had ſo far cruſh'd the declining Party, as to prevent any great Damage from them, yet ſome Struggles remain'd; and in this *Chriſtmas* there appear'd a dangerous and Treaſonable Libel, as it was call'd, promoted by the Diſſenters, relating to the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*: Upon a ſtrict Search and Enquiry after the Author, one *Henry Danvers*, commonly call'd Colonel *Danvers*, late of *Newington* in *Middleſex*, appear'd to be the Man; but being upon the Diſcovery fled, his Majeſty was pleas'd on the 4th of *January* to command publick Notice to be given, 'That whereas the ſaid *Henry Danvers* ſtands accus'd of ſeveral Treaſonable and Dangerous Practices, and is fled from Juſtice, 'Whoever ſhall apprehend him, and cauſe him to be deliver'd into ſafe 'Cuſtody, ſhall receive a Reward of a Hundred Pounds, to be forthwith 'paid by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.' Shortly after, Sir *Scroop How*, one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Nottingham* in the late Parliaments, appear'd in the *King's-Bench* Court, to anſwer to an Information for Words ſpoken againſt the King and the Duke of *York*; which being read, he pleaded Guilty, confeſs'd his Offence with much Sorrow, and caſt himſelf upon the Mercy of his Majeſty and Royal Highneſs: And being the next day introduc'd to them both, he was upon his humble Submiſſion, receiv'd into Grace and Favour; upon which he acknowledg'd, *That he ow'd his Life and Eſtate to his Majeſty's Goodneſs; and that he wou'd for the future dedicate both to the Service of his Majeſty, and the Royal Family.*

A Search after Danvers.

Sir Scroop How *proſecuted.*

Surrendring of Charters.

As to the Buſineſs of Corporations, and ſurrendring of Charters, there were ſeveral about this time given up, and more new ones return'd, which were generally receiv'd with all the Marks of Joy and Exultation: Among which were *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Kendal*, *Leeds*, *Carliſle*, and many in *Cornwall*. Some of theſe, as *Leiceſter* in particular, had new Priviledges of Fairs

Fairs and other Advantages granted to them in their new Charters; ſo that whatever were the ſecret Deſigns of the Court, or the Incroachments upon the Liberties of the People, ſtill there was a general Satisfaction, and a ready Reliance upon the Goodneſs of the King; and the Complaints and Exclamations made upon theſe Occaſions, were infinitely greater afterwards, than any about this Time. 1684. Car. 37 Ref. 25

The King in the Height of his Power.

2. By theſe Means, and other concurring Circumſtances, the King's Power and Authority was brought to ſuch a Height as had not been known for many Years, and ſuch as might well prove formidable to a free and jealous People; but ſtill the King had this Advantage, that all that was gracious and popular was attributed to Himſelf, and what was harſh and ſevere, to the Duke his Brother, who at the ſame Time had both his Admirers and Fearers. The *Whig* Party was now broken and diminiſh'd, and all that look'd like Faction and Sedition was ſuppreſs'd, and in a great meaſure extinguiſh'd; and the Diſſenters, who had ſo much Cheriſh'd the *Popiſh* Plot and the *Excluſion* Bill, were reduc'd to the loweſt Ebb; inſomuch that in moſt great Towns and Corporations, except the City of *London*, the greateſt Part of them came regularly to Church, eſpecially the leſs rigid and younger Sort. So that this Reign, if it had continu'd a while longer in this Courſe, as it had been the Riſe, ſo probably it wou'd have been the Ruin of all Meeting-Houſes. The City of *London*, where the Oppoſition to the Court had been ſtrongeſt, was likewiſe reduc'd to a full Submiſſion and Subjection: So that the King, with his Revenues Increaſing, his Debts Diminiſhing, and his Religion not Threatning, had now Opportunity of effecting great Things, either Excellent or Terrible. But we do not find that his Will and Inclinations tended very much towards Either.

His particular Declaration.

However, as to the Felicity enjoy'd by the King at this preſent Time, his Majeſty has remarkably expreſs'd himſelf in his Large *Declaration*, relating to the late Conſpiracy drawn up by Dr. *Sprat*, and now ready for the Preſs; in which we are aſſur'd, 'That after the unvaluable Mercy of 'God to him and his Subjects, in his moſt happy Reſtoration, his Ma'jeſty cannot but eſteem *This* to have been equall'd by none but *That*; 'that in ſo dangerous a Juncture of Publick Affairs, he has met with ſo 'many unfeigned Teſtimonies of *Love to his Perſon*, and *Zeal to his Go'vernment*, from all Degrees of Men in the Nation. And if ſome have 'ſwerv'd from their Duty, yet his Majeſty's Indignations and Reſentments 'againſt them are overwhelm'd by the comfortable Remembrance of the 'far greater and better Number of thoſe who ſtood by him in the ſeve'reſt Tryals. So his Majeſty has juſt Reaſon to acknowledge, the main 'Body of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* has done; ſo has the whole ſound 'and honeſt Part of the *Commonalty*; ſo the great Fountains of Know'ledge and Civility, the Two *Univerſities*; ſo the wiſeſt and moſt Learn'ed in the *Laws*; ſo the whole *Clergy*, and all the Genuine Sons of the 'Church of *England*. ——His Majeſty cannot here forbear to let the 'World know, what entire Satisfaction he has taken in one ſpecial Te'ſtimony of his Subjects Affections; whence through God's gracious 'Providence the Monarchy has gain'd a moſt conſiderable Advantage; 'And it is, That ſo great a Number of the Cities and Corporations of 'this Kingdom, have ſince ſo freely reſign'd their Local Immunities and 'Charters into his Majeſty's Hands; leſt the *Abuſe* of any of them ſhou'd 'again hereafter prove hazardous to the Juſt *Prerogatives* of the Crown. 'This his Majeſty declares he eſteems as the *Peculiar Honour* of his 'Reign; being ſuch, as none of the moſt Popular of all his late Royal

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'Predeceſſors cou'd have promis'd to themſelves, or hop'd for. Where-
'fore his Majeſty thinks himſelf more than ordinary oblig'd to continue,
'as he has hitherto begun, to ſhew the greateſt Moderation and Benigni-
'ty, in the Exerciſe of ſo great a Truſt: Reſolving upon this Occaſion,
'to convince the higheſt Pretenders to the Common-weal, That as the
'Crown was the firſt *Original*, ſo it is ſtill the ſureſt *Guardian* of all the
'People's Lawful Rights and Priviledges.

An intended Turn.

Notwithſtanding theſe, and ſome particular Expreſſions in it in favour of his Royal Brother, we are told by ſome, That the King had at this Time laid a Project for an extraordinary Change in the Affairs of *England*, which wou'd have been effected if he had liv'd a few Weeks longer; namely that the Duke of *Monmouth* wou'd have been recall'd to Court, the Duke of *York* ſent beyond Sea, and a new Parliament immediately conven'd. This ſeems to have been founded upon ſome Paſſages in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Pocket-Book, which not long after was ſeiz'd with his Perſon: Tho' they further tell us, That the King about this Time had in a Paſſion dropt ſome Expreſſions that intimated his being abus'd and deceiv'd, and *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he wou'd find a Way to make himſelf eaſy for the reſt of his Life.* Of this we have no full Certainty; yet theſe and the like Intimations, or the Belief of them, have been the Occaſion of many ſtrange Conjectures that appear'd afterwards.

The King's ſudden Sickneſs.

3. In the Height of his Glory, on *Monday* Morning the 2d of *February*, the King was ſuddenly ſeiz'd with a violent Fit of an Apoplexy, which for a while made him look'd upon as a dead Man: But being immediately let Blood by a Phyſician that happen'd to be by, he was brought to his Senſes, and to a hopeful Way of Recovery; for which the ſaid Phyſician had a great Reward promis'd him, and his Pardon, as having acted without a Conſult and the Privy-Council. The very Noiſe of this was a dreadful Allarm to the whole Kingdom, and a Form of Prayer was immediately iſſu'd out to be us'd in all Churches to obtain his Majeſty's Recovery; and ſure never any Prayer was ſent up to Heaven with more Fervour and Earneſtneſs. But God did not think fit to anſwer ſo deſirable a Petition: So the King continu'd four Days in a weak and languiſhing Condition, but for the moſt part ſenſible of his approaching Fate.

Biſhop Ken's Attendance,

During this Time, the pious Biſhop *Ken*, lately preferr'd and moſt eſteem'd by the King, gave as cloſe Attendance as he was permitted by the Royal Bed, and without any Intermiſſion for three whole Days and Nights; watching at proper Intervals, to ſuggeſt ſeaſonable and pious Thoughts and Ejaculations, on ſo ſolemn an Occaſion: In which Time the favourite Miſtreſs, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, coming into the Room, the Biſhop prevail'd with his Majeſty to have her remov'd; and likewiſe took that Occaſion of Repreſenting the great Injury and Injuſtice done to his Queen by Her and Others; which he did ſo effectually, that his Majeſty was induc'd to ſend for the Queen, and asking Pardon of her, he had the Satisfaction of her particular Forgiveneſs at this Time. The Biſhop having urg'd home the Neceſſity of a full, and prevail'd, as he hop'd, for a ſincere Repentance, ſeveral Times propos'd the Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacrament: But tho' it was not abſolutely rejected, it was yet delay'd from Time to Time, till by ſome new Authority the Biſhop and others were remov'd from his Preſence.

And Father Hudleſton's.

So immediately the Duke of *York* brought in Father *Hudleſton*, a Benedictine, who had ſo ſignally aſſiſted in ſaving the King's Life after the Battle of *Worceſter*. He appear'd on *Thurſday* the 5th of *February* about Eight

Eight in the Evening, and his Majeſty readily accepted of his Service, which he perform'd in the Preſence of the Duke himſelf, the Earl of *Bath*, firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and the Earl of *Feverſham*, Captain of the Guards. The Father went through ſome of the *Romiſh* Offices, and adminiſter'd to the King three of their Sacraments, as firſt that of *Penance*, next *Extreme Unction*, and laſtly that of the *Euchariſt*; of all which he has given us a particular and full Account. And ſo now being fully enter'd into the Boſom of the Church of *Rome*, and declaring himſelf a true Catholick, his Majeſty's Weakneſs increaſing, he expired the next Day about Noon, being *Friday* the 6th of *February*, to the unexpreſſible Sorrow and Affliction of all his Subjects. His Age was now fifty four Years, eight Months and ſix Days. His Reign, if reckon'd from the Death of his Father, was thirty ſix Years and ſeven Days; but if reckon'd from the Day of his Reſtoration, it was but twenty four Years, eight Months, and ſix Days.

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The King's Death.

As to the Character of this Prince, we have already twice drawn his Picture, in two different Poſtures and Ages; the Firſt at the Reſtoration, chiefly from Dr. *Charlton*, and the Second in the Middle of his Reign from Sir *William Temple*, which the Reader is deſir'd to remember. And now a third Time we ſhall expoſe it to him in full Length, as it is drawn by the ingenious Pen of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, a Perſon of ſufficient Skill and Acquaintance, tho' perhaps not ſo perfectly let into the Secret of his Religion, of which however he gives a handſome Account. It was writ ſome Time after the great Revolution, and begins with this Preface: 'I have pitch'd on this Character of King *Charles* the 'Second, not for his being a *King*, nor my having had the Honour to ſerve 'him; the Firſt of theſe would be too *Vulgar* a Conſideration, and the 'Other too *Particular:* But I think it a Theme of great *Variety*; and 'whatever is wanting in the Writer, may, I hope, be recompenced in 'the Agreeableneſs of the Subject, which is ſometimes enough to re-'commend a Picture, tho' ill drawn; and to make a Face one likes, oft-'ner look'd on, than the beſt Piece of *Raphael*.' As to the King's Religion, his Lordſhip thinks it to be more *Deiſm* than *Popery*; which he ſays, 'He ow'd more to the *Livelineſs* of his Parts, and *Careleſneſs* of 'his Temper, than either to Reading, or much Conſideration; for his 'Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, at firſt View, could diſcern through the ſe-'veral Cheats of pious Pretences; and his natural *Lazineſs* confirm'd him 'in an equal *Miſtruſt* of them all, for fear he ſhould be troubled with Ex-'amining which was beſt.' But then his Lordſhip obſerves, 'If in his 'early *Travels*, and late *Deſigns*, he ſeem'd a little biaſs'd to one Sort of 'Religion; the Firſt is only to be imputed to a certain *Eaſineſs* of Tem-'per, and a Complaiſance for that Company he then was forc'd to keep; 'and the Laſt was no more than his being Tired, which he ſoon was 'in any Difficulty, with thoſe bold Oppoſitions in Parliament, which 'made him almoſt throw himſelf into the Arms of a *Roman-Catholick* 'Party, ſo remarkable of late for their Loyalty; who embrac'd him glad-'ly, and lull'd him aſleep with thoſe Enchanting Songs of *Sovereignty* 'and *Prerogative*, which the beſt and wiſeſt Princes are often unable to 'reſiſt. And tho' he engag'd himſelf on that Side more fully, at a Sea-'ſon when 'tis in vain, and too late to diſſemble, we ought leſs to won-'der at it, than to conſider that our very Judgments are apt to grow in 'Time as partial as our Affections: And thus, by Accident only, he be-'came of their Opinion in his *Weakneſſes*, who had ſo much endea-'vour'd always to contribute to his Power.

A third Character of him by the Earl of Mulgrave.

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Then his Lordship proceeds in these Words: 'He lov'd *Ease* and 'Quiet; to which his Unnecessary Wars are so far from being a Contradiction, that they are rather a Proof of it; since they were made 'only to comply with those Persons, whose Dissatisfaction would have 'prov'd more uneasy to one of his Humour, than all that distant Noise 'of Cannon, which he would often listen to with a great deal of Tranquillity. Besides, the great and almost only Pleasure of Mind he seem'd 'addicted to, was *Shipping* and *Sea-Affairs*; which seem'd to be so 'much his Talent for *Knowledge*, as well as *Inclination*, that a War of that 'Kind, was rather an *Entertainment*, than any Disturbance to his '*Thoughts*. If he did not go himself at the Head of so Magnificent a 'Fleet, 'tis only to be imputed to that *Eagerness* of Military Glory in 'his Brother; which under a Shew of a decent Care for Preserving the '*Royal Person* from Danger, engross'd all that Sort of Honour to Himself, with as much Jealousy of any other's Interposing in it, as a King of 'another Temper, would have had of *His*. 'Tis certain, no Prince was 'ever more fitted by Nature for his Country's Interest, than his was in 'all his *Maritime Inclinations*; which might have prov'd of sufficient 'Advantage to the Nation, if he had been as careful of Depressing all such 'Improvements in *France*, as of Advancing and Encouraging our Own: 'But it seems he wanted *Jealousy* in all his Inclinations, which leads us 'to consider him in his *Pleasures*: Where he was rather *Abandon'd*, than '*Luxurious*; and like our Female Libertines, apter to be persuaded into 'Debauches for the Satisfaction of *Others*, than to seek, with Choice, 'where most to please Himself. I am of Opinion also, that in his Latter 'Time, there was as much of *Laziness*, as of *Love*, in all those Hours 'he pass'd among his Mistresses; who, after all, only serv'd to fill up his '*Seraglio*, while a bewitching kind of Pleasure, call'd *Santring*, and *Talking without Constraint*, was the true *Sultana* Queen he delighted in.

'He was surely inclin'd to *Justice*; for nothing else cou'd have retain'd 'him so fast in the Succession of a Brother, against a Son he was so *fond* 'of, and the Humour of a Party which he so much *fear'd*. I am willing also to impute to his *Justice*, whatever seems in some Measure to 'contradict the general Opinion of his *Clemency*; as his Suffering always 'the Rigour of the Law to proceed, not only against all *High-Way-Men*, 'but also several Others, in whose Cases the Lawyers, according to their 'wonted Custom, had sometimes us'd a great deal of *Hardship* and *Severity*. His *Understanding* was quick and lively in *Little* Things, and 'sometimes wou'd soar high enough in *Great Ones*, but unable to keep it 'up with any any Long Attention or Application. *Witty* in all sorts of 'Conversation; and telling a Story so well, that, not out of Flattery, 'but the Pleasure of hearing it, we seem'd ignorant of what he had repeated 'to us Ten Times before, as a good Comedy will bear the being often 'seen. Of a wonderful *Mixture*; losing all his Time, and setting his 'whole Heart on the Fair Sex, yet neither angry with Rivals, nor the 'least nice as to their being Belov'd; and while he Sacrific'd all things 'to his Mistresses, he wou'd use to Grudge and be uneasy at their losing 'a little of it again at Play, tho' never so necessary for their Diversion: 'Nor wou'd he venture five Pounds at *Tennis* to those Servants, who 'might obtain as many Thousands, either before he came thither, or as 'soon as he left off. Full of *Dissimulation*, and very dextrous at it, yet 'no Man easier to be impos'd on; for his great Dexterity was in Cousening himself, by gaining a Little one Way, while he lost Ten Times as 'much another; and by caressing those Persons most, who had deluded 'him the oftenest; and yet the quickest in the World at spying such a Ridicule

'dicule in another. *Eaſy* and Good-natur'd to all People in Trifles; but 168 4/5
'in great Affairs, ſevere and *inflexible:* In one Week's abſence, quite Car. 37
'forgetting thoſe Servants, to whoſe Faces he cou'd hardly deny any Rel. 2§
'Thing. In the midſt of all his *Remiſſneſs*, ſo induſtrious and indefati-
'gable on ſome Particular Occaſions, that no Man wou'd either toil
'Longer, or be able to manage it Better.

'He was ſo *Liberal*, as to ruin his Affairs by it; for Want in a King
'of *England*, turns things juſt upſide down, and expoſes a Prince to his
'Peoples *Mercy:* It did yet worſe in him, for it forc'd him alſo to de-
'pend on his great Neighbour of *France*; who play'd the Broker with
'him ſufficiently in all thoſe Times of Extremity. Yet this *Profuſeneſs*
'of his, did not ſo much proceed from his Over-valuing thoſe he favour'd,
'as from his Under-valuing any Sums of Money which he did not ſee;
'tho' he found his Error in this, but I confeſs a little of the lateſt. He
'had ſo natural Averſion to all *Formality*, that with as much Wit as moſt
'Men ever had, and as Majeſtick a Mein, yet he cou'd not on Premedi-
'tation act the Part of a King for a Moment, either at Parliament, or at
'Council, either in *Words* or *Geſture*; which carry'd him into the other
'Extream, more inconvenient of the two for a Prince, of letting all *Di-*
'ſtinction and *Ceremony* fall to the Ground as Uſeleſs and Foppiſh. His
'Temper, both of Body and Mind, was admirable, which made him an
'Eaſy Generous *Lover*, a Civil Obliging *Husband*, a Friendly *Brother*, an
'Indulgent *Father*, and a Good-Natur'd *Maſter*. If he had been as
'ſolicitous about Improving the Faculties of his Mind, as he was in the
'Management of his Bodily Health; tho', alas! This prov'd unable to make
'his Life *Long*, That had not fail'd to make it *Famous*. He was an illu-
'ſtrious Exception to all the common Rules of *Phyſiognomy*; for with a
'moſt *Saturnine* harſh ſort of Countenance, he was both of a *Merry* and
'*Merciful* Diſpoſition; and in the laſt Thirty years of his Life, as *For-*
'tunate, as thoſe of his Father had been *Diſmal* and *Tumultuous*.

'If his Death had ſome *Appearance* of being Untimely, it may be part-
'ly imputed to his extream Healthy Conſtitution, which made the World
'as much ſurpriz'd at his Dying before Threeſcore, as if nothing but an
'ill Accident cou'd kill him. I wou'd not ſay any Thing on ſo ſad a Sub-
'ject, if I did not think that *Silence* it ſelf wou'd in ſuch a Caſe ſignify
'too much; and therefore, as an Impartial Writer, I am oblig'd to ob-
'ſerve, That the moſt knowing, and the moſt deſerving of his Phyſici-
'ans [Dr. *Short*] did not only believe him Poyſon'd, but thought himſelf
'ſo too, not long after, for having declared his Opinion a little too *Bold-*
'ly. But here I muſt needs take notice of an unuſual piece of Juſtice,
'which yet all the World has almoſt unanimouſly agreed in; I mean, in
'not ſuſpecting the Succeſſor of the leaſt Connivance at ſo horrid a Vil-
'lany; and perhaps there is hardly a more remarkable Inſtance of that
'invincible Power of *Truth* and *Innocence:* For it's next to a Miracle,
'that ſo *Unfortunate* a Prince, in the midſt of all thoſe Diſadvantages he
'lies under, ſhou'd be yet clear'd of this, even by his greateſt Enemies;
'notwithſtanding all thoſe Circumſtances that us'd to give a Suſpicion,
'and that *Extream Malice* which has of late attended him in all his Other
'Actions.

The Concluſion of the whole.

Thus far the noble Author; of whoſe Suggeſtion concerning the King's Death, ſomething may probably be expected in this Hiſtory, ſince the Matter has been believ'd by ſo many. But after the beſt and ſtricteſt Enquiries, we never cou'd enter far enough into thoſe dark Receſſes, as to make any juſt and clear Diſcovery: We have indeed found ſome unlucky and ſuſpicious Circumſtances, which may naturally give Riſe to ſuch a Belief;

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Belief; concerning which the Reader is referr'd to Dr. *Welwood*, who ſeems to have labour'd the Point, and ingeniouſly laid down the Arguments on both Sides. He juſtly obſerves, That few Princes come to die a ſudden Death, but the World is apt to attribute it to Foul Play, eſpecially if it be attended with unuſual Circumſtances in the Time and Manner of it; in Expatiating upon which, he is forc'd to leave the Matter at laſt in manifeſt Doubt and Uncertainty; ſo that it may ſtill remain a Problem to Poſterity, whether he dy'd a natural Death, or was haſtned to his Grave by Treachery. However it was, we ſhall conclude his Reign and Character according to the Doctor's Opinion; That this Prince was ſo dextrous in the general Arts of *Inſinuation*, and had acquired ſo great an Aſcendent over the Affections of the People, in ſpite of all the unhappy Meaſures he had taken, that it may in ſome Senſe be ſaid, He dy'd opportunely for the *Engliſh* Nation; ſince if he had liv'd, it's probable in Compliance to his appearing Goodneſs, they might have complimented themſelves out of their main and principal Liberties, if he had had but an Inclination to be Maſter of them; which 'tis but Charity to believe he had not, at leaſt immediately before his Death. Sure it is, that, ſince the Murder of his Father, there never was a deeper Sorrow, nor more Tears ſhed in *England*, than appear'd upon the firſt News of the Death of this Beloved Monarch; which was look'd upon as the greateſt Misfortune and Calamity that cou'd befall the Nation.

The End of the Second Book.

M. V.r Gucht Sculp.

THE
History of England.

BOOK III.

Conſiſting of the Actual Reign of King James *the Second: From his Acceſſion to the Throne, to the compleat Eſtabliſhment of King* William *and Queen* Mary.

Containing the Space of Four Years, and Seven Days.

CHAP. I.

From King James's *Acceſſion to the Throne, to the Defeat and Death of his chief Competitor, the Duke of* Monmouth.

Containing the Space of 5 Months, and 9 Days.

Welwood. Gazettes. Puffendorf. Complete Hiſtory. Boyer. Jones. Huddleſton. MSS.

I. 1. IN the midſt of the greateſt Calm that had been known in *England* ſince the Reſtoration, began the wonderful Reign of King *James* the Second, who from the Moment of his Brother's Death found himſelf in actual and peaceable Poſſeſſion of all his Rights, Powers and Dominions. As he enter'd without the leaſt Oppoſition, ſo without any Murmurs or Complaints; all Heats and Animoſities againſt him were forgotten and bury'd; and He, who but a few Years ſince was not only to be Excluded from the Crown, but proſcrib'd and baniſh'd from his

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King JAMES's *Acceſſion, and Character.*

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his Native Land, immediately found himself a Monarch of as much Authority and Revenue as any that had before ascended the Throne. All the adverse Party were broken and dispers'd, and the other most ready to embrace him; so that the Morning of his Reign discover'd no Prognosticks of the Storms and Tempests that follow'd, but seem'd every Way to promise a Serene and happy Season. This Prince was past the Meridian of his Age, being now above fifty one Years old; in the former Part of which, as he had too early Occasions to look into the Genius of Foreign Courts, so his riper Years afforded him sufficient Opportunities of Understanding that of the People he was to govern, and particularly taught him how hard it was to overturn the Establish'd Religion, or to introduce a new One, since he had wrestled through a great many Difficulties upon the Account of his Own. Indeed he had so many Years Experience before he mounted the Throne, that few of his Predecessors cou'd boast of the like Advantages. What he wanted of his Brother's Parts and Capacity, was amply made up by Application and Industry; and of late Years he had forsaken those Pleasures, in which in former Times his Brother cou'd not exceed him, and shew'd a more grave, austere and haughty Demeanour. He was of a Martial Temper, and had given many Proofs of his Courage and Abilities that Way, both by Sea and Land; and perfectly understood the Affairs of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of the three Kingdoms. He was Temperate and Frugal, a very prudent Manager of his Treasure, a kind Husband, and an indulgent Father; and, till after he came to the Crown, esteem'd an inviolable Observer of his Word: From which if he had never deviated, his Reign might have been as happy as any of his Predecessors; or if he cou'd have held to his Brother's Opinion upon his Death-Bed, who delivering to him the Key of his Strong-Box, particularly advis'd him *Not to think of Introducing the* Romish *Religion into* England, *it being a Thing both Dangerous and Impracticable.*

To proceed in Order of Time: Immediately after the Death of King *Charles* the Second, such of the Lords of the Privy Council, together with such other of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal as were in Town, overwhelm'd with Grief, assembled together, to the Number of above Forty; and without Hesitation sign'd an Instrument for Proclaiming the Duke of *York* and *Albany* King, by the Name of *James* the Second. In which they had these Words; 'We, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, 'assisted with those of his late Majesty's Privy Council, with Numbers 'of other Principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Alder- 'men and Citizens of *London*, do now hereby with one full Voice and 'Consent of Tongue and Heart, Publish and Proclaim, That the high and 'mighty Prince *James* the Second, is now by the Death of our late Sove- 'raign of happy Memory, become our Lawful, Lineal, and Rightful 'Liege Lord, &c. To whom we do acknowledge all Faith and constant 'Obedience, with all hearty and humble Affection; Beseeching God, 'by *whom Kings do Reign*, to bless the Royal King *James* the Second 'with long and happy Years to reign over us.' And such Celerity was us'd in getting all Things ready that were proper for the Ceremony, that on the Afternoon of the same Day the King dy'd, the Proclamation was read and solemniz'd in all the most usual Places in the City. All People now began to wipe their Eyes, and to dry up those Tears they had so plentifully shed, and all Heats and Prejudices against the late Duke of *York* seem'd to have been lost and swallow'd up amidst the loud Acclamations of the People.

He is proclaim'd KING.

But

But what gave infinite Eaſe to the afflicted Mind of the Nation, was a moſt acceptable Speech ſpoken by the new King to his Privy Council now ſworn a ſecond Time, and publiſhed the ſame Day in theſe Words: *My Lords, Before I enter upon any other Buſineſs, I think fit to ſay ſomething to you. Since it hath pleaſed Almighty God to place Me in this Station, and I am now to ſucceed ſo* good *and* gracious *a King, as well as ſo* kind *a Brother, I think it fit to declare to you, that I will endeavour to follow his Example, and moſt eſpecially in that of his great* Clemency *and* Tenderneſs *to his People. I have been reported to be a Man for* Arbitrary Power, *but that is not the only Story that has been made of Me; and I ſhall make it my Endeavour to preſerve this Government both in* Church *and* State, *as it is now by* Law Eſtabliſh'd. *I know the Principles of the Church of* England *are for* Monarchy, *and the Members of it have ſhewed themſelves good and loyal Subjects; therefore I ſhall always take care to* defend *and* ſupport *It. I know too, that the* Laws *of* England *are ſufficient to make the King as Great a Monarch as I can wiſh; and as I ſhall never depart from the juſt* Rights *and* Prerogative *of the Crown, ſo I ſhall never invade any Man's* Property. *I have often heretofore ventured my Life in Defence of the Nation, and I ſhall ſtill go as far as any Man in preſerving it in all its juſt* Rights *and* Liberties. Upon delivering this Speech, the Lords became humble Suitors to his Majeſty, that theſe his gracious Expreſſions might be made publick, which was immediately done, to the mighty Satisfaction of the People, who ſoon began to have all the imaginable Hopes of Happineſs; and even thoſe who had before appeared againſt him with the greateſt Warmth, were willing now to own themſelves miſtaken, and were ready to expreſs their Repentance for what was paſt. And what ſtill farther ſupported theſe Hopes, was a general Belief of the King's ſtrict Obſervance of his Word and Faith, which was ſo induſtriouſly propagated, that he in a little time came to be call'd JAMES THE JUST.

1685. Jac. I Ref. 25

His Speech and Declaration to the Council.

Which gave great Satisfaction.

And as his preſent Majeſty ſo peaceably enter'd upon the Throne of *England*, ſo with the ſame Eaſe and Satisfaction, he was ſoon after proclaim'd at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, by the Name of *James* the Seventh, where the Ceremony was perform'd with as much Joy and Solemnity as cou'd well be imagin'd. And ſhortly after that, he was with equal Pomp and Splendor proclaim'd at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, by the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of *Ormond*, who in a little Time came over into *England* loaden with innumerable Addreſſes from that Kingdom.

Proclaim'd in Scotland *and* Ireland.

2. The firſt Days of this new King's Reign, were ſpent in writing Letters, and ſending Diſpatches to other Princes, in receiving the Complements both of Condolence and Congratulation of thoſe foreign Embaſſadors and Miniſters who happened to be then in *London*; in the interring the late King his Brother, and in ſettling the Officers of the Houſhold, and beſtowing Civil and Military Employments. But becauſe the late King's Death had in courſe vacated all the chief Places of Truſt, the firſt publick Act that appear'd, beſides his Speech to the Privy Council, was a Proclamation, which declared, 'That all Perſons, who at the Deceaſe of the late King, 'were lawfully poſſeſs'd of any Office, whether Civil or Military, within the 'Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, or any other of his Dominions thereto 'belonging, particularly all Preſidents, Lieutenants, Vice-Preſidents, Ju'ſtices of the Peace, Sheriffs, *&c.* ſhould be continu'd in the ſaid Places 'and Offices, as formerly they held and enjoy'd the ſame, until the King's 'Pleaſure ſhall be farther known.' And farther, for the Preſervation of the Peace, he declared, 'That all Perſons then in Offices, of whatſoever Degree 'or Condition, ſhall not fail, every one according to his Place, Office, or 'Charge, to proceed in the Performance and Execution of all Duties there-

A Proclamation for retaining of Places.

1684. Jac. I Ref. 26

'to belonging, as formerly appertained to them while the late King was living; 'and that all the King's Subjects ſhould be aiding and aſſiſting to the Com- 'mand of the ſaid Officers and Miniſters in the Performance of their reſpective 'Offices and Places, upon pain of the King's Diſpleaſure. Laſtly, That all 'Orders and Directions made or given by the Lords of the Privy Council of 'the late King in his Life-time, ſhould be obey'd and perform'd by all and 'every Perſon, as it ſhould or had been obey'd in the Life of the late King.

The Funeral of the late King.

The Interment of the late King, which follow'd ſoon after, was look'd upon as too private and parſimonious, for the Honour of his preſent Majeſty, of which the following Account was given by Authority. On the 14th of *February* at Night, was ſolemniz'd the Funeral of his late Majeſty King *Charles* the Second, from the *Painted Chamber* in the Palace at *Weſtminſter*, to the *Abby-Church* there. The Body was carry'd under a Velvet Canopy, born by the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, ſix Earls ſupporting the Pall. The Proceeding began with Servants to the Nobility, their Royal Highneſſes, their preſent Majeſties, the Queen Dowager, and the late King's Servants, *&c.* After whom follow'd Barons, Biſhops, and others of the Nobility, according to their reſpective Degrees, together with the great Officers, and the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Denmark*, was Chief Mourner, his Train was born by the Lord *Cornbury*: The Supporters to the Chief Mourner, were the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Beaufort*, wearing the Collars of their Order, as the other Knights of the *Garter* then preſent did, and the Aſſiſtants to the Chief Mourner, were ſixteen Earls. One of the Kings of Arms carry'd the Crown and Cuſhion, the reſt of the Officers of Arms attending and directing the Ceremony, which was clos'd with his Majeſty's Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, and the Yeomen of the Guard. At the entrance into the Church, the Dean and Prebendaries of *Weſtminſter*, attended with the Choir, met the Body, and proceeded to King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, where it was interr'd in a Vault under the Eaſt-end of the South-Iſle. Service being ended, and the Officers of his Majeſty's Houſhold having broken their Staffs, the Royal Style was proclaimed by another of the Kings of Arms, according to Cuſtom. Afterwards was erected in the Place, a beautiful Effigies of Wax exactly reſembling his Perſon, and plac'd among thoſe of many of his Predeceſſors.

In ſettling the Officers of the Houſhold, and beſtowing publick Employments, the King took the firſt Notice of His Royal Highneſs Prince *George*, who three Days after the late King's Deceaſe, was ſolemnly call'd into the Council-Chamber, and accordingly took his Place at the Board. Within a few Days after, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to make his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward, the Earl of *Arlington* Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Viſcount *Newport*, Treaſurer; the Lord *Maynard* Comptroller, and *Henry Savil*, Eſq; Vice-Chamberlain of his Houſhold, in which Offices they had all ſerv'd the late King. And ſoon after that his Majeſty appointed *Henry Bulkley*, Eſq; to be Maſter of his Houſhold, Sir *Stephen Fox* eldeſt Clerk of the Greencloth, Sir *William Boreman* ſecond Clerk of the ſame, Sir *Winſton Churchill* eldeſt Clerk-Comptroller, and Sir *Richard Maſon* youngeſt Clerk-Comptroller, in which Places they had likewiſe ſerv'd his late Majeſty. Moreover, *Lawrence*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord Preſident of the Council, and Brother-in-law to the King, was now conſtituted Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, and accordingly receiv'd the *White-Staff* on the 16th of *February*, an Office that had not been held by any ſingle Perſon ſince the Earl of *Danby*'s Impeachment in the Year 1679. The other Brother-in-law, the Earl of *Clarendon*, was made Lord Privy-Seal, the Marquis of *Hallifax* Lord Preſident of the Privy-Council, the Duke of *Beaufort* Lord Preſident of *Wales*, and the Lord *Godolphin* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen. His Majeſty was likewiſe pleas'd to confer the Ho-

Honour and Preferments.

nour

nour of Knighthood upon ſeveral Perſons that had been ſerviceable to the Crown; particularly upon *Thomas Vernon* of *London*, Eſq; as a Mark of his Royal Favour, for his ſtedfaſt Loyalty. Next upon *William Hamon*, Eſq; Mayor of *Briſtol*, then on *Marmaduke Dayrel*, Eſq; Son of Sir *Thomas Dayrel*, late of *Camps-Caſtle* in the County of *Cambridge*; and laſtly, upon *Roger L'Eſtrange*, Eſq; with this additional Declaration in Publick: 'In conſideration of his eminent and unſhaken Loyalty to the 'Crown in all Extremities, and as a Mark of ſingular Satisfaction his Ma-'jeſty has in his preſent, as well as paſt Services, with repeated Declara-'tions of his Royal Grace and Bounty towards him. 1684. Jac. 1 Reſ. 25

3. But to return once more to the Beginning of this Reign; the firſt *Sunday*, which was but two Days after the late King's Death, his preſent Majeſty went publickly to *Maſs* in St. *James*'s Chapel, and openly declar'd and profeſs'd himſelf a *Papiſt*; tho' in the former Reign, ſome Perſons had ſeverely ſuffered for barely ſaying he was of that Perſuaſion. This was a ſurprizing Stroke, eſpecially to ſeveral who did not believe it, and caus'd variety of Diſcourſes about it; ſome commended him for his 'Honeſty and 'Fair-dealing, in not diſſembling his Religion;' and others ſaid, 'It was 'impolitickly done, and that if he intended to countenance *Popery*, and 'overturn the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, it wou'd certainly terminate in his own 'Ruine.' This, and the manifeſt Zeal of the King, was ſoon obſerv'd by *Don Pedro Ronquillor*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who, as *Puffendorf* informs us, at his firſt Audience after the Death of King *Charles*, firſt ask'd leave to ſpeak his Mind freely upon that Occaſion, and then made bold to tell his Majeſty, 'That he ſaw ſeveral Prieſts about him, that he knew 'wou'd importune him to alter the Eſtabliſh'd Religion in *England*, but he 'wiſh'd his Majeſty wou'd not give Ear to their Advice; for if he did, he 'was aſſur'd his Majeſty wou'd have Reaſon to repent of it when it was too 'late.' This Author tells us, that King *James* took ill the Freedom of this foreign Miniſter, and ask'd him in a Paſſion, *Whether in* Spain, *they adviſ'd with their Confeſſors? Yes, Sir*, anſwer'd the Ambaſſador, *we do, and that's the Reaſon our Affairs go ſo ill.* The ſame Hiſtorian does likewiſe inform us, that the Pope himſelf, *Innocent* the Eleventh, writ a Letter to the King upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, to this Effect, 'That he 'was highly pleas'd with his Majeſty's Zeal for the Catholick Religion, but 'he was afraid his Majeſty might puſh it too far, and inſtead of contributing 'to his own Greatneſs, and to the Advancement of the Catholick Church, 'he might come to do both it and himſelf, the greateſt Prejudice, by at-'tempting that which his Holineſs was well aſſured from long Experience, 'cou'd not ſucceed. *The King appears at Maſs.* *Cenſures upon it.*

The next Step the King made, after his publick Appearance at *Maſs*, moſt plainly ſhew'd whither he was going, and that he expected to be follow'd by all that intended to ſhare his Favours: For before his Brother cou'd be ſaid to be cold in his Grave, he caus'd it to be publiſh'd and atteſted by Father *Hudleſton*, 'That the late King dy'd in the Communion of the Church of 'Rome, and all the Particulars were inſerted of his giving him *Extreme* 'Unction, the *Euchariſt*, &c. This was publiſh'd together with a little Treatiſe call'd, *A ſhort and plain Way to the Faith and Church*; which Treatiſe Father *Hudleſton* tells us, had formerly made great Impreſſions upon the Mind of King *Charles* in the Year 1651, in his Retirement ſoon after the Battel of *Worceſter*, when he himſelf was ſo great an Inſtrument of his Eſcape; and that upon Peruſal of it, his then Majeſty declar'd, *That he had not ſeen any thing more plain and clear upon the Subject; and the Arguments drawn from* Succeſſion, *were ſo concluſive, he did not conceive how they cou'd be deny'd.* Beſides theſe, there were likewiſe publiſh'd with them *He declares the late King a Papiſt*, &c.

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two remarkable Papers, written, as it was declar'd, by the late King himſelf, and found in his ſtrong Box; both endeavouring to prove the Neceſſity of a *viſible Church* and *Guide*, which cou'd be no other than the Church of *Rome*. Concerning which Papers, beſides the Atteſtation of the preſent King, the Duke of *Ormond* afterwards declar'd, *That they both were certainly written by King* Charles's *own Hand*. However, the Deſign of the whole Publication was to ſhew, 'That tho' that King had outwardly pre-'tended otherwiſe in his Life, yet in his Heart he was truly a *Roman* Ca-'tholick.' So that now it became in ſome degree meritorious to ſay that King *Charles* was a *Papiſt*, whereas in his own Reign the hinting of it was attended with ſome of the higheſt Penalties and Puniſhments. And farther to confirm that he was really ſo, Mr. *William Chaffinch*, Keeper of the King's Cloſet, ſoon after his Death, was pleas'd to ſhew to ſome ſelect Friends a ſmall and moſt private Chapel in *Whitehall*, annex'd to the Cloſet, to which, as he declar'd, that King, in his latter Years, was wont to go regularly, tho' ſecretly, to *Maſs*.

Proclamation for levying the Cuſtoms, &c.

4. As the preſent King's Proceedings on Religion cou'd not eaſily be interpreted, *Maintaining the Church of* England, ſo his publiſhing a Proclamation for levying that Part of the Cuſtoms that had been granted to King *Charles* only for Life, was thought as hard an Argument to prove, *He wou'd never invade any Man's Property*. The Proclamation, which came out three Days after his Brother's Death, was however plauſible, and not diſputed: It declar'd, 'That his Majeſty had thought fit to call a Par-'liament ſpeedily to be aſſembled, in which he made no doubt but care 'wou'd be taken for ſettling a ſufficient Revenue upon the Crown, for the 'Support of the Government; the Neceſſities of which, in the mean time, 'required that the *Cuſtoms* and *Subſidies*, and other *Duties* upon Mer-'chandizes, ſhou'd be continu'd to be collected, as in the time of his deareſt 'Brother lately deceas'd.' Tho' neither this, nor the King's religious Steps were much ſuſpected at this time, all Men gladly relying upon his Royal Word; yet it was thought by ſome wiſe Perſons to be a ſtrong Inclination of breaking through the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties of the Subject: And it fell under the greater Suſpicion, when not long after it the famous Addreſs of the Barriſters and Students of the *Middle-Temple* came to be preſented to the King in great Solemnity; which Addreſs is ſo ſpecious and remarkable, that it ought to have a place in this Hiſtory, and is as follows:

The Middle-Temple *Addreſs upon it.*

'*Moſt dread Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, with 'all Humility congratulate the legal and peaceable Deſcent of this Imperial 'Crown upon your Majeſty, the only Remedy for our unſpeakable Sorrow, 'for the Death of our moſt Gracious Sovereign of ever glorious and bleſſed 'Memory.— Your Majeſty's unparallel'd *Juſtice*, *Courage* and *Conduct*, 'ſignaliz'd to the World before they became Ornaments to the Crown, 'give a perfect Aſſurance of Happineſs to theſe Nations under your Go-'vernment. We cannot therefore but with the deepeſt Senſe of Gratitude, 'acknowledge your Majeſty's great Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion in your 'late *Declaration*; and in particular, that your Majeſty has been graciouſly 'pleas'd, in Purſuance of the ſame, to extend your Royal Care of the 'Government to the *Preſervation of the Cuſtoms*, the Intermiſſion where-'of wou'd not only have diſabled your Majeſty to maintain the Navy in 'Defence of the Realm, but by taking away the Balance of Trade, have 'ruin'd Thouſands of your Majeſty's Subjects that paid Cuſtom, in the 'Life of our late Sovereign, and by an exceſſive Exportation and Importa-'tion Cuſtom-free, have render'd that Branch of the Revenue unprofitable 'for ſome Years to come, notwithſtanding all the Care and Loyalty of the

'ſucceeding

'ſucceeding Parliament. For which *Reaſons*, the ſame have been conti- 1684/5.
'nually receiv'd by your Royal Predeceſſors for ſome Hundreds of Years, Jac. I
'and never queſtion'd by any Parliament, unleſs in that wherein were ſown
'the Seeds of Rebellion againſt the glorious Martyr, your Royal Father Reſ. 26
'of ever bleſſed Memory. 'Tis a receiv'd Maxim of the Common Law,
'*Theſaurus Regis eſt Vinculum Pacis & Bellorum Nervi:* Such is the
'happy Conſtitution of this Monarchy, that your Majeſty's high *Prero-*
'*gative* is the greateſt Security of the *Liberty* and *Property* of the Sub-
'ject; ſo that whoever wou'd impair the *Revenue* of the Crown, muſt by
'this Fundamental Law, as binding as *Magna Charta*, be eſteemed an Ene-
'my to the Peace and Welfare of this Kingdom. We therefore think it
'our indiſpenſable Duty to endeavour the Choice of ſuch Repreſentatives
'for the reſpective Counties and Boroughs to which we belong, as may
'not only concur in ſettling a Revenue to ſupport the Government as for-
'merly, but alſo ſhew a grateful Senſe of the great Things you have done
, and ſuffer'd for us already; an entire Confidence in your Majeſty's Good-
'neſs towards us for the future, and a chearful Compliance with your
'Heroick Inclinations to advance the Honour and Intereſt of theſe Nati-
'ons. May there never want Millions as Loyal as We are to ſacrifice
'their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of your ſacred Perſon and *Prerога-*
'*tive in its full Extent*, and inceſſantly pray the King of Kings, to grant
'your Majeſty a long and happy Reign over us.' This Addreſs, ſaid to
be penn'd by *Bartholomew Shore* Eſq; was preſented by Sir *Humphry*
Mackworth, accompany'd by a noble Train of Lawyers, and introduc'd by
his Grace the Duke of *Beaufort*.

Many other Addreſſes.

All this while Addreſſes flow'd in like an Inundation from all Parts of the King's Dominions, from Counties, Corporations, Univerſities and Inns of Court; all appearing eager to expreſs their Loyalty and Congratulations of his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne. Many of them were fill'd with high Strains of Rhetorick and Complement, and moſt of them took notice of the King's excellent *Declaration* formerly recited, and ſhew'd the moſt ſincere Marks of Gratitude for his Promiſes therein, upon which they rely'd and acquieſc'd; their greateſt Happineſs depending upon the Aſſurance of his inviolable Faith and Veracity. Upon which account, the Addreſs from the County of *Suffolk* has theſe following Words; 'In duti-
'ful Return to this, we ſhall make your Majeſty's Grandeur and Honour
'our firſt Aim, and are every Day making Steps towards it, by our Care
'for ſending fit Repreſentatives to a Parliament that we hope will no more
'endure *Excluders*, than a late one did *Abhorrers*.' In theſe forward Times, the very *Quakers*, tho' a People profeſſing an Abhorrence for *Com-*
plementing, waited on the King with an Addreſs, which was ſo artfully word-
ed, that it is ſaid to have confirm'd the Opinion that the *Jeſuits* were the
Ringleaders of that Sect, and which was to this Purpoſe: 'We are come
'to teſtify our Sorrow for the Death of our good Friend *Charles*, and our
'Joy for thy being made our Governor. We are told thou art not of the
'Perſuaſion of the Church of *England*, no more than We; therefore we
'hope that thou wilt grant us the ſame Liberty which thou alloweſt thy
'ſelf: Which doing we wiſh you all manner of Happineſs.

Jones. MSS. Complete Hiſtory. Leſtrange. Boyer. Tryals. Oates. Collier. Calamy.

II. 1. And now Preparations were making for two grand Affairs, a 1685.
Coronation and a Parliament, the one by the King, the other by the Peo- Jac. I
ple. In order to the former, the King iſſu'd out a Proclamation, declaring, Reſ. 26
'That he reſolv'd, by the Favour and Bleſſing of God, to celebrate his
'own and his Queen's Coronation upon the 23d of *April* next enſuing;
'and foraſmuch as by the ancient Cuſtom and Uſage of the Realm, as alſo
'in regard of divers Tenures of ſundry Manners, Lands, and other Here-
'ditaments,

1686. Jac. I Ref. 26.

'ditaments, many of his loving Subjects did Claim, and were bound to perform ſeveral Services on that Day, and at the Time of the Coronation, as in former Times, their Anceſtors, and they from them claim'd, had done, at the Coronation of his Predeceſſors: Therefore for the Preſervation of the Rights of his Loving Subjects, whom it might concern, he thought it fit to ſignify, that he had authoriz'd and appointed, under the Great Seal, *Francis*, Lord *Guilford*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; *Laurence*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High-Treaſurer; *George*, Marquis of *Hallifax*, Preſident of the Council; *Henry*, Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Privy Seal; *Henry*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal; *James*, Duke of *Ormond*; *Henry*, Duke of *Beaufort*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*; *Robert*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*; *Henry*, Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſehold; *Aubrey*, Earl of *Oxford*; *Theophilus*, Earl of *Huntington*; *Robert*, Earl of *Sunderland*; *Robert*, Earl of *Aliſbury*; *John*, Earl of *Radnor*; *George*, Lord *Dartmouth*; *Sidney*, Lord *Godolphin*; Sir *George Jeffreys*, Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*; and Sir *Thomas Jones*, Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; or any three or more of them, to receive hear and determine the Petitions and Claims which wou'd be exhibited to them, concerning the Services to be by them perform'd at the ſaid Coronation; ſtreightly charging and commanding all Perſons, of what Rank or Quality ſoever they were, to give their Attendance, according to the Summons to them directed.

Preparations towards

The CORONATION.

On the foremention'd 23d of *April*, St. *George*'s Day, began the Solemnity of the Coronation, which was celebrated with the uſual Ceremony and Splendor, and with great Joy and Triumph. Yet, with reſpect to the Preparations, and previous Ceremonies, the whole wanted much of the Grandeur and Magnificence of that of the late King in 1661. There were no *Knights of the Bath* created, as at that time, no *Triumphal Arches* erected by the City, nor none of that expenſive *Cavalcade* from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, which had been anciently perform'd the Day before the Coronation, and only diſus'd by the preſent King's Grand-father and Father, both in a peſtilential Seaſon. But his Majeſty being very frugal and cautious, and no great Admirer of outward Pomp and Popularity, thought it beſt to ſave a Charge of at leaſt Threeſcore Thouſand Pounds. Yet ſtill the preſent Solemnity had one particular Advantage, which added exceedingly to the Beauty of the Spectacle, and that was the Coronation of a beautiful Queen, which in courſe produc'd a glorious Shew of the moſt illuſtrious Ladies, both for Preſence and Quality in the Kingdom. This Coronation cou'd not paſs without a Medal, and therefore the following one was ſtruck, of the King's Effigies in Buſt, after the *Roman* manner, with a Laurel-wreath about his Head, and theſe Words round it, JACOBUS II. D. G. ANG. SCO. FR. ET HIB. REX. The Reverſe was alſo a Branch of Laurel upon a Cuſhion, with an arm'd Hand out of the Clouds holding a Crown; the Inſcription thus, A MILITARI AD REGIAM EXURG. And ſoon after, the following Medalion was ſtruck, tho' almoſt the ſame that was formerly remember'd in 1665, when Lord High-Admiral and Victor; the Difference being only in the Style, and the Effigies of his Majeſty in longer Hair, inſcrib'd JACOBUS II. DEI GRA. ANG. SCOT. FRANC. ET HIB. REX. The Reverſe as formerly, was a Trophy and Ships in Fight, with theſe Words, GENUS ANTIQUUM.

This Coronation afforded Occaſion for ſeveral uncommon and ominous Obſervations, which were ready to take with the Humours of the People, as particularly the King that Day cou'd hardly keep the Crown ſteady upon his Head, but was often obſerv'd to be in a tottering Condition, and that once the honourable *Henry Sidney*, afterwards Earl of *Romney*, kept it from falling off, pleaſantly telling his Majeſty, *This is not the firſt Time that our Family have ſupported the Crown.* It was farther obſerv'd, that the King's

King's-Arms finely painted in a Glaſs-Window in one of the Churches in *London*, on the ſame Day, ſuddenly fell down, while the reſt was ſtanding, and broke in pieces after an unheard of manner. Theſe and ſome other foreboding Circumſtances was for ſome time the great Subject of Diſcourſe among many ſorts of People. However, there's one thing ſaid about this and another Coronation that has been too often quoted and believ'd of late, and now not to be forgotten; and this was in a Speech ſpoken by the Lord Chief Baron *Atkins* to Sir *William Aſhurſt*, when he was ſworn Lord Mayor in 1693, giving ſeveral Inſtances of the arbitrary Deſigns of the late Kings of *England*, he brings this for one, 'The ſtriking out of that 'part of the ancient Oath in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, at his Corona-'tion by Archbiſhop *Laud*, *(That the King ſhould conſent to ſuch Laws 'as the People ſhou'd chuſe)* and inſtead of that another very unuſual One 'inſerted, *ſaving the King's Royal Prerogative.*' After which, he goes on and ſays, 'I cou'd tell you ſomething more of that kind done ſince, at the 'Time of the Coronation of the late King *James*, when there was much 'more ſtruck out of the Coronation-Oath, which might be well worth the 'Enquiring how it came about.' Now the former is nothing but an old Calumny reviv'd, which has been totally refuted and diſprov'd both by the ſaid King himſelf in his Declarations, and by many other Writers: But for the latter, we have not had an Opportunity to examine into the Bottom of it, but look upon it as a deſign'd Aſperſion upon Archbiſhop *Sancroft*: Only we may ſay thus much, that when a known Falſity is join'd with a great Improbability, the latter may as well be ſuppos'd to be a Miſtake, as the former is ſo without Doubt and Queſtion.

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A Reflection conſider'd.

2. In the mean time the Parliament in *Scotland* was more haſten'd than that in *England*, and began on the ſame Day of the Coronation. It was open'd with a Letter from his Majeſty, bearing Date the 28th of *March*, and ſetting forth, 'That the many Experiences he had of the Loyalty and 'exemplary Forwardneſs of that ancient Kingdom, by their Repreſentatives 'aſſembled in Parliament in the Reign of his Brother, made him deſirous 'to call them together in the Beginning of his Reign, to give them an Op-'portunity not only of ſhewing their Duty, but alſo to be exemplary to 'others in their Demonſtrations of their Affection to his Perſon, and Com-'pliance to his Deſires. But that which he had to propoſe to them at this 'Time, was this, which was both neceſſary as well for his Safety and Ser-'vice, and had a greater Tendency towards ſecuring their own Privileges 'and Properties, than the aggrandizing his Power, *which however he was 'reſolv'd to maintain in its greateſt Luſtre*, that he might be the better 'enabled to protect and defend their Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law, their 'Rights and Properties, againſt Phanatical Contrivances, Murtherers and 'Aſſaſſins, which had brought them into ſuch Difficulties which only the 'ſteady Reſolutions of his Brother, and thoſe employ'd by him, cou'd have 'ſav'd them from. That nothing had been left undone by thoſe inhuman 'Traytors to overturn their Peace; and therefore he hop'd they wou'd be 'wanting in nothing to ſecure themſelves and Him. Which Things being 'of ſuch Importance, he was reſolv'd in Perſon to have propos'd to them 'the needful Remedies; but that being now impoſſible, he had ſent among 'them the Duke of *Queensbery*, whom he had inſtructed in all Things re-'lating to his Service and their own Proſperity; not doubting of their 'Compliance and Aſſiſtance in thoſe Matters wherein the ſaid Duke was 'inſtructed.

The Scotch *Parliament with the King's Letter.*

Upon the Reading the Letter, of which we have given the Subſtance, the Lord High-Commiſſioner ſpoke to this Effect: 'In the firſt place, that 'the King's ſending ſo ſoon to them for their Advice, was an evident Token

The Lord Commiſſioners Speech.

'not

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'not only of the great Confidence he had in their Loyalty, and their good 'Example to his own Dominions, but alſo a Proof of his Intention to fol- 'low the Example of his Brother's great and peaceable Reign. Secondly, 'he gave them Aſſurance of his Princely Reſolutions to maintain and pro- 'tect the *Government of the Church as by Law Eſtabliſh'd*, and alſo that 'he wou'd take Care of the Perſons and Concerns of the Regular Clergy; 'and that he wou'd maintain their Rights and Properties, according to the 'Eſtabliſh'd Law of the Kingdom, and that they ſhou'd not be injur'd by 'any Arbitrary Oppreſſions of Soldiers or others; that he wou'd conde- 'ſcend as much in the Buſineſs of the *Exciſe* and *Militia*, as cou'd be juſtly 'expected: And on the other ſide his Majeſty expected from them to aſſert 'the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and to eſtabliſh the Revenues 'as amply upon him and his lawful Succeſſors, as it was enjoy'd by his 'Royal Brother. In the laſt place he deſir'd that effectual Means might be 'fallen upon, for deſtroying that deſperate Phanatical and irreclaimable 'Party, who had brought them to the Brink of Ruin and Diſgrace, and 'were no more Rebels againſt the King, than Enemies of Mankind; 'Wretches of ſuch monſtrous Principles and Practices as paſt Ages never 'heard, nor thoſe to come will hardly believe, *&c.*

The Lord Chancellor's Speech.

After this the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Perth*, to ſecond and ſup- port what the other had ſaid, enumerated the many Diſorders and Animo- ſities that had been among them before the King, when the Duke of *York*, was ſent into that Kingdom, and by what eaſie Means he had brought about the Unity, which they almoſt deſpaired of: Therefore he de- ſired them 'To promote his Majeſty's Intereſt, by deſtroying a Baſtardly 'Brood of villanous Men, whoſe maintain'd Principles authoriz'd the Per- 'petration of Things not to be nam'd among them who had ever heard of 'Government, much leſs of Religion.' Then farther to encourage them in their Duty, he added the Character of his preſent Majeſty in theſe Words; 'Let us conſider him in all his Perſonal Advantages, whether in what re- 'lates to War or Peace, where has the World afforded ſuch another? One 'whoſe natural Endowments have been improv'd by his great Experience, 'at Home and Abroad, in Armies and Courts, by the greateſt Trials of 'the moſt differing Kinds; thoſe of Proſperity and Succeſs, and of Ad- 'verſity and Oppoſition, of Hazards and Toil, and of Authority and Com- 'mand. Did ever Man ſhew ſo exact an *Honeſty*, in the ſtricteſt adhering 'to his *Word*; ſuch Temperance and Sobriety, ſo indefatigable a Diligence 'in Affairs, ſo undaunted a Courage upon all Occaſions, and ſo unweary'd 'a Clemency towards the moſt obſtinate malicious Offenders? Did ever 'Hero compleat the Character ſo fully, in overcoming bravely, and 'ſhewing Gentleneſs to the vanquiſh'd.' And I muſt ſay, the Tri- 'umphs of his Patience are not his obſcureſt Glories; nor is the Forgiving 'of thoſe whoſe virulent Tongues, wou'd have tainted his Fame, if their 'Malice cou'd have reach'd it, what is leaſt to be admired in him: What 'Reputation other Princes have labour'd for, at the vaſt Expence of Blood 'and Treaſure, and the putting of a conſtant Reſtraint upon themſelves, 'ſits ſo eaſy upon him, that what they wou'd have, he forces from the 'Conſciences of his very Enemies by his Merit, and it coſts him no more 'than to be HIMSELF.

The Parliament's Addreſs to the King.

Shortly after, the Parliament, in Anſwer to the King's Letter, addreſs'd themſelves after the following manner: 'That his Majeſty's gracious and 'kind Remembrance of the Services done by his ancient Kingdom to his Bro- 'ther, of ever glorious Memory, ſhou'd rather raiſe in them ardent Deſires 'to exceed whatſoever they had formerly done, than look upon them de- 'ſerving the Eſteem he was pleas'd to expreſs of them. That the Death 'of their excellent Monarch was lamented by them to all the Degrees of 'Grief,

'Grief, which were conſiſtent with their great Joy for the Succeſſion of 1685.
'his moſt Sacred Majeſty, who had not only continu'd, but ſecured the
'Happineſs which his Royal Brother's Wiſdom, Juſtice and Clemency had Jac. I.
'procured them; that being the firſt Parliament which met by his Autho- Ref. 26
'rity, he might be confident they wou'd offer ſuch Laws as might beſt ſe-
'cure his Perſon, the Royal Family and Government; and that they wou'd
'be ſo exemplary Loyal, as to raiſe his Honour and Greatneſs to the ut-
'moſt of their Power. And furthermore they promis'd, that they wou'd
'not leave any thing undone for extirpating all *Fanaticiſm*, but eſpecially
'thoſe Fanatical Murtherers and Aſſaſſins; and for Detecting and Puniſh-
'ing the late Conſpirators, whoſe pernicious and execrable Deſigns did ſo
'much tend to ſubvert his Majeſty's Government, and to ruin them and
'all his Majeſty's faithful Subjects.

Having thus addreſs'd themſelves to his Majeſty in Words, they proceed- *Their Acts.*
ed to the making of Acts agreeable thereto: And firſt they paſs'd an Act, wherein the King was declar'd, 'To aſſent with his Eſtates in Parliament 'conven'd, to ratify and confirm all Acts and Statutes formerly paſs'd, for 'the Security, Liberty and Freedom of the *True Church of God*, and the '*Proteſtant Religion at preſent profeſs'd within the Kingdom*, in their 'whole *Strength* and *Tenor*, as if they were particularly ſet down and ex-'preſs'd in the ſaid Act.' By a ſecond Act they 'annex'd and united the '*Exciſe* of Foreign and Inland Commodities to the Crown of *Scotland* for 'ever.' By a Third, they ordain'd, 'That all ſuch Perſons as being cited 'in Caſe of High-Treaſon, Field or Houſe Conventicles, or Church Irre-'gularities, ſhou'd refuſe to give Teſtimony, ſhou'd be liable to be puniſh'd 'as guilty of thoſe Crimes reſpectively, in which they refus'd to be Wit-'neſſes.' Thus all Things appear'd quiet and calm in *Scotland*, without any Forebodings of the ſudden Storm in that Kingdom, of which we ſhall ſhortly have Occaſion to take notice.

3. To return to *England*, before the much expected Meeting of the Parliament there, a remarkable Proſecution was compleated, which had a great Influence upon the People; namely, that againſt the fam'd *Titus Oates*, which begun, and was near being finiſh'd in the late Reign, as is already remember'd. This Man, who had been call'd a Doctor of Divinity, and accounted the *Saviour of the Nation*, was now look'd upon as a vile wretched Cheat, and as ſuch was Indicted at the *King*'s-*Bench* Bar on the 8th of *May*, with great Formality, Expectation and Concourſe. It was an Indictment of Perjury, 'For his former ſwearing, That there was a Trea-'ſonous Conſult of *Jeſuits* at the *White-Horſe* Tavern in the *Strand*, on 'the 24th of *April* 1678, Old Style; and that there were *Whitebread*, '*Fenwick*, *Ireland*, and ſeveral others preſent, together with the ſaid *Oates*: 'That the ſaid *Jeſuits* ſeparated themſelves into ſeveral leſſer Clubs, and 'came to a Reſolution to murder the King; and that He himſelf carry'd the 'ſaid Reſolution from Chamber to Chamber, and ſaw it Sign'd by the ſaid '*Jeſuits*: Whereas in reality, he was not at any Conſult at all, nor ſo 'much as in *England* at that Time; and conſequently cou'd carry no Re-'ſolution from Chamber to Chamber, nor ſee any ſuch Sign'd.' At the opening of the Indictment, a remarkable Speech was made by the Attorney-General, who in Concluſion declared, *He had been one of the greateſt Impoſtors that ever did appear upon the Stage, either in this Kingdom, or any other Nation.* To prove this Perjury, there were produc'd for the King, above twenty ſeveral Witneſſes, almoſt all *Papiſts*, but moſt of them Men of eminent Quality and Fortunes, and not one but of a clear Life and Converſation; who by a concurrent Teſtimony, prov'd that *Oates* came to St. *Omers* a little before *Chriſtmas*, 1677, and continu'd there till about *Mid-* *Oates try'd for Perjury.*

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ſummer, 1678, without ever lodging out of the College, ſaving one Night in the Month of *January*; and their Recollections were generally accompany'd with memorable Tokens and Circumſtances, ſome ſerious, and ſome ridiculous; as has been confirm'd, his being at an *Action*, his ſitting at a Table by himſelf; his quarrelſom Behaviour, his canting Tone, his ſpeaking falſe *Latine*, &c. More particularly they prov'd, That from the Beginning of *April*, to his Departure in *June*; that *Oates* read every *Sunday* and *Holy-Day* in the Place call'd the *Sodality*, and was never once miſs'd. His being in the College preciſely on the grand Day, the 24th of *April*, Old Style, was expreſſly prov'd by three Gentlemen, whereof one of them, Mr. *Morgan*, was a Miniſter of the Church of *England*.

His Defence. *Oates*, after theſe home Proofs, made his Defence with greater Acuteneſs and Preſence of Mind than was expected in this Exigency; but with ſuch an Aſſurance, grounded upon his former Succeſs, that nothing but the greateſt Innocence cou'd excuſe. Amongſt many Things, he alledg'd, 'That it 'was a great Hardſhip to be try'd for Perjury in an Evidence given ſix 'Years ago, and formerly unſucceſsfully endeavour'd to be falſify'd by ſix-'teen St. *Omer*'s Youths, produc'd and examin'd before all the Judges in the 'Kingdom, not only once at *Whitebread*'s Tryal, but a ſecond Time at '*Langhorn*'s Tryal, in neither of which wou'd the Jury believe them, be-'cauſe of their Religion and Education. But, added he, this is not the 'firſt Attempt that has been made to diſcredit the Teſtimony of the *Popiſh* '*Plot*.' Then he deſir'd the Jury to obſerve, 'That tho' the King's Council 'was now againſt Him, yet they were alſo againſt themſelves; for both 'Mr. Sollicitor and Mr. Attorney-General, were Council on his ſide in 'thoſe Tryals.' Then he exclaim'd, 'Can any thing more plainly tend to 'deſtroy and ſubvert the Methods of Juſtice, to frighten all Witneſſes from 'henceforth from ever appearing to diſcover any Conſpiracies? And does 'it not tend to expoſe and vilify the known Underſtanding and Juſtice of 'the late King of ever bleſſed Memory, to arraign the Wiſdom of his Privy-'Council, his great and noble Peers, his loyal Commons in four ſucceſſive 'Parliaments, his Twelve Judges, and all thoſe ſeveral Juries that were 'upon thoſe Tryals? Had not thoſe Juries Senſe? Had they not Honeſty? 'Had they no Conſciences? And the Judges before whom thoſe Conſpi-'rators were try'd, were they Men of no Juſtice, nor Honour, nor Inte-'grity nor Conſcience, nor Underſtanding? Shall thoſe Juries be ſaid to 'have drawn the innocent Blood of theſe Men upon their own Heads and 'the Nation?' Beſides theſe, he particularly appeal'd to the preſent Lord Chief Juſtice, who, when he was Council for the King, had appear'd on his ſide, and had eſpecially declar'd, *That the Verdict againſt the five Je-*

Anſwers. *ſuits, was a juſt Verdict.* But becauſe he ſo much rely'd upon the Verdicts obtain'd upon his Evidence, it was reply'd, That thoſe had been disbeliev'd ſeveral times too as well as believ'd: And two Records of the Acquittals of Sir *George Wakeman* and the Earl of *Caſtlemain* were produc'd; and they themſelves in Perſon ſworn upon the ſubject Matter of *Oates*'s Depoſitions, atteſting with the moſt ſolemn Imprecations, *That there was not a true Word in the whole Accuſation.*

His Witneſſes. After his Harangues, *Oates* produc'd three or four Witneſſes to prove himſelf in *England* at the Time of the ſuppos'd Conſult; but either they faulter'd as to the Month or the Year, or elſe they claſh'd among themſelves, and palpably diſagreed in the Teſtimony they gave for him. And it was likewiſe prov'd from his own *Narrative*, that he had ſworn himſelf back again, from *England* to St. *Omers*, ſeveral Days before the Time they ſwore they ſaw him at *London*: So manifeſtly did *Oates* and his Witneſſes contradict one another. It was further prov'd by the King's Council, 'That '*Oates* had formerly ſuborn'd one *Clay*, a Prieſt, to ſwear at the Tryal of

' of the Five *Jeſuits*, in Oppoſition to the Youths that came from St. *Omers*, 1685.
' That he was in *England*, at Mr. *Howard*'s Houſe at Dinner, at the latter
' End of *April*, or the Beginning of *May*, 1678; and threatned to hang Jac. 1.
' him for a Prieſt, *if he wou'd not ſwear as he wou'd have him:* And *Clay*,
' partly for Fear, and partly to recover the Money that Sir *William Waller* Ref. 25
' had taken from him, was at laſt prevail'd upon to ſwear, according to
' his Directions.' Being driven out of this Hold, *Oates* call'd for ſeveral Perſons of Quality to ſpeak to his former Succeſs and Credit, as the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Clare*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Biſhop of *London*, Sir *William Dolben*, Sir *George Treby*, the Lord Chief-Baron, Mr. Baron *Gregory*, Mr. *Williams*, and ſeveral others: But in this he was as unfortunate as before, eſpecially from the Teſtimony of the Earl of *Huntington*, who ſaid theſe remarkable Words; *I do believe Mr.* Oates's *Diſcovery found a good Reception in the Houſe of Lords; but it was grounded upon the Opinion, That what he ſaid was true, and that he was an honeſt Man:— But ſince that Time it being apparent there were ſo many and great Contradictions, Falſities, and Perjuries in his Evidence, upon which ſo much innocent Blood hath been ſhed, I believe a great many Perſons who were concern'd in the Tryals of thoſe unfortunate Men, are heartily afflicted and ſorry for their Share in it: And I do believe moſt of the Houſe of Peers have alter'd their Opinion, as to this Man's Credit, and look upon his Evidence as I do, to be very falſe.*

Upon this Diſappointment *Oates* flew to the Law Part, and appeal'd to *His Law.* the Court ' Whether a Papiſt, in Caſe of Religion, might be believ'd and ' receiv'd as a good Witneſs;' to which he was anſwer'd, *He might*, and was ask'd, *Whether he thought he came there to preach?* He farther inſiſted upon the Queſtion, and demanded it as a Right to be heard by Counſel, but was ſtill over-rul'd by the Chief-Juſtice; upon which he appeal'd to all the Hearers, *Whether he had Juſtice done him, or not*; for which he was ſharply reprimanded by his Lordſhip. The Storm being allay'd, he cited the Practice of the Lord *Coke*, who wou'd not allow of a *Popiſh* Recuſant for a Witneſs, not ſo much as between Party and Party; but was anſwer'd *That that Practice was againſt Law.* He further urg'd ' That ' the Witneſſes were brought up in a Seminary againſt Law, for which ' their Friends were to be puniſh'd;' to which the Chief-Juſtice reply'd, *So was a Diſſenter.* He next urg'd the Statute of the 27th of *Elizabeth*, againſt *Jeſuits*, *Seminary Prieſts*, and other ſuch like diſobedient Perſons; the Chief-Juſtice ask'd him, ' Whether the Witneſſes own'd themſelves to be Prieſts and Jeſuits?' Then *Oates* wou'd have offer'd the Statute of the 3d of King *Charles* the Firſt; but was told *That it was nothing to the Purpoſe:* Whereupon he pleaded the Caſe of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, when charg'd with High Treaſon and committed to the *Tower*; who upon his acquittal moving, ' That he might have liberty to bring an Indictment of Per-' jury againſt the Witneſſes that accus'd him, the Court over-rul'd the Mo-' tion, becauſe they wou'd not have the King's Evidence indicted of Per-' jury, nor the *Popiſh* Plot call'd in Queſtion:' But this was alſo look'd upon as nothing to the Purpoſe. Finding his Arguments little heeded, *Oates* concluded his Defence in theſe amazing Words, *I appeal to the great God of Heaven and Earth, the Judge of all; and once more in his Preſence, and before all this Auditory, I avow my Evidence of the* Popiſh Plot, *all and every Part of it, to be nothing but true, and will expect from the Almighty God, the Vindication of my Integrity and Innocence:* And ſo deſir'd leave to retire. This was exceeding ſhocking to many who knew the Man and the Subject; and the Lord Chief-Juſtice, in ſumming up the Evidence, concluded in theſe Words, *There does not remain the leaſt Doubt but that* Oates *is the blackeſt, and moſt perjur'd Villain that ever ap-*

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He is found Guilty.

A Second Indictment against him.

pear'd upon the Face of the Earth. Accordingly the Jury, in a Quarter of an Hours time, brought him in Guilty of the Indictment. We have been the more particular in this Tryal which laſted eleven Hours, becauſe his Conviction did ſo eſſentially ſtrike at the Credit of the *Popiſh* Plot, which had formerly rais'd ſuch innumerable Troubles in the Nation.

On the next Day a ſecond Indictment of Perjury was brought againſt the ſame Perſon, 'For Swearing at the Tryal of the five *Jeſuits*, That 'Mr. *Ireland* took leave of Him and others, in *London* betwixt the 8th 'and the 12th of *Auguſt*, 1678; and likewiſe for Swearing at *Ireland*'s 'Tryal, That the ſaid *Ireland* was in *London* the 1ſt or 2d of *September* '1678; whereas in Truth, Mr. *Ireland* was, at both the aforeſaid Times, 'and for ſeveral Days before, and after, in *Staffordſhire*, or in the Parts 'adjacent.' To prove all which now above forty Witneſſes were produc'd, who teſtify'd That Mr. *Ireland* was never at all in *London* from the 3d of *Auguſt*, in the ſame Year, to the 14th of the following *September*, and ſpecify'd every Thing according to Time and Place, with the Exactneſs of a Journal, accompany'd with all proper Tokens and Circumſtances; and what ſtill bore harder upon him than the former Tryal, was, that no leſs than Nine of theſe Witneſſes were Proteſtants and of the Church of *England*, againſt whom he cou'd raiſe no Exception. His Defence was much to the ſame Effect that it was the Day before, appeals to Parliaments and Verdicts, inſiſting upon his Reputation, clamours againſt the *Papiſts*, and Outcries, as if the *Proteſtant* Intereſt and his Credit were to ſtand and fall together: Only beſides, he produc'd the Proteſtation of dying *Bedloe*; 'That all he had ſworn concerning the *Plot* was true, and that he was 'one who ſwore that Mr. *Ireland* was in Town either the Beginning of '*September*, or the latter End of *Auguſt*.' In ſumming up the Evidence, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, ſpeaking of the Mercy of the late King *Charles* the Second, has this remarkable Paſſage; 'It is well known to thoſe who 'had the Happineſs to be near his Perſon, how oft he expreſs'd his Concern, 'for having conſented to Mr. *Ireland*'s Execution; and this continu'd 'with him to his dying Day, as the Buſineſs of my Lord of *Strafford* did 'with his Royal Father.' Then exclaiming againſt the Horridneſs of '*Oates* and *Bedloe*'s Perjury, he thus concludes; 'God forbid but we 'ſhou'd uſe our utmoſt Endeavours, to inflict the greateſt Vengeance, that 'the Juſtice of the Nation can permit upon ſuch Villains as theſe are, that 'have contracted ſo much Miſchief and Reproach upon us, and ſo much 'Guilt upon themſelves.

The Sentence againſt him.

Accordingly, *Oates* being found guilty of this Indictment, above a Fortnight after, and a Conſultation had with all the Judges of *England*, Mr. Juſtice *Within* on *Saturday* the 26th of *May*, pronounc'd the following Sentence againſt him, after an Harangue upon the Heinouſneſs of his Crimes: '*Firſt*, the Court does order for a Fine, That you pay a Thouſand Marks 'upon each Indictment. *Secondly*, That you be ſtript of all your Canonical Habits. *Thirdly*, the Court does award, That you ſtand upon and in 'the Pillory, here before *Weſtminſter-Hall* Gate, upon *Monday* next, for 'an Hours Time, with a Paper over your Head (which you muſt firſt walk 'with round about to all the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*) declaring your 'Crime; and that upon the firſt Indictment. *Fourthly*, on the ſecond Indictment, upon *Tueſday*, you ſhall ſtand upon and in the Pillory at the '*Royal-Exchange*, for the Space of an Hour, with the ſame Inſcription. '*Fifthly*, You ſhall upon the next *Wedneſday*, be whipt from *Algate* to *Newgate*; And upon *Friday*, you ſhall be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, 'by the Hands of the Common Hang-man.' After which the ſame Judge proceeded in theſe Words; 'But Mr. *Oates*, we cannot but remember, there 'were ſeveral particular Times you ſwore falſe about; and therefore, as

'*Annual*

'*Annual Commemorations*, that it may be known to all People, as long as 'you live, we have taken care of you for an *Annual Puniſhment*. Upon 'the 24th of *April*, every Year as long as you live, you are to ſtand upon 'and in the Pillory at *Tyburn*, juſt oppoſite to the Gallows. You are 'next to ſtand upon and in the Pillory, here at *Weſtminſter-Hall* Gate, 'every 9th of *Auguſt* as long as you live: And that it may be known what 'we mean by it, 'tis to remember that you ſwore about Mr. *Ireland*'s be-'ing in Town between the 8th and 12th of *Auguſt*. You are to ſtand upon 'and in the Pillory, at *Charing-Croſs*, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, every Year, 'during your Life; the like over-againſt the *Temple-Gate*, upon the 11th: 'And upon the 2d of *September* (which is another notorious Time, which 'you cannot but remember) you are to ſtand upon and in the Pillory 'at the *Royal-Exchange:* And all this you are to do every Year, during 'your Life; and to be committed cloſe Priſoner, as long as you live. This 'I pronounce to be the *Judgment of the Court* upon you, for your Of-'fences: And I muſt tell you plainly, if it had been in my Power to have 'carry'd it further, I ſhou'd not have been unwilling to have given Judg-'ment of *Death* upon you; *for I am ſure you deſerve it.*

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Great Endeavours were us'd to beg off the Scourging Part of the Sentence, juſtly fore-ſeeing it wou'd prove intolerable, and ſome Applications were made to the Queen her ſelf for that purpoſe; but all in vain: And the Whipping was executed with the utmoſt Severity, ſuch as was unknown to the *Engliſh* Nation, and in the Preſence of innumerable Spectators, who had a more than ordinary Curioſity to ſee the Sight. The firſt Day he was ty'd to a Cart, where he made hideous Bellowings, and ſounded ſeveral Times with the greatneſs of the Anguiſh. The ſecond Day, he was not able to go or ſtand; but this, *Leſtrange* tells us was becauſe he had made himſelf ſcandalouſly drunk: However, he was then plac'd and dragg'd upon a Sledge, where he became a diſmal and piteous Spectacle to the People, who cou'd much better judge of his Puniſhment, than his Crimes. In ſum, as he himſelf ſays, *he ſuſtain'd unexpreſſible Torments*; and his eſcaping with Life was inſiſted on by his Friends as ſomething miraculous, and a ſignal Teſtimony of his Innocence. It certainly ſerv'd to imbitter Mens Minds againſt the Government, and wou'd have been much better for the King, if this Puniſhment had been inflicted in the late Reign, as was intended, or remitted and forgiven in this. Beſides his real Demerits, there ſeem'd to be ſomething Perſonal in his Puniſhment; all agree that his bruti'ſh Animoſity againſt the Duke of *York* made him break in upon the Reſpect that is ever due to Princes; but then again a Man whom the beſt of the Nation began to abhor and deſpiſe, was thought too poor a Victim for a Monarch, and that the King of *England* ſhou'd have diſregarded the Injuries that had been offer'd to the Duke of *York*. Thus the famous Dr. *Oates*, that had been applauded and careſs'd by the Leaders in both Houſes of Parliament, and by ſome ſtyl'd the *Saviour of the Nation*, was now treated as the moſt vile and profligate Impoſtor. And it is remarkable, that tho' he liv'd to a moſt favourable Conjuncture for reverſing his Judgments, and brought his Writ of Error for that Purpoſe in the Houſe of Peers; yet, after a full Debate upon the Cauſe, the Lords cou'd not be prevail'd upon to blanch his Reputation, or reſtore him to the Capacity of being an Evidence in any Court whatſoever.

The Severity of the Execution.

4. This laſt Sentence againſt *Oates* was executed a little after the Meeting of the Parliament; but before we begin to give any Account of that noble Aſſembly, it may be proper to take Notice of two other Proſecutions, that had at this Time a great Influence upon the Publick, and happen'd ſoon after the other. The firſt was that of *Thomas Dangerfield*, a remarkable

Dangerfield *try'd and ſeverely puniſhed.*

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remarkable Perſon formerly characteriz'd, and more than once taken notice of in the laſt Reign; who having formerly by his infamous Actions and ſurprizing Diſcoveries render'd himſelf obnoxious to the Government, he for a Time retir'd into *Flanders:* But returning back in an unlucky Seaſon, he was ſeiz'd and carry'd before the Council, where perſiſting before the King himſelf in his former Evidence, he was committed cloſe Priſoner to *Newgate.* On the 30th of *May* he was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, upon an Information, *For Writing and Publiſhing a villanous and ſcandalous Libel, call'd his* Narrative, formerly remember'd; wherein, according to his Depoſitions before the Parliament in 1680, he teſtify'd, 'That he was 'employ'd by the *Popiſh* Party, and chiefly by the *Popiſh* Lords in the 'Tower, and the Counteſs of *Powis*, to invent the *Meal Tub Plot*, which 'was to have thrown the *Popiſh Plot* wholly upon the *Presbyterians.*' This *Narrative* was order'd to be printed by the Houſe of Commons, *November* 10th, 1680, in the hotteſt Time of their Sitting; but notwithſtanding that Order, their Speaker Mr. *Williams* was afterwards fin'd Ten Thouſand Pounds, for Licenſing it to be printed; and we are told he cou'd not eſcape without Paying the greateſt Part of it. And Mr. *Dangerfield* being now found Guilty, receiv'd Judgment at the *King's-Bench* Bar, 'That 'he ſhou'd ſtand twice in the Pillory; That he ſhou'd be Whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate* in one Day, and from *Newgate* to *Tyburn* on another, 'and ſhou'd pay a Fine of Five Hundred Pounds.

The Whipping was executed with very great, tho' ſtill with leſs Severity than that inflicted on *Oates:* In his Return the ſecond Day from *Tyburn* to *Newgate*, after his laſt Puniſhment, being in a Coach againſt *Hatton Garden*, a ſtrange Accident happen'd to him, that moſt violently affected the People. One Mr. *Robert Frances*, a Barreſter of *Gray's-Inn*, coming by Chance to the Coach Side, and looking on his Face, out of an intemperate Zeal, ſaid to him, *How now, Friend, have you had your Heat this Morning?* The other, with two or three Curſes call'd him *Son of a Whore!* Upon which *Frances*, with a ſmall Bambow Cane ſtruck him over, or into the Eye, which ſo affected his Brain, as it is ſaid, that he died within a few Hours after; tho' many have doubted whether his Death proceeded from the ſtroak or from the Torments of his Body, which was found to be exceedingly ſwell'd and inflam'd. However the Surgeons gave it againſt Mr. *Frances*, who thinking he had done no Hurt, had endeavour'd no Eſcape; but being taken and try'd, he met with the Extremity of the Law, and was condemn'd to die without Mercy.

He is killed, as is ſuppos'd, by Mr. Frances.

This fatal Accident had a furious Influence upon the Minds of the Multitude, who were ſufficiently exaſperated before; ſo that tho' great Applications were made to the Court, no Pardon cou'd be obtain'd for Mr. *Frances.* Many Stories were immediately invented and diſpers'd concerning him; particularly that he was a virulent *Papiſt*, if not a *Jeſuit*, and ſet on by ſome great Men; that the Cane had a Steel Dart in it, that was thruſt into the Priſoner's Eye upon deliberate Malice; and it was farther ſaid, it was alſo a particular Revenge upon a Jealouſie againſt *Dangerfield* for his Lady. All which were fully confuted in Mr. *Frances*'s Speech at his Execution, and publiſh'd by Authority. He freely owns, 'That by this raſh and im-'prudent Act, he had not only offended againſt the Government and 'Courts of Juſtice, but againſt Chriſtianity, and even the Rules of Mora-'lity it ſelf; but ſolemnly declar'd that it was done without the leaſt Fore-'thought, Malice, or Jealouſy whatſoever, and that he had never ſeen the 'Man but once in the Pillory at a Diſtance: That he had led a quiet and 'inoffenſive Life for twelve Years in *Gray's-Inn*, without any Quarrel or 'Controverſy; and that his whole Life was without any violent Action, 'ſaving this *ſingle Extravagance.* As to his Religion, he prov'd himſelf 'to

Who ſuffers Death for it.

'to be an obedient and zealous Son of the Church of *England*, as by Law 1685.
'Eſtabliſh'd: And for his Wife, he believ'd her the beſt of Women; and Jac. I.
'was ſo far from ſuſpecting her Virtue, that ſhe was the only Loſs he re- Reſ. 26
'gretted on Earth, and cou'd freely part with every thing elſe below with-
'out Repining.' In ſum, he dy'd like a true Penitent and a good Chriſtian, with the infamous Load of a Crime, the Nature of which can hardly be parallel'd in Hiſtory.

Mr. Baxter's Tryal.

5. The other Proſecution, which happen'd about the ſame Time, was of a quite different Nature, and was that of Mr. *Richard Baxter*, a celebrated Divine, one of the Heads of the *Presbyterian* Party, a voluminous and polemical Writer, who had often ſignaliz'd himſelf, both before and ſince the Reſtoration. Some of his former Books, as well as Actions, were afreſh remember'd, particularly his *Holy Common-Wealth*, and his *Saints Everlaſting Reſt*, in which laſt he had in effect plac'd *Pym*, *Hambden*, and the Lord *Brook*, who dy'd in an actual State of Rebellion, among the Saints in Heaven; which was interpreted as a great Defect in his Judgment, or an unjuſtifiable Inclination to their Cauſe. Theſe were aggravated by the *Obſervator* and others, and now an Advantage was taken, and an Accuſation brought againſt him for ſeveral Paſſages in his late Book call'd a *Paraphraſe upon the New Teſtament*, which was call'd a ſcandalous Piece, highly reflecting upon the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and guilty of Sedition, for which being brought before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffreys* at the *King's-Bench* Bar, he was treated with unuſual Scurrility, and far from what was due to the Gravity of his Perſon and Behaviour. Having pleaded not Guilty to the Information, and mov'd that farther Time might be allow'd him for his Tryal, the Chief Juſtice cry'd out, *I will not give him a Minute's Time more to ſave his Life: We have had to do with other ſorts of Perſons, but now we have a* Saint *to deal with*; *and I know how to deal with* Saints *as well as* Sinners. *Yonder*, ſays he, *ſtands* Oates *in the Pillory*, as he actually did at that very Time, *and he ſays he ſuffers for the* Truth, *and ſo ſays* Baxter; *but if* Baxter *did but ſtand on the other ſide of the Pillory with him, I wou'd ſay there ſtood two of the greateſt Rogues and Raſcals in the Kingdom.*

Upon the 30th of *May*, he was brought to his Tryal before the ſame Lord Chief Juſtice at *Guild-Hall*, where was a numerous Concourſe of his Friends and others; and his Counſel were Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Rotheram*, Mr. *Atwood* and Mr. *Phipps*, all retain'd by Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*, who ſhew'd a particular Reſpect both to Mr. *Baxter*'s Perſon and his Cauſe. The Counſel urg'd, 'That the Paſſages mention'd in the Information, ought *His Defence.*
'not to be ſtrain'd to that Senſe which was put upon them by the Innu-
'endo's; nor cou'd any of them be apply'd to the Prelates of the Church
'of *England*, without a forc'd Conſtruction, but were deſign'd againſt thoſe
'of the Church of *Rome*: And they farther inſiſted, That Mr. *Baxter* had
'frequently attended Divine Service, went to the Sacrament, and perſuaded
'others to do the ſame; and had in the very Book ſo charg'd, ſpoken mo-
'derately and honourably of the Biſhops of the Church of *England*.' And Mr. *Baxter* himſelf alledg'd, 'That he had been ſo moderate with reſpect
'to the Church of *England*, that he had incurr'd the Cenſure of many of
'the Diſſenters upon that Account.' The Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, *That* Baxter *was an Enemy to the Name and Thing, the Office and Perſons of Biſhops*, and fell ſeverely both upon the Council and Defendant. As to the latter, he call'd out, *Richard, thou art an old Fellow, an old Knave*; *His Treatment.*
thou haſt written Books enough to load a Cart, every one as full of Sedition, *I might ſay* Treaſon, *as an Egg is full of Meat. Hadſt thou been whipp'd out of thy Writing-Trade forty Years ago, it had been happy.*

Thou

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Thou pretendeſt to be a Preacher of the Goſpel of Peace, *and thou haſt one Foot in the Grave; 'tis Time for thee to begin to think what Account thou intendeſt to give. But leave thee to thy ſelf, and I ſee thou'lt go on as thou haſt begun; but by the Grace of God, I'll look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty Party, and I ſee a great many of the* Brotherhood *in Corners, waiting to ſee what will become of their mighty* Donn, *and a Doctor of the Party* [*Dr.* Bates] *at your Elbow; but by the Grace of Almighty God, I'll cruſh you all.* Beſides other Reproaches upon him and his Council, in ſumming up the Evidence he ſaid; *'Tis notoriouſly known, there has been a Deſign to ruin the King and the Nation; and this has been the main Incendiary: He is as modeſt now as can be; but Time was when no Man was ſo ready at* Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron; *and* to your Tents, O *Iſrael! Gentlemen, for God's ſake, don't let us be gull'd twice in an Age.*—In Concluſion, he told the Jury, *If in their Conſciences they believ'd he meant the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of* England, *in the Paſſages which the Information referr'd to, they muſt find him* Guilty; *and he cou'd mean no Man elſe: If not,* *And Sentence.* *they muſt find him* Not Guilty. The Jury ſoon found him Guilty; and ſoon after he had Judgment given againſt him, 'To be fin'd five hundred 'Marks; to lye in Priſon till he paid it, and to be bound to his good Be-'haviour for ſeven Years.' Both the Uſage and Sentence was thought exorbitant by many; but the Reaſons and Provocations will appear more clear to the Reader when we come to relate the Tranſactions in, and at the ſitting of the Parliament; to enter upon which it ſeems more than Time to begin.

III. 1. From the Time that the King had declar'd his calling of a Parliament, the Peoples Minds were fill'd with Expectations and Longings for the Meeting of it; and the Fate of the Nation ſeem'd to depend upon that Aſſembly, which was to ſupport it in this difficult Juncture. In order to this grand Buſineſs, the Elections were generally carry'd on and compleated with the moſt uncommon Coolneſs, Diſcretion and Unanimity; and notwithſtanding the unjuſtifiable Modelling ſo many Corporations ſince the laſt Parliament, there never was a Houſe of Commons more able and more induſtrious in preſerving the Happineſs of the King, the Nation, and the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. It conſiſted for the moſt part of the late prevailing Party, but of the richeſt and wiſeſt Men of the Kingdom; among whom there were fifty five of Noble Families, ninety five Baronets, and ninety ſix Knights; and the reſt were commonly Gentlemen of the beſt Intereſt, Credit and Knowledge in their Countries, eſpecially thoſe that were elected for Counties. Thoſe for the City of *London*, and the two Univerſities, were all of the ſame Party; the former were Sir *John Moor*, Sir *William Pritchard*, Sir *Samuel Daſhwood*, and Sir *Peter Rich*; the *Cantabrigians* were Sir *Thomas Exton*, and Sir *Robert Brady*; the *Oxonians* were Sir *Leoline Jenkins* and Dr. *Charles Perrot*, Knight. And further to ſatisfy the Reader's Curioſity, we ſhall name forty or fifty, who ſeem'd to have had the greateſt Influence in the Houſe, without conſidering any Party at all; as Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *William Edgerton*, Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Levinus Bennet*, Sir *John Cotton*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, Mr. *Edmund Waller*, Sir *William Trumbull*, Lord *Preſton*, Sir *John Lowther*, Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *Winſton Churchill*, Mr. *Ralph Freeman*, the honourable *John Varney*, Sir *Thomas Meers*, Lord *Caſtleton*, Sir *Henry Munſon*, the honourable *Charles Bertie*, Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, Sir *Nevil Catiline*, Sir *William Cook*, Sir *Nicholas Leſtrange*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Sir *Roger Leſtrange*, Sir *William Blacket*, Mr. *Theophilus Oglethorp*, Sir *Robert Holmes*, Sir *Thomas Clarges*, Mr. *Henry*

Preparations for the Meeting of

Rot. Parl. *Manley. Jones.* Gazettes. *Leſtrange. &c.*

Henry Wallop, Sir *John Trevor*, Mr. *Thomas Glemham*, Lord *Huntington*, Sir *Henry Beddingfield*, Sir *John Bruce*, the Honourable *Heneage Finch*, Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, Mr. *William Garway*, Sir *Roger Cave*, the Honourable *Thomas Coventry*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Lord *Corubury*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *John Talbot*, Sir *Willoughby Hickman*, Sir *Thomas Jenner*, Mr. *William Williams*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, Mr. *Robert Foley*, Sir *Michael Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Barnardiſton*, Sir *John Nicolas*, &c. 1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26

The PARLIAMENT.

The 19th of *May* was the firſt Day of their Meeting, when his Majeſty came from *White-Hall* by Water to the Houſe of Peers; where being ſeated on the Throne, adorn'd with his Royal Robes and Crown, and attended with his Officers of State, he commanded Sir *Thomas Duppa*, the Gentleman Uſher of the Black-Rod, to ſignify to the Commons, That it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure that they attend him immediately. Which being done, the Lord-Keeper *North*, by the King's Direction, made the following ſhort Speech: 'My Lords, *and you the Knights, Citizens*, &c. I have it in Com-
'mand from his Majeſty, to let you know, That he will defer his ſpeaking
'to you until the Members of both Houſes have taken the Oaths appoint-
'ed at the Beginning of every Parliament; the doing whereof will require
'ſome Time: When that is over, his Majeſty will come again and declare
'his Mind to you concerning the Cauſes of calling this Parliament. And
'it being neceſſary there ſhou'd be firſt a Speaker of the Houſe of
'Commons, it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure that the Gentlemen of the Houſe
'of Commons go a-part to the uſual Place, and proceed to the Choice of
'a fit Perſon to be their Speaker. His Majeſty doth appoint Four of the
'Clock in the Afternoon, to have him preſented for his Royal Approba-
'tion.' The Commons being retired, no leſs than Twenty Lords were formally introduc'd into the Houſe, either upon the Account of new Creations, or Additional Titles ſince the laſt Parliament; and were as following: *Francis* Lord *North*, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, *Laurence* Earl of *Rocheſter*, *George* Marquis of *Hallifax*, *James* Duke of *Ormond*, *Henry* Duke of *Beaufort*, *Edward* Earl of *Litchfield*, *Daniel* Earl of *Nottingham*, *James* Earl of *Abingdon*, *Edward* Earl of *Gainsborough*, *Thomas* Earl of *Plymouth*, *Horatio* Viſcount *Townſend*, *Thomas* Viſcount *Weymouth*, *Chriſtopher* Viſcount *Hatton*, *Richard* Lord *Lumley*, *John* Lord *Oſſulſton*, *George* Lord *Dartmouth*, *Ralph* Lord *Stawell*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, *George* Lord *Jeffreys*, and *John* Lord *Churchill*; which two laſt were made Barons of *England* by his preſent Majeſty.

Sir John Trevor *choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.*

The Commons being return'd to their own Houſe, the Lord *Middleton* nam'd Sir *John Trevor*, as a fit Perſon for their Speaker, and one that wou'd be acceptable to his Majeſty; whereupon the Commons unanimouſly made Choice of that Gentleman, and preſented him to the King at the appointed time, who was again ſeated upon his Throne in his Royal Robes and Crown. Here Sir *John Trevor* acquainted his Majeſty, 'That the
'Choice of Speaker had fallen upon Him; and out of a deep Senſe of his
'own Infirmities and Diſability for the Diſcharge of ſo important a Ser-
'vice, and of a loyal and dutiful Regard to his Majeſty's Intereſt, he hum-
'bly beſeech'd his Majeſty to command the Commons to return and make
'a fitter Choice.' Whereupon the Lord Keeper, taking Directions from his Majeſty, ſpoke as follows; 'His Majeſty obſerves your great Modeſty,
'in declining this honourable and weighty Imployment; but the Argu-
'ments you have us'd to induce him to excuſe you from it, have not pre-
'vail'd. On the contrary, your Behaviour this Day hath recommended
'you to this Service: You have ſhewn that *Duty* and *Experience* in the
'Courſe of Parliaments, that demonſtrate you every Way fit for it; for
'you have now purſu'd the ancient and dutiful Method of *Diſabling* your
'ſelf before his Majeſty, with an intire Reſignation of his Pleaſure. His

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'Majeſty hath therefore commanded me to declare *That he doth well approve the Choice the Commons have made, and admits you to be their Speaker.*' Then the Speaker return'd his Majeſty Thanks for his gracious Approbation, and Acceptance of his Service, and humbly pray'd in the Name of the Commons, 'That his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to allow 'and confirm all their ancient Privileges, and particularly that they might 'have Liberty of Free Speech in their Debates: That their Perſons and 'Servants might be free from Arreſts and Troubles: That they might have 'free Acceſs to his Royal Perſon with their Complaints, Petitions and Ad-'dreſſes: And that his Majeſty wou'd have a favourable Opinion of all 'their Actions. And concluded, That his Majeſty's gracious Allowance of 'theſe Petitions, wou'd encourage them to proceed chearfully in their Du-'ties, and did not doubt, but that from ſo good and gracious a Prince, and 'ſo loyal Subjects, this Seſſion wou'd have a happy Concluſion.' Hereupon the Lord-Keeper ſaid, *The King takes well your Submiſſion to his Pleaſure, and promiſes to ſupport you in the Services you have undertaken; And for the Petitions you have made in behalf of the Commons, his Majeſty is pleaſed to grant them all as they are deſired.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

It was the 22d of *May* before the King's much expected Speech was deliver'd from the Throne; in the Morning of which Day he had receiv'd Notice of a Storm ariſing in *Scotland*, by means of the Earl of *Argyle*, which gave him occaſion to add ſomething to his Speech, which was ſpoken in theſe Words: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, After it pleas'd Almighty God, to take 'to his Mercy the late King my deareſt Brother, and to bring Me to the peace-'able Poſſeſſion of the Throne of my Anceſtors; I immediately reſolv'd to 'call a Parliament, as the beſt Means to ſettle every thing upon thoſe Founda-'tions, as may make my Reign both Eaſy and Happy to you: Towards 'which, I am diſpos'd to contribute all that is fit for Me to do. What I ſaid to 'my Privy-Council, at my firſt coming there, I am deſirous to renew to you; 'wherein I fully declared my Opinion concerning the *Principles of the Church of* England, whoſe Members have ſhew'd themſelves ſo eminently 'Loyal in the worſt of Times, in Defence of my Father, and Support of my 'Brother, of Bleſſed Memory, *That I will always take Care to defend and 'ſupport it: I will make it my Endeavour to preſerve the Government both in Church and* State, *as it is by Law Eſtabliſh'd; and as I will never depart from the juſt* Rights *and* Prerogatives *of the Crown, ſo I will never invade any Man's* Property: *And you may be ſure, that having hitherto ventur'd my Life in the Defence of this Nation, I will ſtill go as far as any Man in preſerving it in all its juſt Rights and Liberties.*

'And having given this Aſſurance concerning the Care I will have of 'your *Religion* and *Property*, which I have choſen to do in the *ſame Words* which I us'd at my firſt coming to the Crown, the better to evi-'dence to you, That I ſpoke them not by *chance*, and conſequently, that 'you may firmly rely upon a *Promiſe* ſo ſolemnly made; I cannot doubt 'that I ſhall fail of ſuitable Returns from you, with all imaginable Duty 'and Kindneſs on your Part; and particularly, in what relates to the 'ſettling of my *Revenue*, and continuing it during my Life, as it was in 'the Time of the King my Brother. I might uſe many Arguments to en-'force this Demand, for the Benefit of Trade, the Support of the Navy, 'the Neceſſity of the Crown, and the Well-being of the Government it ſelf; 'which I muſt not ſuffer to be precarious: But I am confident, your own 'Conſideration of what is juſt and reaſonable, will ſuggeſt to you whatſo-'ever might be enlarg'd upon this Occaſion. There is yet one popular 'Argument which I foreſee may be us'd againſt what I ask of you, from 'the Inclination Men have for frequent Parliaments, which ſome may think 'wou'd be the beſt Security, by feeding me from Time to Time, by ſuch Propor-

'Proportions as they ſhall think convenient: And this Argument, it be- 1685.
'ing the firſt Time I ſpeak to you from the Throne, I will anſwer once for
'all, that this wou'd be a very improper Method to take with Me, and Jac. I.
'that the beſt Way to engage Me to meet you often, *is always to uſe*
'*Me well.* I expect therefore that you will comply with Me in what I Reſ. 26
'have deſir'd, and that you will do it ſpeedily; that this may be a ſhort
'Seſſion, and that we may meet again to all our Satisfactions.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I muſt acquaint you, that I have had
'News this Morning from *Scotland*, That *Argyle* is landed in the *Weſt*
'*High-Lands*, with the Men he brought with him from *Holland:* That
'there are two *Declarations* publiſh'd, One in the Name of all thoſe in
'Arms, the other in his own: It wou'd be too long for Me to repeat the
'Subſtance of them; it is ſufficient to tell you, I am charg'd with *Uſurpa-*
'*tion* and *Tyranny:* The ſhorter of them I have directed to be forthwith
'communicated to you. I will take the beſt care I can, that this *Decla-*
'*ration* of their own Faction and Rebellion may meet with the Reward it
'deſerves: And I will not doubt but you will be the more zealous to Sup-
'port the Government, and give me my Revenue as I have deſir'd it, with-
'out delay.

Upon hearing of this Speech, never any Parliament ſhew'd greater Unanimity; and both Houſes immediately reſolv'd to return their moſt humble and hearty Thanks to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious Speech and Declaration; and for that End they waited on the King at Four in the Afternoon. To which they receiv'd this obliging Anſwer, *That his Majeſty was very well pleas'd with their Thanks, and that he cou'd repeat no more than what he had ſaid in the Morning; and they ſhou'd find That he wou'd be as good as his Word.* And as to the Houſe of Commons, they immediately went upon the Support of the Crown, and the ſame Day reſolv'd *Nemine Contradicente*, 'That all the Revenue given to his late 'Majeſty, and enjoy'd by him at his Death, be given and granted to his 'preſent Majeſty King *James* the Second, and ſettled upon him during 'Life.' And they order'd Mr. Solicitor *Finch* to bring in a Bill accordingly. All this, together with the *Chimney-Money*, and other hereditable Revenues, which were to continue for ever in the Crown, did now amount to above two Millions a Year.

The Commons ſettle the Revenue of the Crown.

The Houſe of Lords were on the ſame Day buſy employ'd about an Affair of another Nature, the Petitions of the Lords who had lain under an Impeachment ſeveral Years in the *Tower*, and admitted to Bail about a Year ago, *viz.* The Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, the Earl of *Tyrone*, and the Earl of *Danby*. Theſe Lords having made their Perſonal Appearances, in purſuance of their Bail, and deliver'd their Petitions, the Houſe enter'd into Conſideration of the Hardſhip of their Caſes, and came to this Queſtion, 'Whether the Order of the '19th of *March* 167⅘ be revers'd and annull'd as to their ſeveral Impeach-'ments;' which paſs'd in the Affirmative. Four Lords only enter'd their Diſſent, namely *Radnor*, *Angleſey*, *Clare*, and *Stamford*, with theſe following Reaſons: 1. 'Becauſe it doth, as we conceive, extrajudicially, and 'without a particular Cauſe before Us, endeavour an Alteration in a judi-'cial Rule and Order of the Houſe, in the higheſt Part of their Power and 'Judicature. 2. Becauſe it ſhakes and lays aſide an Order made and re-'new'd upon long Conſideration and Debate, Report of Committees of 'Precedents and former Reſolutions, without permitting the ſame to be 'read, tho' call'd for by many of the Peers, and againſt weighty Reaſons, 'as we conceive, appearing for the ſame, and contrary to the Practice of 'former Times. 3. Becauſe it is inherent in every Court of Judicature to 'aſſert and preſerve the former Rules of Proceedings before them, which

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'therefore must be ſteady and certain, eſpecially in this High Court, that 'the Subject, and all Perſons concern'd may know how to apply them-'ſelves for Juſtice; the very *Chancery*, *King's-Bench*, &c. having their 'ſettled Rules, from which there is no Variation.' However, two Days after, the Matter was brought to a Concluſion by this following Order; 'Whereas ſeveral Indictments were found at the Seſſions held at *Weſtmin-'ſter* againſt *William* Earl of *Powis*, &c. which are ſince brought into 'this Houſe by *Certiorari*, purſuant to an Order of the 9th of *April* '1678; the Houſe being this Day inform'd by Mr. Attorney General, that 'his Majeſty hath ſent a Warrant to him directed to enter a *Noli proſequi* 'upon the ſaid Indictments: It is order'd that his Majeſty's Attorney Ge-'neral may have Recourſe to the ſaid Indictments in Order to enter a *Noli* '*proſequi* thereupon, purſuant to his Majeſty's Warrant. And it is fur-'ther order'd, That the Bail given in the Court of *King's-Bench* for the 'Appearance of the ſaid *William* Earl of *Powis*, &c. be, and is hereby 'diſcharg'd.

The Impeached Lords diſcharg'd.

The Lord Stafford's *Bill promoted.*

Theſe Proceedings made way for the immediate Reception of a Bill in the ſame Houſe, *For reverſing the Attainder of the Lord Viſcount* Stafford, whoſe Tryal before the Lords, and Execution, is remember'd in the Year 1680. The Lords, in a grand Committee, made ſome Alterations in the *Title*, a conſiderable Amendment in the *Preamble*, and a ſmall Amendment in the *enacting Clauſe*, and then the Bill was Ingroſs'd: And the Reaſon of the Reverſal was in theſe Words; *Whereas it is now manifeſt, That the ſaid* William *late Viſcount* Stafford *was Innocent of the Treaſon laid to his Charge, and the Teſtimony where he was found Guilty, was falſe; Be it Enacted*, &c. But before the queſtion was put for ingroſſing the Bill, the Earls of *Angleſey* and *Radnor*, and two or three other Lords, deſir'd Leave to enter their Diſſents, for theſe Reaſons; 1. 'Becauſe the Aſſertion 'in the Bill, of its *Being now manifeſt that the late Viſcount* Stafford *dy'd 'Innocent, and that the Teſtimony on which he was convicted was falſe*, 'which are the ſole Grounds and Reaſons given to ſupport the Bill; were 'deſtitute of all Proof, Warrant, or Teſtimony, or Matter of Record be-'fore Us. 2. That the Record of the *King's-Bench*, read at the Committee, 'concerning the Conviction, laſt *Term*, of one of the Witneſſes for Per-'jury, in collateral Points of Proof, of no Affinity to the Lord *Stafford*'s 'Tryal, and given ſeveral Years before, it's conceiv'd can be no Ground 'to invalidate the Teſtimony upon which the ſaid Viſcount was convicted, 'which cou'd never legally be by one Witneſs, and was in Fact by the 'Judgment of his Peers, on the Evidence of at leaſt Three. 3. It's con-'ceiv'd the ſaid Judgment in the *King's-Bench* was unprecedented illegal 'and unwarranted, and highly derogatory to the Honour, Judicature and 'Authority of this Court, who have Power to queſtion and puniſh Perju-'ries of Witneſſes before them, and ought not to be impos'd upon by the 'Judgments of inferiour Courts, or their Attainder of a Peer invalidated 'by Implication; and the *Popiſh Plot*, ſo condemn'd, purſu'd and puniſh-'ed by his late Majeſty and four Parliaments, after publick ſolemn Devo-'tion through the whole Kingdom, by Authority of Church and State, to 'be eluded, to the Arraignment and Scandal of the Government; and only 'for the reſtoring of the Family of one *Popiſh* Lord. And all this, being 'without any Matter judicially appearing before us to induce the ſame; 'and the Records of the Tryal not ſuffer'd to be read, for the Information 'of the Truth, before the paſſing of the Bill. 4. For many other weighty 'Reaſons offer'd and given by diverſe Peers in the two Days Debate of 'this Bill, both at the Committee, and in the Houſe.

The next Day the Bill was read a Third Time, and paſs'd in the Houſe of Peers; but the forementioned Lords repeated their Proteſtations againſt it,

it, and were ſeconded by the Earls of *Stamford* and *Clare*, and the Lord *Eure*, 'Becauſe the *Preamble* of it was not amended, and no Defect in 'Point of Law alledg'd as a Reaſon for the Reverſal of the Attainder.' But to conclude the Fate of this Bill without Interruption, it was afterwards ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, and on the 5th of *June* read a firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading; and was accordingly the next Day read a ſecond Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe. Notwithanding which, it was handſomely dropt, and never heard of more; the Commons, tho' very forward to aſſiſt the King in his Civil Intereſts, being extreamly cautious as to the Strengthening or Incouraging the *Popiſh* Party. But to return to the more immediate Buſineſs of both Houſes, which was the Conſideration of the latter Part of the King's Speech concerning the Earl of *Argyle*, whoſe Proceedings are next to be remember'd. 1685. Jac. 1. Ref. 26 *The Fate of it.*

2. The Earl of *Argyle*, as was formerly mention'd, in the Year 1681, had been try'd and found Guilty of High-Treaſon by his Peers iu *Scotland*; and tho' the Sentence of Death was reſpited, and deſign'd to have been remitted, he fled both from Juſtice and Mercy: Upon which the Parliament order'd the Sentence to be put in Execution whenever he ſhou'd be taken, and in the mean time declar'd all his Eſtate to be forfeited to the King. It was a long time a Secret to moſt of his Country, and almoſt unknown to what Part of the World the Earl had retir'd, till upon the Death of King *Charles* the Second, he was found at *Amſterdam* with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and other Malecontents, and Exiles upon the Account of the late Plot. Having concerted Matters with the ſaid Duke, who had agreed ſoon after to make a Deſcent into *England*, the Earl on the 2d of *May* ſet ſail with three ſmall Veſſels from the *Ulye* in *Holland*; and upon the 5th of the ſame Month he appear'd in the North of *Scotland* before *Orkney*, where ſending his Secretary and Surgeon on Shore, they were both ſeiz'd by the Inhabitants of the Iſland, and ſent up to the Privy Council at *Edinburgh*. Being diſappointed there as to his Reception, he ſail'd round to the Weſt *High-lands*, and on the 20th landed near a Place call'd *Dunſtafnage*, a ruinous Caſtle formerly belonging to himſelf, into which he put a Garriſon, from thence moving forwards he began to terrify the Country, and publiſh his Declarations. *The late Earl of* Argyle's *Expedition.*

The Parliament now ſitting at *Edinburgh*, had taken particular Care of the King, and beſides thoſe Acts formerly mention'd, they paſs'd one *To make a dutiful Offer to the King of Two Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds Yearly, during his Majeſty's Life:* And likewiſe another, declaring, 'That the giving or taking the *National Covenant*, as explain'd in 'the Year 1638; or of the *League and Covenant*, ſo commonly call'd, or 'writing in Defence thereof, or owning of them as *lawful* or *obligatory* 'in themſelves or others, ſhall incur the Crime and Pains of Treaſon.' Beſides theſe, the King, as apprehenſive of an Inſurrection in *Scotland*, even before *Argyle*'s landing, caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd in *Edinburgh*, ſetting forth, 'That foraſmuch as thoſe traiterous Conſpirators, 'who deſign'd the horrid Murder of his deareſt Brother, and the Deſtruction 'of his ancient Monarchy, continuing ſtill in the ſame helliſh Project and 'Fury againſt him, are now again ſetting their Deſigns on work, to raiſe 'Commotions in this his ancient Kingdom, as being the laſt Strugglings of 'them and their execrable Party; for preventing thereof, the King does 'ſtrictly require and command all and every of the Subjects of this his 'Realm, that they be in a Readineſs with their beſt Arms to concur and 'aſſiſt him againſt any of the aforeſaid Commotions or Inſurrections, &c. 'As likewiſe he requires all his Lieges on or near the Sea-Coaſts of this 'Kingdom, ſo ſoon as they hear of any Veſſels arriving in any Place from 'abroad, *The Care of the* Scotch *Parliament.* *And the King's Proclamation.*

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‘ abroad, with Men, Arms or Ammunition, forthwith to convocate and riſe ‘ in their beſt Arms, and beat them off, or ſeize upon, and ſecure the Ships ‘ and the Men, *&c.* And for their Security, in obeying theſe his Royal Com- ‘ mands, he hereby fully pardons and indemnifies them for ever, of all ‘ Slaughter, Blood, Mutilation, Fire-raiſing, Burning of Ships, or ſuch War- ‘ like Inconveniences that might follow, in caſe they meet with hoſtile ‘ Oppoſition, *&c.*

Argyle's Declaration. On the other ſide the *Scotch* Malecontents under *Argyle* emitted two Declarations, ſetting forth the Reaſons that oblig'd them to take up Arms againſt the King. The firſt was entituled, *The Declaration and Apology of the Proteſtant People, that is, of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes and Commoners of all ſorts, within the Kingdom of* Scotland, *with the Concurrence of the true and faithful Paſtors, and of ſeveral Gentlemen of the* Engliſh *Nation join'd with them in the ſame Cauſe:* By

The firſt. which they ſet forth ‘ The great Advantages the *Proteſtant* Religion, both ‘ at home and abroad, had receiv'd by the Succeſs of the War againſt King ‘ *Charles* the Firſt; which they aſcrib'd to the Bleſſing of God, and the ‘ Goodneſs of their *Cauſe*. They cry'd up the Loyalty of the *Scotch Co-* ‘ *venanters*, who had admitted his Son to reign upon certain Terms and ‘ Conditions, which he having broke, his Government was become *illegal,* ‘ *arbitrary, tyrannical* and a *continu'd Apoſtaſy*. In particular, they ac- ‘ cus'd the Government of putting Men to Death contrary to Law, of de- ‘ ſolating the Churches, changing the *Ordinances of God* to the *Inventions* ‘ *of Men*, conniving at *Papiſts*, and keeping up of ſtanding Forces, *the* ‘ *Bane of Civil Government*; but more eſpecially they complain'd, That ‘ by reſcinding the *Solemn League and Covenant*, all the Oaths ſince ‘ impos'd were *horrid Perjury*. They declared againſt the King's *Supre-* ‘ *macy*, and all the Wars againſt the *United Provinces*, the Forfei- ‘ ture of the late Earl of *Argyle*, the Torture of *Spence* and *Caſtares*, and ‘ againſt the Inquiries into the Inſurrection at *Bothwell-Bridge*, by the Cir- ‘ cuit-Courts, which they call'd *Popery and Tyranny twiſted together*. ‘ They declar'd againſt *James* Duke of *York* his Aſcenſion to the Throne, ‘ as being excluded from it by the Commons of *England*; and likewiſe a- ‘ gainſt the preſent Houſe of Commons of both Kingdoms, as *pack'd, ca-* ‘ *ball'd*, and *return'd by Fraud and Injuſtice*. For all which Reaſons they ‘ totally throw'd off all Bonds of Subjection, and took up Arms againſt ‘ *James* Duke of *York*, and all his Accomplices, their moſt unnatural Ene- ‘ mies, for theſe Ends: 1. The reſtoring and ſettling the *Proteſtant Reli-* ‘ *gion*. 2. The Suppreſſion and perpetual Excluſion of *Popery*, and its bit- ‘ ter Root and Spring, *Prelacy*. 3. The reſtoring of all who have been ‘ Sufferers for their Adherence to their Liberties and Religion. Then they ‘ declar'd, That they wou'd never enter into any Capitulation or Treaty ‘ with the ſaid Duke of *York*, but proſecute the War till all their Ends ſhall ‘ be obtain'd, and invited all their Brethren in *England* and *Ireland* to their ‘ Aſſiſtance. And laſtly, they promis'd Indemnity to thoſe who had been ‘ formerly their Enemies, upon their ſincere Repentance, joining with ‘ them, and vigorouſly aſſiſting them againſt a *perſecuting Tyrant*, and ‘ an *apoſtate Party*.

This was the Subſtance of the general *Declaration* publiſh'd by *Argyle*'s Followers; and the other, which was in the Earl's own Name, and in re-

The ſecond. ference to himſelf; was to this effect, ‘ That as he had taken up Arms ‘ with thoſe who had appointed him to be their Leader, for no private ‘ nor perſonal Ends, but only for thoſe contain'd in the *Declaration* be- ‘ foremention'd; ſo he claim'd no Intereſt, but what he had before the ‘ pretended Forfeiture of his Family, and to which he had ſufficient Right. ‘ He freely remitted all perſonal Injuries againſt himſelf and Family to thoſe

‘ that

'that ſhou'd not oppoſe him, but concur with him in his preſent Under- 1685.
'taking, for the Ends aforemention'd; promiſing alſo, upon the Recovery
'of his Eſtate, to pay both his own and his Father's Debts. Laſtly, That Jac. I.
'he had patiently ſuffer'd for three Year and an half an Exilement, accord- Reſ. 26
'ing to Sentence unjuſtly pronounc'd againſt him in the Reign of the late
'King, to whom he had always been truly Loyal; but he being dead, and
'the Duke of *York* having taken off his Mask, and invaded the Religion
'and Liberties of the Kingdom, he thought it not only juſt, but his Duty
'to God and his Country, to oppoſe and repreſs his *Tyrannies* and *Uſurpa-*
'*tions:* And accordingly he earneſtly invited and obteſted all honeſt *Prote-*
'*ſtants*, and particularly Friends and Blood-Relations, to concur with them in
'the ſaid *Declaration.*' But the Parliament at *Edinburgh* were not inſenſible
of their Danger from ſuch Proceedings, therefore in Oppoſition to theſe
Declarations, they paſs'd an Act, 'That all the Subjects of *Scotland* ſhou'd *Countermin'd by the* Scotch *Parliament.*
'take the Oath of *Allegiance* a-new, and aſſert the Royal Prerogatives
'whenever they ſhou'd be required by the Privy-Council, upon Pain of Ba-
'niſhment and Impriſonment, or ſuch other Puniſhment as ſhou'd be thought
'fit to be inflicted upon them.' But to return to the Proceedings of the
'Parliament of *England.*

3. As ſoon as the laſt Declaration was communicated to that Parlia- *Proceedings of the* Engliſh *Parliament thereupon.*
ment, both Houſes ſhew'd all the Marks of Indignation; and each of them came to this Reſolution, 'That they wou'd ſtand by and aſſiſt his Majeſty
'with their Lives and Fortunes, againſt the pretended Earl of *Argyle* and
'his Adherents, and all other Rebels and Traytors whatſoever.' And to each of theſe Votes the King gave particular Anſwers; and firſt to the Commons, he ſaid, Gentlemen, *I cou'd expect no leſs from a Houſe of Commons ſo compos'd, as God be thanked, you are; I rely on the Aſſurances you have given me, which are the natural Effects of* monarchical Church of *England* Men: *I ſhall ſtand by all ſuch; and ſo ſupported, have no Reaſon to fear any Rebels or Enemies I have now, or may have.* To the Lords he ſhew'd himſelf more particular, which he expreſs'd in theſe Words: My Lords, *The Aſſurances you give me now of ſtanding by me, are not new to me; you did it before I came to the Crown, and withſtood the Violence of a Party which deſign'd the Overturning the* Monarchy; *of all which I am as ſenſible as you can deſire, which upon all Occaſions I ſhall let you ſee: As it is your Intereſt, as well as Inclination to ſupport the Crown, ſo it is mine to ſupport you in all your juſt Rights and Privileges, the better to enable you to do it.*

The Indignation of the Houſe of Commons appear'd in a particular Man- *The Diſſenters in Danger.*
ner, and began to extend to the whole Body of Diſſenters; which probably was one Reaſon of the rough Uſage of Mr. *Baxter*, before remember'd. For on the 27th of *May*, a Report was made from the Committee of Religion that they had drawn up theſe two following Votes, *viz.* 1. 'That it
'is the Opinion of the Committee, that this Houſe will ſtand by his Ma-
'jeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, according to their bounden Duty and
'Allegiance, in Defence of the Reformed Religion of the Church of *Eng-*
'*land*, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd. 2. That a humble Addreſs be preſent-
'ed to his Majeſty, to deſire him to iſſue forth his Royal Proclamation, to
'cauſe the Penal Laws to be put in Execution, againſt all *Diſſenters* from
'the Church of *England*, whatſoever.' Had the Houſe fell directly in with the latter Vote, it might in this Juncture have prov'd fatal to the Diſſenters, eſpecially upon the Account of the new Provocations that ſo ſoon after appear'd: But the previous Queſtion being, Whether the Queſtion ſhou'd be then put, for the Houſe to agree with the Committee? It was carry'd in the Negative; and the Houſe upon mature Conſideration came

to

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to this generous Reſolution, *Nemine Contradicente*, namely, 'That this 'Houſe doth Acquieſce, and entirely Rely, and reſt wholly Satisfy'd on 'his Majeſty's Gracious *Word*, and repeated *Declaration* to Support and 'Defend the Religion of the Church of *England*, as it is now by Law 'Eſtabliſh'd, *which is dearer to us than our Lives.*

The Commons confiding Vote.

Accordingly, three Days after, when the great Money-Bill, call'd the *Revenue-Bill*, was ready, and the Houſe of Commons appear'd before his Majeſty upon the Throne, with the utmoſt Formality and Grandeur, the Speaker in preſenting the Bill, made the following confiding Speech: '*Moſt* '*gracious Sovereign*, We the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe 'of Commons aſſembled in Parliament, do preſent to your Majeſty the 'Revenue you was pleas'd to demand at the opening of this Parliament, 'wherein we proceeded with as much ſpeed, as the Forms of paſſing Bills 'of that Nature wou'd admit. We bring not with it any Bill for the Pre-'ſervation or Security of our Religion, *which is dearer to us than our* '*Lives.* In that we Acquieſce intirely, and reſt wholly ſatisfy'd in your 'Majeſty's Gracious and Sacred *Word*, repeated *Declarations*, and *Aſſu-'rance* to Support and Defend the Religion of the Church of *England*, as 'it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd. We preſent this Revenue to your Majeſty, 'without the Condition of any Additional, Appropriating, or Tacking 'Clauſes whatſoever. And we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to accept of 'it, and along with it our hearty Prayers, That God Almighty wou'd 'bleſs you with a long Life and happy Reign to enjoy it.

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

The King's ſecond Speech to both Houſes.

Upon the paſſing of this Bill, his Majeſty was pleas'd to make this following Speech to both Houſes; '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I thank you 'heartily for the Bill you have preſented me this Day; and I aſſure you, 'the Readineſs and Chearfulneſs that hath attended the Diſpatch of it, 'is as acceptable to me as the Bill it ſelf. After ſo happy a Beginning, 'you may Believe I wou'd not call upon you unneceſſarily for an *Extraor-'dinary Supply*: But when I tell you, That the Stores of the Navy and 'Ordnance are extreamly exhauſted; That the Anticipations upon ſeveral 'Branches of the Revenue are Great and Burthenſome; That the Debts of 'the King my Brother, to his Servants and Family, are ſuch as deſerve 'Compaſſion; That the Rebellion in *Scotland*, without putting more weight 'upon it than it really deſerves, muſt oblige me to a conſiderable Expence Ex-'traordinary: I am ſure ſuch Conſiderations will move you to give me an Aid 'to provide for thoſe Things, wherein the Security, the Eaſe and Happi-'neſs of my Government are ſo much concern'd. But above all, I muſt re-'commend to you the Care of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of the 'Nation, That you will put it into ſuch a Condition, *as may make us con-'ſider'd and reſpected Abroad.* I cannot expreſs my Concerns upon this 'Occaſion more ſuitable to my own Thoughts of it, than by aſſuring you 'I have a true *Engliſh* Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as 'you can be; and I pleaſe my ſelf with the Hopes, that by God's Bleſ-'ſing and your Aſſiſtance, I may carry its Reputation yet higher in the 'World, than ever it has been in the Time of my Anceſtors. And as I 'will not call upon you for Supplies, but when they are of publick Uſe 'and Advantage, ſo I promiſe you, that what you give me upon ſuch Oc-'caſions, ſhall be manag'd with good Husbandry; and I will take Care it 'ſhall be employ'd to the Uſes for which I ask them.

The Harmony between the King and the Commons.

Pleas'd and ſatisfy'd with this Speech, the Commons, without enquiring into the Levying the Revenues before granted, proceeded in a liberal manner to further Supplies, and unanimouſly Reſolv'd, 'That a Supply be gi-'ven to his Majeſty, for repair of the Navy, Ordnance and Stores, and 'in Defence of the ſame, and for all other Occaſions mention'd in his Ma-'jeſty's *Speech*.' And when they came to the *Ways and Means*, they agreed

agreed upon an Additional Duty of Excise upon *Wines* and *Vinegar*, and a further Imposition upon *Sugars* and *Tobacco*. And shortly after, on the 10th of *June*, they receiv'd this obliging Message from the King, 'That 'his Majesty did heartily thank the House, for their readiness in his Sup- 'plies; That he desir'd no more this Session, than what they were about: 'That he wou'd make trial of the Impositions on *Sugars* and *Tobacco*; 'but if he shou'd find them Injurious to his Plantations, he wou'd not make 'use of them, but hop'd they wou'd supply them some other way.' In sum, never was greater Harmony between the King and the People; never were more fair Promises in one Side, nor greater Generosity on the other. 1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26

4. During these Proceedings at Home, the late Earl of *Argyle* was trying his Fortunes in the Field Abroad, and in the Limits of his own Countrey, where his Cause and Interest was most prevalent. Having issu'd out his *Declarations*, as is remember'd, he sent Letters to several of his Friends and Acquaintance, to desire their speedy Assistance; and detach'd his two Sons to make Excursions about the Neighbourhood of *Lorn*, and oblige some by Menaces, and others by Promises, to join with him in his Cause; but all this without any great and answerable Success. For all the Men he could raise did not amount to above three or four Thousand, with whom having march'd to the Town of *Rosa* in the Isle of *Boot*, and encamp'd himself, he was soon after pursu'd, and almost surrounded by the Earl of *Dumbarton*, General of the King's Forces, and by several other Bodies commanded by the Duke of *Gordon*, the Marquis of *Athol*, the Earl of *Arran*, and other Lords, who hasten'd from all Parts to extinguish the Fire of Rebellion, before it cou'd be blown up into a dangerous Flame. These latter being superior, the *Argylians* were forc'd to shift from one Island to another to avoid them; which for a while they easily did, by the help of their Shipping and Boats, until the Arrival of some Vessels of War sent by the King, as the *Faulcon* and *Meremaid*, and some other Frigates, which shortly after happen'd. Argyle's *Progress in* Scotland.

Argyle having Intelligence of the Approach of his Majesty's Ships, at length found it necessary to quit the Isle of *Boot*, and went over to *Cowell*, one of the Divisions of *Argyleshire*, bringing his Vessels and Boats into *Loch-Fine* towards *Inverary*; where they were soon after block'd up by the King's Ships, lying in the Mouth of the said *Loch*. In the mean Time, *Argyle* having brought his Ships under the Castle of *Ellengreg*, gave out and made report, That he wou'd fight the Marquis of *Athol*, who then lay about *Inverary*, tho' his chief Design was to avoid him; his Men, not finding the People to come in so readily as was promis'd, daily deserting him. Nor cou'd his Ships, detain'd by contrary Winds, get into *Loch-Fine*, but were so discourag'd by the Advancement of the *King's-Fisher* and *Faulcon* to the Entrance of *Loch-Rowan* where they lay, that they began to fortify the said Castle of *Ellengreg*, and a Rock lying near to it in a little Island, for securing their Vessels. This done, *Argyle*, leaving his Cannon, Arms and Ammunition in the Castle, and a hundred and fifty Men for the Defence of it and his Ships, march'd away towards the Head of *Loch-Fine*; and, returning thence, after a rough Reception by the Marquis of *Athol*'s Men, pass'd *Loch-Ling*, marching towards *Lenox* in *Dumbarton-shire*. The same Day the King's Ships came up to the Castle with a Resolution to batter it, and to destroy their Vessels; but upon the firing of the first Gun, two Men came off with a Boat with a White-Flag, and told them, 'They might 'save their Labour, for there were none to oppose them, all the Rebels be- 'ing fled.' Upon which they sent a Boat, and finding it to be true, took Possession of the Castle, Ships and Boats, besides five Thousand Arms, five hundred Barrels of Powder, which was sav'd from being blown up, with Ball and other Stores in Proportion. *His March into the Countrey.*

This was a fatal Loss to the *Argylians*, who were at the same time ad-

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vancing by the Head of *Gaviloch*, towards the Fords of the River *Levin*, between *Loch-Lomand* and the Town of *Dumbarton*. The King's General, the Earl of *Dumbarton*, was then with the Army at *Glaſcow*; where having notice that the Enemy had paſs'd the River *Levin*, he march'd very early in the Morning after them, as they were making towards *Sterling*, and overtook them in the Pariſh of *Killerne*. The King's Horſe and Dragoons kept them in Play till the Foot arriv'd; but they were poſted in ſo ſtrong a Ground, that it being late in the Evening, it was not thought fit then to attack them: So they ſtood drawn up all Night, as well to prevent Surprizals, as to be ready to fall upon them, as ſoon as Day-light appear'd. But the *Argylians* with great Silence march'd off in the Night, undiſcern'd by the Royaliſts, towards the River *Clyde*, which they ſwam with their Horſes, wafting their Foot in Boats, and ſo without any conſiderable Oppoſition, got into *Renfrew*. The King's Army miſſing them in the Morning, march'd with all Diligence to *Glaſcow*, and thence the General with his Horſe and Dragoons haſtned after them, leaving the Foot to follow with what ſpeed they cou'd make. At *Renfrew* Sir *John Cockran*, a principal Man under *Argyle*, undertook to provide Guides to conduct his Friends ſafely into *Galloway*, but they miſtaking the Way, or deſignedly miſleading them, carry'd them into a Bogg, where having loſt their Horſes and Baggage, the Foot diſpers'd into ſmall Parties; upon which the King's General divided his Forces anſwerable to thoſe Parties, to purſue them. *Argyle* ſeeing all loſt, fled towards *Clyde*, and was ſet upon by two of *Greenock*'s Servants, but ſcorning to yield, he fired upon them when they call'd out to him. He receiv'd a Wound in his Head; upon which, not truſting to his Horſe, he alighted and run into the Water. The Noiſe of the Buſtle brought out a Country-man, who ran into the Water after him, where he was almoſt up to the Neck. He preſented a Piſtol at the Country-man, but it miſs'd Fire; whereupon the other gave him a Wound in the Head, which ſo ſtunn'd him that he fell, and in his falling cry'd out, *Unfortunate* ARGYLE! Upon which Words they ſeiz'd him, and carry'd him to their Commander, who ſent him bound to *Glaſcow*, and ſo to *Edinburgh*. This happen'd on the 17th of *June*, twenty eight Days after his firſt Landing in *Scotland*.

His Forces diſpers'd,

And himſelf taken.

Never was a Priſoner of that Character us'd with more Ignominy in that Kingdom, except the famous Marquis of *Montroſs*, whoſe extraordinary Sufferings proceeded principally from the Father of this unfortunate Nobleman. Like the vileſt Malefactor he was brought from *Glaſcow* to *Edinburgh*, and enter'd the City with his Hands bound behind him, bare-headed, with the Hangman with an Ax before him, and became a piteous Spectacle to the People. Within a few Days after, he was brought forth to the Market-Croſs, near which he was beheaded, without any great Ceremony or Speech, and his Head ſet up upon the *Toll-Booth* of the City. The more to diſplay the retaliating Juſtice of Heaven, which is always moſt ſignal in the Caſe of Blood, the following Obſervation was made at this Time, *viz.* 'That the late Earl of *Argyle* was taken in the ſame Month of the 'Year, in the ſame Week of the Month, in the ſame Day of the Week, 'and in the ſame Hour of the Day, (to ſay nothing that he was carry'd 'through the ſame Gate) with that Marquis of *Montroſs*, whoſe Murder 'perhaps was one of the fouleſt Blots in the Hiſtory of that Nation.' With *Argyle* dy'd the Rebellion in the North, the reſt being ſoon defeated: *Rumbald* the Malſter, the Maſter of the *Rye-Houſe*, being a Principal, fought deſperately, and was taken; and Colonel *Ayloff*, after he was a Priſoner, rip'd up his own Belly with a Penknife, but recover'd to be hang'd in *England*, as the other had been in *Scotland*; his Wounds not permitting him to be tranſported into his own Countrey.

His Execution and End of that Rebellion.

The Steps towards

IV. 1. *Argyle*'s Inſurrection was not fully ſuppreſs'd, when the King and the Nation were alarm'd with a greater Storm rais'd in the Weſt of

England

Orleans. MSS. Boyer. Bloody Aſſizes. Jones. Rot. Parl. Manley.

England by an Invaſion of the Duke of *Monmouth* and his Followers; concerning whom, and the bold Expedition undertaken, we have ſome conſiderable Light from a Manuſcript written by Mr. *Ferguſon* himſelf, but never yet publiſh'd. We have already remember'd the Duke's Diſgrace under the late King, and his Retreat to the *Hague*; where he met with ſuch a kind Reception, as made him almoſt forget he was an Exile. This Uſage, tho' in it ſelf not very ungrateful, ſo much rais'd the Jealouſy of that King, that he deſir'd the Prince of *Orange* to withdraw his Favour from the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Prince, looking upon him as an Object of Merit, was ſo far from complying, that he continu'd his former Kindneſs and Reſpect to the Duke, and order'd his Troops to ſalute him when he ſhou'd happen to be preſent at the Reviews. On the other hand, the King had order'd Mr. *Chudley*, his Miniſter at the *Hague*, to command his Troops in the *Dutch* Service, not to take any Notice of the Duke of *Monmouth*; which the Prince reſented ſo highly, that he plainly reprimanded *Chudley* for *offering to deliver Orders to Officers under his Command, without communicating the ſame to him.* Upon which the *Engliſh* Envoy complain'd to his Maſter, who thinking himſelf affronted, forbade him to ſee the Prince. 1685. Jac. 1. Ref. 26

The Duke of MONMOUTH'S *Expedition.*

This was the Poſture of Affairs with the Duke, when King *Charles* was ſucceeded in the Throne by his Brother, who retaining the ſtrongeſt Jealouſy againſt him, as having been ſo often his Rival, endeavour'd by his new Envoy Mr. *Skelton*, to get him ſecured, and ſent into *England*. But this Deſign cou'd not be ſo ſecretly carry'd on, as not to come within the Knowledge of the Prince of *Orange*, who having more Generoſity than to ſuffer an abandon'd Man to be deliver'd up to his Enemies, not only gave the Duke Notice of the Deſign againſt him, by Monſieur *Bentinck*, his Favourite, but ſupply'd him with Money to retire privately to *Bruſſels*, with a farther Encouragement to him to go into foreign Countries. One of the firſt Things King *James* did after his Acceſſion to the Throne, was to let the Prince of *Orange* know, how deſirous he was to maintain a perfect Amity with him, and to converſe with him rather as a Father, than as an Ally and a Neighbour; which was thought ſufficient to have caus'd a right Underſtanding between the Prince and the Court of *England*. But upon the Duke's Retreat to *Bruſſels*, ſome Papers were found in his Houſe by *Skelton*, which diſcover'd certain Proofs of the Correſpondence between Him and *Bentinck*, which gave the Envoy a new Jealouſy, and caus'd him to be more vigilant than ever. So that the Duke had not been long at *Bruſſels*, when at the Inſtance of King *James*, who thought him ſtill too near his Accomplices, the Marquis of *Grana*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, oblig'd him to depart thoſe Dominions; from whence he return'd privately into *Holland*, and lay *incognito* at *Amſterdam*. Here he fell in with the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *John Cockran*, Colonel *Holins*, Captain *Matthews*, Mr. *Wade*, *Ferguſon*, *Rumbald*, and ſeveral other *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Exiles, upon the Account of the late Plot, who being equally enrag'd againſt King *James*, cheriſh'd the Duke's Reſentments, and with him concerted Means to revenge themſelves of their common Enemy: All which was carry'd on with the moſt imaginable Secrecy; and we have good Reaſon to believe, without the Privity, much leſs the Approbation, of the Prince of *Orange*. The Manner and raſh Entrance upon the Expedition ſhall be deliver'd chiefly in the Words of the foremention'd Manuſcript; which, after a Declaration, 'That there ſtands nothing inſerted in it but what is exactly true' proceeds thus,

A particular Account from a Manuſcript by Ferguſon.

It is not without Cauſe that we have been reflected upon, both for having been precipitous in venturing into *England*, and for having adjuſted our going to the moſt unhappy Juncture, that cou'd have been pitch'd up-

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on or imagin'd. For tho' it was a Matter of vaſt Importance, and wherein the Miſcarriage wou'd be accompany'd with fatal Conſequences to the Nation, as well as our ſelves; yet we neither took Time to concert it with Perſons of Integrity, Wiſdom and Intereſt; nor had we the Diſcretion to delay the Execution of what we were deſigning, till we had an Anſwer from thoſe we had ſent over to certify Friends of our Reſolution, and to beſpeak their Concurrence and Aid. Nor cou'd there have been a more unhappy Seaſon calculated for ſuch an Attempt, than during the Seſſion both of the Parliament, and of the Term; when moſt Gentlemen were oblig'd to be at *London*, and thereby not only out of Capacity of rendring that Service and Aſſiſtance, which we might have expected from them at another Time, but many of them under a Neceſſity, by reaſon of their Circumſtances, of joining in thoſe Votes and Counſels, by which we became branded for Traytors and Rebels; upon which they who had Eſtates to loſe, were much diſcourag'd from coming in to our Aſſiſtance. Neither was there a ſufficient Time between the firſt Meſſage ſent into *England*, to give Friends Intelligence of our Deſign, and our haſtening over to purſue it, as to allow them a competent Space, either to diſcourſe thoſe in whom they wou'd confide, or diſpoſe themſelves where their Preſence wou'd be moſt uſeful, nor to ſettle thoſe Correſpondencies, and make ſuch Preparations that we expected from them, and which were needful to put our Undertaking into a probable Way of ſucceeding.

All this the Duke of *Monmouth* was very ſenſible of, but ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-rul'd contrary both to the Dictates of his Judgment, and the Biaſs of his Inclination. For cou'd he have been allow'd to have purſu'd his own Sentiments and Reſolutions, he intended to have ſpent that Summer in the Court of *Swedeland*; where, out of the Reach, as well as Suſpicion of his Enemies, he wou'd have given Matters at Home time to ripen towards a Revolution; afforded his Friends Leiſure to have ſettled Correſpondencies in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; to have remitted Money for providing a ſufficient Stock and Magazine of Ammunition and Arms; and have maturated all Things for a Conjunction with him upon his Arrival the following Spring. But from this he was diverted by the Importunity of the Earl of *Argyle*, and prevail'd upon by the Advice and Intreaty of my Lord *Gray* and Mr. *Wade*, contrary to the Deſires of Mr. *Fletcher* and Captain *Matthews*, to haſten into *England*. To which, I can ſay, That I had the leaſt Acceſſion of any who were then about him; tho' I have had the Unhappineſs to be repreſented as the chief Author and Promoter of it, as well as of many other Things whereof I am innocent.

The Earl of *Argyle* having made Preparations towards a Deſcent into *Scotland*, and having as he thought diſpos'd Things there for his Reception and Aſſiſtance, he was not willing to loſe the Opportunity; leſt beſides the Offending and Alienating thoſe whom he had drawn in and depended upon, the Enemies thro' Delay might come to underſtand what he and his Friends had been projecting. Nor will any Man think it ſtrange, that the Earl of *Argyle*, being inviolably fix'd in that Reſolution, ſhou'd be earneſt with the Duke of *Monmouth* to invade *England* at the ſame time; ſeeing it wou'd not only oblige the King to divide his Forces, and thereby leave the Earl to be withſtood only by a Part of the Army, but wou'd give Encouragement to many in *Scotland*, who wou'd have otherwiſe ſtood Neuter, to join with the ſaid Earl upon the Intelligence of the Duke of *Monmouth* having made a Deſcent into *England*, and that they two acted by Concert. And ſo unreaſonably forward was the Earl of *Argyle* of proſecuting what he had deſign'd in *Scotland*, that he wou'd not be prevail'd upon to delay ſo much as one Month, till the Duke cou'd make ſome Preparations, tho' far from proportionable to the Undertaking he was hurrying him upon; and

till

till he cou'd receive Anſwers from the Meſſengers he had diſpatch'd into *England*, whereby he might know what Aſſiſtance he was to expect from his Friends. Nor wou'd the Earl, after his own ominous Haſt, ſet ſail for *Scotland*, till he forc'd a Promiſe from the Duke of Embarking for *England* within ſo many Days after: Which the Duke, rather than ſuffer his Honour to be ſtain'd, comply'd with, as far as the Weather wou'd permit; tho' he found the Obſervation of his Word to interfere with his Intereſt, as well as all the Principles of Prudence and Diſcretion. And beſides the Impreſſion, which the Importunity of the Earl of *Argyle*, ſeconded by the Advice of ſeveral about the Duke, had upon him to haſten precipitouſly into *England*, before he had either made thoſe Preparations abroad, or ſettled thoſe Correſpondencies at home, which were neceſſary, he was ſenſible that to have declin'd engaging at that Conjuncture, wou'd have occaſion'd many of the *Engliſh*, who had fled into *Holland*, and were weary of continuing Exiles from their Country, not only to have abandon'd him and to have gone with *Argyle*, but in revenge for being hinder'd from returning Home, to have loaded him with all the Aſperſions that Perſons exaſperated cou'd have caſt upon him. Moreover he foreſaw what a Reflection it wou'd have been upon him, to remain idle and dormant beyond Sea, at a Seaſon when the Earl of *Argyle* was acting for his Country; and how it wou'd not only have been improv'd to his Prejudice, by ſuch whom the ſerving their own Ends had reconcil'd to him, but wou'd have greatly cool'd the Affections of thoſe who had lov'd his Perſon, and purſu'd his Intereſt in Conjunction with their own and that of the Kingdom. So that being brought under a neceſſity of venturing either his Life or his Honour, he choſe to hearken to the Dictates of Generoſity, rather than of Wiſdom, and thereupon to hazard into *England*, before Matters were ripe for the Attempt. Which as it was the firſt Source of the Miſcarriage of his Undertaking; ſo we may reſolve our Defeat at laſt into it, as a very natural, tho' ſeemingly, a remote Cauſe. Thus far the Manuſcript. 1685. Jac. 1. Reſ. 26

2. With theſe ill-boding Circumſtances the Duke of *Monmouth* reſolv'd upon his great Expedition; and with the utmoſt Secrecy he hired a Man of War of thirty two Guns at *Amſterdam*, and three other ſmall Veſſels, on which he loaded Arms for five Thouſand Men, of which moſt were defenſive, as Backs, Breaſts, &c. which prov'd of little Uſe afterwards. *Skelton*, the *Engliſh* Envoy had ſome private Notice of theſe Preparations; and us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to ſtop the Veſſels in the River: But all he cou'd really effect was to detain one of the ſmall Veſſels, and to extort an Order from the *States* to Arreſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, who therefore went the ſooner on Board, accompany'd by *Ford* Lord *Gray*, a *German* Count, Colonel *Holms*, Mr. *Joſeph Tyley*, Colonel *Matthews*, Major *Perrot*, Captain *Anneſley*, Captain *Hewling*, Mr. *Wade*, Dr. *Temple*, Mr. *Ferguſon*, &c. in all but Eighty two Perſons, with whom he was to perform ſuch wonderful Actions. On the 24th of *May*, about three Weeks after the Departure of the Earl of *Argyle*, the Duke ſail'd out of the *Texell* with his Man of War and two Tenders; and met with ſuch bad Weather, and croſs Accidents, that he was nineteen Days at Sea; and yet was never diſcover'd by the *Engliſh* Ships which lay in the *Channel* purpoſely to intercept him. During this tedious Voyage, *Ferguſon*, as he afterwards related to particular Friends, had a great Deſire to ſound the Duke's Inclinations, which were at preſent unknown to his Followers: And one Day ſitting by himſelf in a muſing Poſture, the Duke gave him an Opportunity, by asking him in a pleaſant way *About what he was ſtudying and thinking.*' The other reply'd, as it were between Jeſt and Earneſt, *I am thinking to beg a particular Favour of you, when you are King of* England, *that I may be your prime*

The Duke leaves Holland.

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prime Miniſter of State. His Grace, perhaps without much Thinking, made anſwer, *I cannot do that*; *for I have deſign'd*, or, *I am under an Obligation to grant that to the Lord*— by which *Ferguſon*, as he ſaid afterwards, made a double Diſcovery.

And lands at Lyme.

On *Thurſday* the 11th Day of *June*, the Duke appear'd off of *Lyme*, a Port and Borough in *Dorſetſhire*, and went on Shore that Afternoon. As ſoon as his Men were landed, he commanded Silence, and falling on his Knees, he implor'd the Protection of Heaven, in a ſhort Prayer: Then drawing his Sword, he led his Men a Back-way into the Town, and ſet up his Blue Standard in the Market-Place, without the leaſt Oppoſition. Then he muſter'd his little Company, which tho' well arm'd and in good Equipage too much diſcover'd his Weakneſs, at a Time when his Numbers ought to have been magnify'd; which might eaſily have been done, if he had landed in the Night-time. Being ask'd, *Whom they were for:* They declar'd, *For the Proteſtant Religion*; heartily inviting all Perſons to come and join with them. Captain *Lark*, and ſeveral of the Town's-Men immediately join'd them. After this, a long printed DECLARATION was read at the Market-Croſs, intituled, *The Declaration of* James *Duke of* Monmouth, *and the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Others, now in Arms for the Defence and Vindication of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws, Rights and Privileges of* England.

His Declaration.

The Preface to it was to this Effect, 'That Government was originally 'inſtituted by God, and this or that Form of it choſen and ſubmitted to by 'Men, for the Peace, Happineſs, and Security of the Governed, and not 'for the private Intereſt and perſonal Greatneſs of thoſe that rule. That 'the Government of *England* was, above all others, happy in its *primi-* 'tive Form; whereby the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Privileges 'of the Subject, were ſo far from juſtling one another, that the Rights re- 'ſerv'd to the People, tended to render the King honourable and great; 'and the Prerogatives ſettled on the Prince, were in order to the Subjects 'Protection and Safety. But now they were compell'd to ſay, *That all* 'the Boundaries of the Government had of late been broken, and nothing 'left unattempted for turning the Limited Monarchy into an Abſolute 'Tyranny.' Then they proceed to charge upon the Duke of *York*, in his Brother's Reign, 'His contriving the burning of *London*; his inſtigating a 'Confederacy with *France*, and a War with *Holland*; his fomenting the 'Popiſh Plot, and encouraging the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*; 'his charging Treaſon againſt *Proteſtants*, and ſuborning Witneſſes to ſwear 'the Patriots of our Religion and Liberties out of their Lives; his hiring 'execrable Villains to aſſaſſinate the late Earl of *Eſſex*, and cauſing others 'to be clandeſtinely cut off, in hopes to conceal it; his adviſing and procu- 'ring the Prorogation and Diſſolution of the Parliaments, in order to pre- 'vent the looking into his Crimes, and that he might eſcape the Juſtice of 'the Nation, *&c.*

They next proceeded to enumerate the 'Tyrannies which he had exer- 'cis'd ſince he ſnatch'd the Crown from his Brother's Head: For, in Defi- 'ance of all Laws and Statutes of the Realm, made for the ſecuring of the 'Proteſtant Religion, he not only began his Reign with a bare-fac'd avow- 'ing himſelf of the *Romiſh* Religion, but call'd in Multitudes of Prieſts 'and Jeſuits, for whom the Law makes it Treaſon to come into the King- 'dom, and hath impower'd them to exerciſe Idolatries: And beſides his be- 'ing daily preſent at the Worſhip of the *Maſs*, he hath publickly aſſiſted at 'the greateſt Fopperies of their Superſtition. Neither hath he been more 'tender in trampling upon the Laws which concern our *Properties*; ſeeing 'in two *Proclamations*, whereof the one requires the collecting of the *Cu-* 'ſtoms, and the other continuing that part of the *Exciſe*, which was to

'expire

'expire at the late King's Death; he hath violently, and againſt all the 1685.
'Laws of the Land, broken in upon our Eſtates. Neither is it any Exte- Jac. 1.
'nuation of his Tyranny, that he is countenanc'd in it by an Extra-Judi- Ref. 26
'cial Opinion of ſeven or eight ſuborn'd and forſworn Judges, but rather
'declaring the Greatneſs and Extent of the Conſpiracy againſt our Rights;
'and that there is no Means left for our Relief, but by Force of Arms:
'For advancing thoſe to the Bench, that were the Scandal of the Bar, and
'conſtituting thoſe very Men to *declare* the Laws, who were accus'd and
'branded in Parliament for *perverting* them; we are precluded all Hopes
'of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter*-Hall: And by packing of Juries, falſe Returns,
'new illegal Charters, and other corrupt Means, he doth at once deprive
'us of all Expectations of Succour, where our Anceſtors were wont to find
'it; and hopes to render that which ought to be the Peoples Fence againſt
'Tyranny, and the Conſervator of their Liberties, the Means of ſubvert-
'ing all our Laws, and of eſtabliſhing his Arbitrarineſs, and confirming our
'Thraldom.'——Notwithſtanding all which, they declare to the World,
'It is not for any perſonal Injuries, or private Diſcontents, nor in Purſuance
'of any corrupt Intereſt, that we take our Swords in our Hands; but for
'vindicating our Religion and Laws, and reſcuing our Countrey from Ruin
'and Deſtruction, and for the preſerving our ſelves, Wives and Children,
'from Bondage and Idolatry. Wherefore, before God, Angels and Men,
'we ſtand acquitted from, and do Charge upon our Enemies all the Slaugh-
'ter and Devaſtations that unavoidably accompany inteſtine War.'

After this they laid down the Ways and Means of redreſſing all Grievances, and particularly the repealing the Penal Laws againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, the *Corporation* and *Militia* Acts, and promis'd to purſue thoſe Ends in a *fair* and *effectual* manner. And then that they might as fairly and effectually load the King, they proceeded thus: 'And whereas the ſaid
'Duke of *York*, in Order to the expediting his idolatrous nnd bloody De-
'ſigns of the *Papiſts*, the gratifying his own boundleſs Ambition after a
'Crown, and to hinder the Enquiry after the Aſſaſſination of the Earl of
'*Eſſex*, hath poiſon'd the late King, and thereby manifeſted his Ingrati-
'tude, as well as Cruelty to the World, in murdering a Brother, who had
'almoſt ruin'd himſelf, to preſerve and protect him from Puniſhment; We
'do therefore farther declare, that for the aforeſaid villanous and unnatural
'Crime, and other his Crimes beforemention'd, and in purſuance of the Re-
'ſolution of both Houſes of Parliament, who voted to *revenge the King's*
'*Death in caſe he came to an untimely End*, we will proſecute the ſaid
'*James* Duke of *York*, till we have brought him to ſuffer what the Law
'adjudg'd to be the Puniſhment of ſo execrable a Fact. And in a more par-
'ticular manner, his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, being ſenſible of the
'barbarous and horrid Parricide committed upon his Father, doth reſolve
'to purſue the ſaid *James* Duke of *York* as a *mortal* and *bloody Enemy*;
'and will endeavour, as well with his own Hand, as by the Aſſiſtance of
'his Friends, and the Law, to have Juſtice executed upon him. And the ſaid
'*James* Duke of *Monmouth*, the now Head and Captain-General of the
'*Proteſtant Forces* of this Kingdom, aſſembled for the End aforeſaid, from
'the Generouſneſs of his own Nature, and the Love he bears to theſe Na-
'tions, whoſe Welfare and Settlement he infinitely prefers to whatſoever
'concerns himſelf, *doth not at preſent inſiſt upon his* TITLE, but leaves
'the Determination thereof to the Wiſdom, Juſtice and Authority of a Par-
'liament legally choſen, and acting with Freedom: And the in mean time
'doth profeſs and declare, by all that's ſacred, that he will in Conjunction
'with the People of *England*, employ all his Abilities beſtow'd upon him
'by God and Nature, for the Re-eſtabliſhment and Preſervation of the *Pro-*
'*teſtant* Religion in theſe Kingdoms, and for reſtoring of the Subjects of the

'ſame

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'ſame to a free Exerciſe thereof, in oppoſition to *Popery*, and the Conſe-
'quences of it, *Tyranny* and *Slavery*. To the obtaining of which End, he
'doth hereby promiſe and oblige himſelf to the People of *England*, to
'promote the paſſing into Laws all the Methods aforeſaid, that it may ne-
'ver more be in the Power of any ſingle Perſon on the Throne to de-
'prive their Subjects of their Rights, and to ſubvert the fundamental Laws
'of the Government deſign'd for their Preſervation.' Then declaring for the Inſurrection in *Scotland*, and inviting all Proteſtant Kings, Princes, States and People to their Aſſiſtance, they conclude in theſe Words; 'And
'above all, our Dependance and Truſt is upon the Lord of Hoſts, in whoſe
'Name we go forth, and to whom we commit our *Cauſe*, and refer the
'Deciſion betwixt us in the Day of Battle. *Now let us play the Men for*
'our People, and for the Cities of our God; and the Lord do that which
'ſeemeth good unto him.

The Effect of it. This *Declaration* being read, and ſpread abroad, wrought ſo much upon the Minds of the common People, whoſe Affections to the Duke had been long pre-engag'd, that they ſoon flock'd to him in great Numbers, and gave no ſmall Hopes of Succeſs; tho' his Grace manifeſtly labour'd under great Difficulties, with reſpect to the Want of Arms, Horſes, and good Officers. But how this Declaration and Expedition was taken at *Weſtminſter* in the Houſes of Parliament, is now time to be remember'd.

The Proceedings of the Parliament. 3. As ſoon as the King had by Meſſage, let the Parliament know of the Arrival of the Duke of *Monmouth*, by Intelligence from the Mayor of *Lyme*, both Houſes expreſs'd their Thanks and their Indignation; and they immediately agreed, 'To wait on his Majeſty, and give their Thanks in an
'*Humble Addreſs*, for his Favour in imparting the ſaid Intelligence; and
'do humbly offer to aſſiſt and ſtand by his Majeſty, with their Lives and
'Fortunes, againſt *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, and all Rebels and Tray-
'tors, and all other his Majeſty's Enemies whatſoever.' Upon the Delivery of which Addreſs, his Majeſty return'd this obliging Anſwer: *I thank you for your loyal Addreſs; and as you have offer'd to aſſiſt and ſtand by Me with your Lives and Fortunes, I do aſſure you, I will ſtand by You, and will at any Time venture my Life in Defence and Support of the Government, and for ſecuring the Peace of the Kingdom.*

A Bill of Attainder againſt the Duke, paſſes, The Commons ſo much ſignaliz'd their Loyalty, that as ſoon as they had finiſh'd the Buſineſs of the Addreſs, they preſently *reſolved*, 'That a Bill
'be brought in for the Attainder of *James* Duke of *Monmouth* of High-
'Treaſon; praying his Majeſty to iſſue out his Royal *Proclamation*, pro-
'miſing a Reward of Five Thouſand Pounds to any that ſhall bring in the
'Body of the Duke of *Monmouth* dead or alive.' This *Bill of Attainder* was in leſs than two Days diſpatch'd by the Commons; and being ſent up to the Lords, it was read three Times in one Day, and compleated without any Alteration. In the mean time the King publiſh'd two Proclamations, the firſt againſt ſpreading a traiterous Declaration publiſh'd by *James* Duke of *Monmouth*; and the other for promiſing the aforeſaid Reward of Five Thouſand Pounds to any who ſhou'd bring him alive or dead. Then on the 16th of *June* he came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he gave his Royal Aſſent from the Throne to theſe following Bills, 1. An Act *for granting to his Majeſty an Impoſition upon all Wines and Vinegar imported between the* 24th *of* June, 1685, *and the* 24th *of* June, 1693. 2. An Act *for granting to his Majeſty an Impoſition upon all Tobacco and Sugar imported between the* 24th *of* June 1685, *and the* 24th *of* June, 1693. 3. An Act *to attaint* James *Duke of* Monmouth *of High-Treaſon*. And two private Bills; one to *enable the Earl of* Oſſory *to make a Jointure*; and the other, *for Naturalizing* of ſeveral Perſons.

With other Bills.

The

The King finding the Houſe of Commons ſo free and forward in their Service, two Days after ſent them this following Meſſage by the Earl of *Middleton*; 'That He judges it neceſſary for the Members, on whoſe Loy-'alty he depends, to be preſent in their reſpective Counties, and there-'fore deſigns there ſhall be a Receſs in a very few Days: But becauſe the 'Rebellion in the *Weſt* will occaſion an extraordinary Expence, his Ma-'jeſty deſires that there may be a good Fund for a preſent Sum of Money, 'to anſwer the immediate Charge his Majeſty muſt be at; and to the end 'the Bills now depending may not be prejudic'd, his Majeſty is pleas'd this 'Separation ſhall be an *Adjournment*, and for ſome ſhort Time only.' There never appear'd a greater Readineſs in the Commons, who without Heſitation Reſolved, 'That a Supply not exceeding Four Hundred Thou-'ſand Pounds, be given to his Majeſty, for his preſent *extraordinary Occa-'ſions.*' And both Houſes were ſo unanimous and expeditious, that on the 27th of *June*, his Majeſty had occaſion to come to the Houſe of Peers, and give his Royal Aſſent to theſe following Bills. 1. An Act *for granting an Aid to his Majeſty, by an Impoſition on all* French *Linens, and all* Eaſt-India *Linen, and ſeveral other Manufactures of* India, *and on all* French *wrought Silks and Stuffs, and on all Brandy imported after the* 1ſt *Day of* July 1685, *and before the* 1ſt *Day of* July 1690. 2. An Act *for reviving and continuing two former Acts for Encouragement of Coynage.* 3. An Act *for the providing neceſſary Carriages for his Majeſty, in his Royal Progreſs and Removals.* 4. An Act *for reviving an Act for providing of Carriages by Land and Water, for the Uſe of his Majeſty's Navy and Ordnance.* 5. An Act *for conſolidating the Eſtates Taile, and Reverſion in Fee, which his Majeſty hath in the* Poſt-Office, *and Twenty Four Thouſand Pounds* per Annum *of the hereditary* Exciſe. 6. An Act *to enable his Majeſty to make Grants, Leaſes, and Copies of Offices, Lands and Hereditaments, Parcel of his Highneſs's Dutchy of* Cornwal, *or annex'd to the ſame, and for Confirmation of Leaſes and Grants already made.* 7. An Act *againſt the Importation of Gunpowder, Arms and other Ammunition and other Utenſils of War.* 8. An Act *for repealing certain Clauſes in an Act made on the* 29th *and* 30th *Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty, for prohibiting* French *Commodities.* 9. An Act *for reviving a former Act for exporting Leather.* 10. An Act *for Continuance of three former Acts, for preventing of Theft and Rapine upon the* Northern *Borders of* England. 11. An Act *for clearing, preſerving and maintaining and repairing the Haven and Peers of* Great-Yarmouth. 12. An Act *for rebuilding, finiſhing and adorning the Cathedral Church of St.* Paul, *London.* And to ſeven private Bills.

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The King's Meſſage to the Commons.

A new Supply.

More Bills paſs'd.

The Houſes proceeded with ſuch Diſpatch and Readineſs, that within four Days after, on *Thurſday* the 2d of *July*, his Majeſty came again to the Houſe of Peers; and the Commons being ſent for to attend, he gave his Royal Aſſent to theſe other *Bills.* 1. An Act *for reviving and Continuance of ſeveral Acts of Parliament therein mention'd.* 2. An Act *to encourage the building of Ships in* England. 3. An additional Act *for the Improvement of Tillage.* 4. An Act *for erecting a new Church, to be call'd the Pariſh of St.* James, *within the Liberty of* Weſtminſter. 5. An Act *for the Repair of the Cathedral Church of* Bangor, *and for the Maintenance of the Choir there, and for the Augmentation of the Biſhoprick of* Bangor; and alſo, *for an Augmentation of ſeveral Vicariges within the Comportions of* Laudinum *in the Dioceſs of* Bangor *aforeſaid.* Upon paſſing of theſe *Bills*, the Lord-Keeper ſpoke thus to both Houſes: '*My Lords* '*and Gentlemen*, I am commanded to let you know, That it is his Maje-'ſty's Pleaſure, that both Houſes adjourn forthwith till *Tueſday* the 4th of '*Auguſt* next. Not that his Majeſty intends that then there ſhall be a *Seſ-*

The Parliament breaks up.

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'*ſion*, but that the Members that are about the Town ſhall then meet and 'adjourn themſelves, as there ſhall be Occaſion, till Winter: And when his 'Majeſty wou'd have a full Houſe, he will give Notice of it by *Procla-* '*mation.*' And thus amicably ended the firſt Meeting of the Parliament, after it had ſate, and finiſh'd great Variety of Buſineſs, but a little above ſix Weeks.

The Duke of Monmouth's *Proceedings in the* Weſt.

V. 1. All this Time, the Duke of *Monmouth* was purſuing his unfortunate Expedition, which was begun, as was before remember'd, with ſuch ſmall Numbers, and ſuch ſlender Preparations, that it is a Wonder he ſhou'd meet with ſo much Succeſs, and bid ſo fair for a Crown. Being attended with ſo ſmall a Force at his Landing, but eighty two in Number, and moſt of them unskilful in military Affairs, oblig'd his Grace to ſtay ſeveral Days at *Lyme*, before he cou'd gather Strength enough to begin his March; which furniſh'd the King's Party with ſeveral Advantages againſt him, in ſecuring many of his chief Friends, and diſcouraging and incommoding others that were flocking to him; yet ſtill his Numbers ſo encreas'd from the ordinary ſort, that he ſoon found that he was in greater Want of Arms and Officers, than of Common-Soldiers. His firſt Arrival was attended with ſome ominous Circumſtances, particularly a fatal Quarrel between two of his beſt Officers, of which, and the immediate Conſequences, we ſhall give an Account from the Manuſcript formerly mention'd.

MSS. Bloody Aſſizes. *Orleans. Manley. Boyer. Welwood. B. Lloid.*

Moreover, of the ſmall Number which accompany'd the Duke out of *Holland*, one was unfortunately kill'd ſoon after our Landing, and before we were in a Condition to march. Which was occaſion'd by his own intemperate and unruly Paſſion, and beyond the Intention of the Gentleman whoſe Misfortune it was to do it; who having ſnatch'd his Piſtol into his Hand for no other End, but to preſerve himſelf from the other's rude Aſſault with a Cane, had the Unhappineſs unawares to ſhoot him, contrary to his Thoughts and Inclinations, and to his unconcievable Grief. Nor was our Loſs hereby confin'd to him that fell, tho' therein we ſuſtain'd conſiderable Prejudice, by being depriv'd of a Perſon, whoſe Acquaintance and Eſteem in that Part of the Kingdom, render'd him uſeful to us above many others; but the Duke upon this deplorable Accident, thought it neceſſary, to prevent murmuring among ſome of our ſelves, as well as to remove Occaſion of Reſentment in the Inhabitants of *Taunton*, where he promis'd himſelf a hearty Welcome and conſiderable Supplies, to adviſe the other Gentleman for a Time to withdraw; but under a Deſire and Command to return and meet him at a Place which he nam'd, where alas! we never had the Happineſs to arrive. And tho' the Damage that befel us by the diſmiſſing of that Gentleman, cannot eaſily be imagin'd or expreſs'd; yet this I may ſay towards giving an Idea of it, That as he was a Perſon, who by his Courage, military Skill, civil Prudence, Application to Buſineſs, and the Intereſt he had in the Duke, wou'd have contributed much to the Conduct of our whole Affairs, and have promoted the embracing all Opportunities for Action, attended with any probable Succeſs; ſo he wou'd have done every thing that cou'd have been expected from a Perſon of Character and Worth, in a deciſive Engagement.

An Action at Bridport.

Accordingly the very next Morning after his withdrawing, we came to have a ſenſible Proof of the Injury that the Duke had done Himſelf and the Cauſe, in diſmiſſing him. For having been deſign'd to command the Horſe, that were to be ſent in Conjunction with a ſelect Party of Foot, to attack a Body of the Enemy that lay at *Bridport*, which was but ſix Miles from us, my Lord *Gray*, upon his Removal, came to have that Truſt devolv'd upon him, who inſtead of acquitting himſelf there as he ought to have done, not only forſook and abandon'd the Foot, but return'd with Tidings, *That they*

they were all cut off. Whereas they not only forc'd the Enemy for ſeveral Hours after the flight of the Horſe, but march'd back to the Camp with the Loſs of a very few Men; having taken ſeveral Priſoners, and left more of the Adverſary, and ſome of them Perſons of Quality, dead upon the Spot. The Ignominy and Guilt of this is here charg'd peculiarly upon the Lord *Gray:* Which occaſion'd that juſt tho' ſharp Reply of L. Collonel *Matthews,* who upon the Relation of that cowardly Behaviour, being ask'd by the Duke *What he ſhould do with my Lord* Gray? anſwer'd, *That there was not a General in* Europe *that wou'd have ask'd ſuch a Queſtion, but himſelf.* Intimating thereby, That the leaſt he deſerv'd, was to have had his Commiſſion taken from him, and to have remain'd branded for a Poltrone. However it was, our want of Succeſs at that time, when we made our firſt Attempt upon the Enemy, both ſerv'd to diſcourage many, and made the Duke afterwards unwilling to engage when he had the faireſt Advantages. Thus far Mr. *Ferguſon*'s Manuſcript. 1685. Jac. I. Reſ. 16

2. On the 15th of *June*, in the Afternoon, the Duke of *Monmouth* march'd out of *Lyme* for *Axminſter*, a little Town four Miles diſtant; his Party being then about two thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe. About two Miles from *Lyme*, they diſcover'd the Duke of *Albemarle*, with four thouſand Men, deſigning that Night to quarter in the ſame Town, which they had News of in the Way; yet ſtill they march'd on in good Order, and enter'd the Town, lin'd all the Hedges, planted their Field Pieces, and expected nothing leſs than an Ingagement, the other being not a Mile from the Town. The Duke of *Albemarle* advanc'd within a Quarter of a Mile of them, but finding his Soldiers to be all *Militia* Men of *Devonſhire*, and that they had no Inclination to fight againſt *Monmouth*, thought it beſt to retreat. He came from *Exeter* with theſe Forces, intending to beſiege the Duke in *Lyme*, preſuming he cou'd not be ready in ſo ſhort time; but now finding him ſo well prepar'd to receive him, he retir'd in great Diſorder and Confuſion, ſuppoſing that the Enemy had purſu'd him. This Purſuit was debated in *Monmouth*'s Army; but the Duke ſaid, *It was not his Buſineſs to fight yet, till his Men had been a little diſciplin'd, but rather to make up into the Countrey as faſt as poſſible, to meet his Friends; not queſtioning but there wou'd be ſome Action in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, on the News of his Succeſs.* But this was look'd upon as a falſe Step; for had they made the Purſuit, they had gain'd all their Arms, ſeveral more Men, and might have march'd in two Days, with little Oppoſition, to the very Gates of *Exeter*; the Countrey Troops reſolving not to fight them, ſeveral of whom came to them that Night with their Arms. But miſſing that Opportunity, they march'd in for *Taunton*, being receiv'd through all the little Towns in the Way with all poſſible Kindneſs, with loud Acclamations and Prayers to God to ſucceed their Arms. Monmouth *advances towards* Taunton.

On the 18th they arriv'd at the rich Town of *Taunton*, about twenty Miles from *Lyme*, where the Streets were ſo throng'd with People, that they cou'd ſcarce enter, all endeavouring to manifeſt their Joy at the Duke's coming; having their Houſes and Doors adorn'd with green Boughs, Herbs and Flowers, and all the Emblems of Proſperity. The next Day, twenty young Virgin Gentlewomen, with Colours ready made at the Charge of the Townſmen, preſented them to his Grace with particular Solemnity: The Captain of them went before with a naked Sword in one Hand, and a ſmall curious Bible in the other, which ſhe likewiſe preſented, with a ſhort acceptable Speech; at which, the Duke, in a manner tranſported, aſſur'd Her, *He came now in the Field, with a Deſign to defend the Truths contain'd in that Book, and to ſeal it with his Blood, if there ſhou'd be any Occaſion for it.* Here, elevated by the fair Proſpect of Succeſs, or overcome

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Where he is proclaim'd KING.

by the Importunities of thoſe about him, he was content to take upon him the Name and Title of KING. They alledg'd, 'That the Reaſon why 'the Gentry of *England* did not move, was becauſe he came upon *Common-wealth* Principles; and this being the Cry of the Army, on *Saturday* Morning, the 20th of *June*, he was ſolemnly proclaim'd King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. which it ſeems was very ſurprizing and ſhocking to many of his Republican Friends. What the foremention'd Manuſcript ſays of it, may be worth the remembring; which, after particular Notice taken of the many Failures and Errors in this Expedition, proceeds in this manner:

And thus I have recounted whatſoever may be thought to have laid the Foundation of our Miſcarriage, or to have contributed towards it, except it be one Thing, wherein all are not of the ſame Opinion. And this is, 'That 'the Duke of *Monmouth*'s aſſuming the Title of King, was not only a re-'ceding from his *Declaration*, but a means of Diſcouraging many from 'coming to his Aſſiſtance; and thereby an Occaſion both of his own Miſ-'fortune, and of the Ruin of the whole Undertaking.' In reference to which, I think my ſelf oblig'd to ſay, That it was not from Ambition that he choſe at that Juncture to take upon him the Royal Style, but that it proceeded from a Neceſſity he conceiv'd himſelf under, in order the better to purſue and attain thoſe Ends of his *Declaration*, wherein the Deliverance and Safety of the People were concern'd. He judg'd it to be the giving the Enemy too much Advantage, through the Duke of *York*'s being in the Throne and *de facto* King, of Proclaiming us all to be Traytors, without putting himſelf into a Capacity by taking the Royal Title, of charging that upon his Party of which they accus'd and criminated Ours. For whatſoever Mens Inclinations were towards us, yet if they were any ways ſagacions, they cou'd not but ſee a vaſt difference between Adhering to to the Duke of *York*, which the Duke of *Monmouth*, without aſſuming the Name of King, cou'd not threaten to puniſh as a Crime, and the promoting his Graces's Intereſt, while it was branded with the Name, and ſtood liable to the Penalties of High Treaſon. Accordingly he had not only Meſſages from ſome Gentlemen, but was told by ſeveral Non-conforming Miniſters that came into the Camp, 'That unleſs he took the Style of King, 'none who had Eſtates to loſe, wou'd venture themſelves in his Quarrel. This I heard often ſaid by many, and particularly in a Meeting where ſeveral were aſſembled from different Parts of the Countrey to adviſe and perſuade him to aſſume the King-ſhip; and where, as Mr. *Hook* the Duke's Chaplain can witneſs, I diſputed againſt the Conveniency of it at *that Juncture* with all the Strength and Vigour of Mind that I cou'd; tho' I have had the Misfortune to be repreſented as the firſt Author, and chief Promoter of it, which I am willing at preſent to bear, and digeſt the Aſperſion with the ſame Patience that I do many worſe Calumnies.

Ferguſon's *Obſervations upon it.*

Nor, proceeds he, is it ſtrange that this ſhou'd be the Senſe of the moſt diſcreet and greateſt Part of the People, it being purſuant and conſonant to the Practices of their Anceſtors: For when *Edward* the Fourth, being attainted in Parliament, came with Force into the Kingdom againſt *Henry* the Sixth, pretending to challenge only his Inheritance of the Dutchy of *York*, the Lords told him, 'That they neither wou'd nor durſt join with 'him, unleſs he wou'd ſtyle himſelf King;' which he immediately did, notwithſtanding it was a departing from his firſt Pretence. And I cannot omit, that even Colonel *Danvers*, who hath ſo ſeverely cenſur'd that Action of the Duke, and made it his Plea for not Riſing and Heading a Party in *London* as he had promis'd, not only ſent to the Duke before he came over, adviſing him to take the Title of King, but ſaid, when he heard he had aſſum'd it, *That it wou'd be of more Advantage and Importance to him,*

him, than twenty Thouſand Men. Nor cou'd the Duke's taking the Styl of King, be the Reaſon of that falſe and cowardly Man's not riſing in the City, as he had undertaken in his Meſſages to Us, and his Promiſes to Others, and as he was importun'd by many, whom by Aſſurances of it he had hinder'd and diverted from venturing to us into the Countrey; ſeeing after he knew of the Duke's being cloath'd with that Title, he diſpatch'd two Meſſengers to our Army to confirm his Preparations and Reſolution for ſtirring, and that he only waited to know the Time when be ſhou'd begin, and to receive the Duke's Commands for Authorizing of it. But the true Ground of that treacherous Man's falſifying his Ingagements to us, and diſappointing the Expectations of thoſe in and about the City that depended upon him, was want of Courage and Integrity. For Mr. *Parrot*, who intimately knew him, and had been a Witneſs of former Inſtances of his Cowardice and Deceit, told me, while we were flattering our ſelves with the Hopes of his ſtirring, *That he had neither Truth nor Valour to render him worthy to be rely'd on; and that Fear wou'd prevail over him to the fruſtrating what he had the Confidence to undertake, and to the total Ruin of our Cauſe, if we truſted to him for its Support.*

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Nor did it appear, as he goes on, that the Duke's aſſuming the Regal Title diſcourag'd Men from coming to our Aſſiſtance, ſince we not only enroll'd a whole Regiment of Foot, beſides Horſe, at *Taunton*, where he was firſt proclaimed; but greater Numbers preſented themſelves afterwards to offer their Service; than we had found and obſerv'd before. Tho' by reaſon of our wanting Arms wherewith to ſupply them, there was not that Proportion continu'd with us, as there did of thoſe who join'd us e're our Stores were empty; but they were forc'd to return home, and we neceſſitated to allow it, being deſtitute of Weapons to beſtow upon them. And tho' the Duke's taking the Regal Style, might ſeem a Departing from the Words of his *Declaration*, yet it was very conſonant to the Claim he made in it, and moſt agreeable to ſeveral Clauſes therein affirm'd and aſſerted. For as the Declaring againſt *James* Duke of *York* as an Uſurper, and the Publiſhing himſelf to be the lawful and legitimate Son of King *Charles* the Second, was a plain Claiming his being King *de jure*; ſo whether he ſhou'd aſſume the *Name*, (abſtracting from his Promiſe) Diſcretion and Modeſty, and not Right and Juſtice, were concern'd; and conſequently to be a King, provided all the other Parts of his Declaration ſtood ſecured, in which he might accommodate himſelf to the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and comply beſt with thoſe Meaſures that had the greateſt Tendency to his Succeſs; which he believ'd the aſſuming the Name of King wou'd do. And therefore, as he in a ſecond *Declaration*, after he had taken the Royal Title, confirm'd and ſecured all the other Parts, Promiſes and Ingagements of his firſt; ſo he ſignify'd the Grounds that had made him recede from the Clauſe in the firſt, that barr'd his claiming the Name of King, without the Concurrence of a Parliament, hoping that the Neceſſity which enforc'd him to it, wou'd have juſtify'd it. But to proceed in the Hiſtory.

3. The Duke of *Monmouth*, having proclaim'd himſelf King of all the *Britiſh* Dominions, began his Mock-Reign with three ſeveral *Proclamations*; One ſetting a Sum of Money upon King *James*'s Head, as he had done before by the Duke. The ſecond, Declaring the Parliament of *England* a ſeditious Aſſembly; and if they did not ſeparate before the End of *June*, to give Power and Authority to any that wou'd attempt to lay hold of them as Rebels and Traytors. The third was directed againſt the Duke of *Albemarle*, who, having had time to rally his Men, now lay within ſix Miles of *Taunton*; and this declared him a Traytor, if he did not lay down his Arms immediately. In order to which, a Meſſage was ſent to command him

The Duke's Proceedings upon it.

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him so to do; but he return'd answer, *That he was a Subject to King* James *the Second, the late King's Brother, and that he knew no other Lord.* We are farther told by the *Secret History of Europe*, that the Duke of *Monmouth* sent a Letter to the other to invite him to come over to him with his Forces, with particular Promises of Favour, and subscrib'd *James Rex:* And that he likewise sent a Summons to the Lord *Churchill*, who commanded a *Dorsetshire* Regiment, to attend him with his Forces, requiring him to do it *upon his Allegiance*, but both to no Effect. But of this, and the Letters said to have pass'd between *Monmouth* and *Albemarle*, we have not all the Certainty that is requisite to a History that is not *secret*.

He advances to Bridgewater, *&c.*

On the 21st of *June* the Duke march'd for *Bridgewater*, about seven Miles from *Taunton*, having now an Army of near five thousand Men, which might have been more than doubled, if they had not wanted Arms for their Accommodation. They were receiv'd there as at other Places, but did little more than read the general *Declaration* and *Proclamation*, which they did in all Towns, the Magistrates standing by in their Gowns, and so march'd forward for *Glassenbury*. From whence they resolv'd for *Bristol*, three Days March from that Town, a most important Place aim'd at before their first Landing, designing to attack it. Accordingly they advanc'd to *Cansham Bridge*, a little Town three Miles from that City, intending to enter the next Morning; the Duke of *Beaufort* being Commander there with a considerable Garrison. Being lodg'd in the Town, they were suddenly allarm'd with the Noise of the Approach of the King's Forces, being in no small Confusion on this unexpected News. This occasion'd a notable Skirmish for a while, which ended to the Disadvantage, but more to the Disgrace of the Duke's Party, whose Horse Officers were very negligent or unskilful in their Duty, and gave a great Damp and Discouragement to the Design upon *Bristol*.

Yet still some Gentlemen that came over with the Duke, being *Bristol* Men, and knowing the Hearts of the Townsmen, begg'd him heartily to proceed towards it, and offer'd themselves to go at the Head of them into the Town, by some private Ways well known to them, assuring him, *They wou'd make no Resistance*. This might have prov'd of vast Consequence, as to the gaining of Arms, Money, Ammunition, *&c.* but either infatuated, or too much dejected, the Duke march'd on to *Bath*, which he summon'd to surrender, but was refus'd Entrance, having a considerable Garrison. Not willing to spend time in Sieges, he march'd that Day to a little Town call'd *Philip's-Norton*, where by surprise he cut off the best part of a Troop of Horse of the King's Party; the Duke of *Grafton* narrowly escaping with his Life. From thence advancing to *Frome*, the Duke and his Forces were receiv'd with as much Chearfulness as at *Taunton*; but were disappointed of the Arms they expected, which were by a Stratagem taken from the Inhabitants a few Days before their Entrance. Here they met with the unexpected News of the Defeat of *Argyle* in *Scotland*, and of the Advance of the King's Forces from *London*, with considerable Baggage, and a Train of Artillery. Upon which Intelligence, and considering the Want of Arms and Money, they were so confounded, that it was once resolv'd, That all who came over with the Duke should that Night take Horse, and seize a Ship at *Pool*, and return to *Holland*; leaving the Infantry to the Mercy of the Countrey. But upon a farther Consideration, they resolv'd to return back to *Bridgewater*, where they were sure of a hearty Welcome, and there expect the King's Forces.

He is much discourag'd.

The Prince of Orange's *Offers to the King.*

4. During these Transactions, the Prince of *Orange*, having hear'd of the Duke's Landing, and the Strength he had gather'd, tho' he had generously protected him before, now thought himself so far concern'd, that he not

not only dispatch'd over the six *English* Regiments recall'd from the Service of the *States General*, but he likewise sent over *Monsieur Bentinck* to King *James*, with Order to acquaint him, 'That tho' he look'd upon the Duke 'of *Monmouth* to be a Man of no great Depth; yet that he had a *war-* 'like *Genius*, and was better skill'd in the military Art than any the King 'was to employ against him; and therefore, if his Majesty pleas'd, he 'wou'd not only lend him his Troops, but come in Person to head his Ar- 'my." The same Offer had been before communicated to Mr. *Skelton* at the *Hague*; but he looking upon the Prince as one of those Politicians, whose Steps are always suspicious, he us'd such Diligence as to give the King notice of his Intention before *Monsieur Bentinck* cou'd arrive; and that with such unfavourable Interpretation upon the Prince's Offer, that the King put off that Minister, with telling him, he shou'd acquaint his Master, *That their common Interest did require the Prince his staying in* Holland: And farther open'd his Mind to him in such Terms, as sufficiently discover'd, *he did not take his Highness's Zeal for his Service to be at that time seasonable.* 1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26

The King's Proceedings against the Duke.

However, the King proceeded happily at that Time without the Prince's Assistance, and was serv'd not only with Zeal, Fidelity and Affection, but also with Skill, Courage and Conduct by his own Troops and their Leaders. The first Forces which his Majesty sent down against the Duke of *Monmouth*, were some of the Earl of *Oxford*'s Regiment, under the Command of the Lord *Churchill*, who attended the Motions of the Duke with great Conduct, and exact Management. The Duke of *Albemarle* headed the Militia of *Devonshire*; the Duke of *Somerset* the Militia of that County, at *Bath*; the Duke of *Beaufort* the Militia of *Glocestershire*, at *Bristol*; and the Earl of *Pembroke* the Militia of *Wiltshire*, at *Chippenham*. And the Militia of other Counties were rais'd, and began their March towards the *West*; tho' the King had no extraordinary Confidence in their Fidelity. And therefore his Majesty sent away all his regular Troops and Guards, to form an Army under the Command of a *French* General and Favourite, the Earl of *Feversham*; who in the Beginning of *July* encamp'd at a Place call'd *Sedgmore* near *Bridgwater*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* lay with his declining Forces. The Earl's Horse and Dragoons were lodg'd in the Town, and the Foot in the Field, cover'd towards the Enemy with a Parapet and Trench, formerly made by the Countrey-Men against Inundations; and their Rear was secured by the said Village behind them. Their Numbers, about 2000 Foot, and 700 Horse and Dragoons, were considerably less than those of the Enemy; and the chief Commanders under the Earl were the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Dunbarton*; the Lord *Churchill*, Colonel *Oglethorp*, Sir *Francis Compton*, besides the Bishop of *Winchester* in Person, who was very serviceable upon this extraordinary Occasion.

The Duke of *Monmouth*, by their near Approach, thought himself in effect besieg'd; and finding his Men daily to desert, by reason of his last Retreat, he therefore resolv'd to make one desperate Push, either to vanquish, or die like a Man of Courage: And so in a Council of War, it was agreed to attack the Earl of *Feversham* on the very first Night of his Encampment. On *Sunday* the 5th of *July*, the Countrey People had given the Duke Intelligence, that the King's Forces were very remiss, the Troopers in Bed, and the Foot revelling in their Camp; so that the Duke thought and said, *They shou'd have no more to do, than to lock up the Stable Doors, and seize the Troopers in their Beds.* The Duke began his March about Eleven at Night, with all imaginable Silence, and with a particular Guide who was to lead them the most private Way, and about One they fell in with the Lord *Dunbarton*'s Regiment, which allarm'd the whole Army. There was a Ditch between them, and the Guide had promis'd to conduct them over

Sedgmore Fight.

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over an eaſy fordable Place; but *Monmouth*'s Men ſeeing the Enemy juſt before them, ran furiouſly on, and loſt their Guide; ſo that while they endeavour'd to recover over that Place, the King's Forces got on their Legs, and put themſelves in Order; and ſo began as fierce a Battel as perhaps was ever fought in *England* for ſo ſhort a time. The Fight began with vaſt Shouts and Firings on *Monmouth*'s Side, and continu'd obſtinate and dubious for a while: For tho' Colonel *Oglethorp* by his Activity had quickly broke the Rebel's Horſe, commanded by the Lord *Grey*, who made but a faint Reſiſtance with his undiſciplin'd Horſe; yet the Infantry fought with extraordinary Reſolution, being headed by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who, during the whole Action, maintain'd his former Reputation of Bravery and Gallantry; but by the plain Defects of the Horſe, he was at laſt compell'd to yield to the King's Forces, who got a compleat Victory. The Account given by Authority commends the Actions of the Commanders; particularly, that the Earl of *Feverſham* gave his neceſſary Orders with great Readineſs and Conduct; and that the Lord *Churchill*, who commanded next under him, perform'd his Part with all the Courage and Gallantry imaginable; beſides what was done by the Biſhop of *Winchester*, who perform'd ſingular Service in the managing of the great Guns.

Monmouth *defeated.*

Beſides this Account, it will be worth the Reader's Knowledge to have that of the foremention'd Manuſcript of Mr. *Ferguſon*'s, who fully expoſes the Faults and Neglects of his Party, in this following Manner. But I need only relate the Behaviour of our Horſe at *Sedgmore*, as being more than enough to leave a perpetual Character of Reproach upon them, as it brought a total Ruin upon our whole Army. For the Officers that knew how to conduct Troops, being abſent on Services enjoin'd them by the Duke, the greateſt Part of thoſe upon whom the Command fell that fatal Morning, perform'd nothing of the Duty that ought to have been expected from them. The Experience we had before of my Lord *Grey*, was enough to have diſcourag'd the Duke from putting him at the Head of all the Troops; and it made Colonel *Matthews* adviſe him to divide his Cavalry, that ſo the Charge and Conduct of one Part might be devolv'd upon ſome Perſon of Courage, anſwerable to the Criticalneſs of the Seaſon, and Importance of the Action. But the Duke, by a ſtrange Fatality, declin'd following this Advice; ſaying, *That he wou'd not affront my Lord, and that what he had given him in Charge was eaſy to be effected.* So that *Grey* having all the Horſe committed to him, the firſt thing he did, after we were drawn up, and in view of the Enemy's Fires, was his diſmiſſing the Guide, who was to have directed him in the Ground where we were to march; and to have ſhewn him where, with no Inconveniency, we might have fallen upon the Enemy's Infantry. By which means ſome of our Troops, by reaſon of the Darkneſs of the Morning, and their Ignorance of the Ground, came to be imbogg'd in a Moraſs, which occaſion'd Delay as well as Confuſion. Nor was this the worſt, for the two Troops that were commanded to advance firſt, and to fall into the Enemy's Lines, found themſelves, after they had receiv'd their Fire, and thought there remain'd no more but boldly to attack them, fronted and hinder'd both by a Ditch and another Moraſs, that caus'd them to retreat diſorder'd and diſpers'd: Which wou'd have been eaſily avoided by the Help of a Guide, the Ditch and Moraſs being of no conſiderable Extent, and ſcarce covering any more of their Camp, than where it was our Misfortune to attempt an Impreſſion. Now beſides theſe two Troops, whoſe Officers, tho' they had no great Skill, yet had Courage enough to have done ſomething honourably, had they not, for want of a Guide, met with the foreſaid Obſtruction, there was no one of all the reſt of our Troops that ever advanc'd to Charge, or approach'd ſo near to the Enemy, as to give or receive a Wound. Mr. *Hucker*, one of our Captains, came no ſooner within

A farther Account of the Action from Ferguſon's *Manuſcript.*

within view of their Camp, than that he treacherouſly and villainouſly fired a Piſtol to give them notice of our Approach, and then forſook his Charge, and rode off with all the Speed he could, to take the Benefit of a Proclamation emitted by the King, offering Pardon to all ſuch as ſhou'd abandon us, and return home within ſuch a time. And this I have been told he pleaded at his Tryal, in order to ſave his Life; but was anſwer'd by *Jeffreys*, *That he above all other Men deſerv'd to be hang'd, and that for his Treachery to* Monmouth, *as well as his Treaſon againſt the King.* 1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26

And tho', proceeds he, no other of our Officers acted ſo villainouſly, and with that Baſeneſs forſook the Field; yet they were uſeleſs and unſerviceable in it, as never once attempting to charge, nor ſo much as keeping their Men in a Body and Figure, to make a Shew. And I dare affirm, That if our Horſe had never fired a Piſtol, but only ſtood in a Poſture to have given Jealouſy and Apprehenſion to the Enemy, our Foot alone wou'd have carry'd the Day, and been triumphant. But our Horſe ſtanding ſcatter'd and diſunited, and flying upon every Approach of a Squadron of theirs commanded by *Oglethorp*, gave that Body of their Cavalry an Advantage, after they had hover'd up and down in the Field, without thinking it neceſſary to attack thoſe whom their own Fears had diſpers'd, to fall in at laſt in the Rear of our Batallions, and to wreſt that Victory out of their Hands which they were graſping at, and ſtood almoſt poſſeſs'd of. Nor was that Party of their Horſe above two hundred, or three at moſt, whereas we had more than enough, had they had any Courage, and been commanded by a gallant Man, to have attack'd them with Eaſe both in Front and Flank.

Theſe things I can declare with more Particularity and Certainty, becauſe I was a doleful Spectator and Obſerver of them: For, having contrary to my Cuſtom left attending upon the Duke, who advanc'd with the Foot, I betook my ſelf to the Horſe, becauſe the firſt and moſt conſiderable of that Morning's Action was expected from them, which was to break in and diſorder the Enemy's Camp, againſt the Time that our Batallions ſhould come up. I endeavour'd whatſoever I was capable of performing, or that lay within my Circle as a private Man; for I not only ſtruck at ſeveral Troopers, who had forſaken their Station, but upbraided divers of the Captains for being wanting in their Duty: But I ſpake with great Warmth to my Lord *Grey*, and conjur'd him *to charge, and not to ſuffer the Victory, which our Foot had in a manner taken hold of, to be raviſh'd from us.* But inſtead of hearkening and complying with any thing I ſaid, he not only, as an unworthy Man and a cowardly Poltrone, deſerted that Part of the Field and forſook his Command, but rode with the utmoſt Speed to the Duke, telling him, *That all was loſt, and that it was more than Time to ſhift for himſelf.* Whereby, as an Addition to all the Miſchief he had been the Occaſion of before, he drew the eaſy and unfortunate Gentleman to leave the Batallions, while they were couragiouſly diſputing on which Side the Victory ſhou'd fall. And this fell moſt unhappily out, while a certain Perſon was endeavouring to find out the Duke, to have begg'd of him to come and charge at the Head of his own Troops, which, tho' ſtanding ſcatter'd, had not yet abandon'd the Field. However, this I dare affirm, that if the Duke had been Maſter but of two hundred Horſe, well mounted, completely arm'd, perſonally valiant, and commanded by brave experienc'd Officers, they wou'd not only have ſignify'd more than all he had that Day in the Field, which amounted to near a thouſand, but he cou'd not have fail'd of being victorious. This is acknowledg'd by our Enemies, who have often confeſs'd that they were ready to fly through the Impreſſions made upon them by our Foot, and muſt unavoidably have been beaten, had our Horſe behav'd themſelves in any Meaſure as they ought, and not have tamely look'd on, till their Cavalry retriev'd the Day by falling into the

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Rear of our Batallions. Nor was the Fault in the private Men, who had Courage to have follow'd their Leaders; but it was in thoſe that commanded them, and particularly in my Lord *Grey*, in whom if *Cowardice* may be call'd *Treachery*, we may ſafely charge him with *betraying* of our Cauſe by his Behaviour at that Time. And then he concludes his Account of the Battel in theſe Words; 'If any of our Officers ſhall think themſelves reflected upon, I hope they will be as favourable to me, who have but truly and juſtly repreſented them, as they were that Morning to their Enemies, and that I ſhall receive no more Hurt from them upon the Account of this *Narrative*, than their Adverſaries did in the Engagement upon *Sedgmore*.' But to proceed.

On *Monday* Morning, *July* the 6th, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Army was intirely routed, three hundred kill'd on the Spot, a thouſand in the Purſuit, and as many taken Priſoners: Thoſe of Note were Colonel *Holms* and Major *Perrot*, both dangerouſly wounded; Captain *Madder*, the Conſtable of *Crookborn*, and one *Williams*, a Menial Servant of the Duke's, having two hundred Guineas of his Maſter's about him: The Coat alſo the Duke uſually wore was found amongſt the Booty, which occaſion'd a Report that he was kill'd; but that ſoon appear'd otherwiſe. As to the Duke himſelf, he had great Difficulty to preſerve fifty Horſe to ſecure his Retreat, and they were ſoon diſpers'd. He was adviſ'd by a particular Friend to make down to *Uphill*, a ſmall Creek in the *Severn* Sea, from whence he might get into *Wales* long before any News cou'd come of his Defeat, and meet with Friends that might eaſily conceal him: But the Duke was for poſting to *Limington* in *Hampſhire*, there to take ſhipping, flattering himſelf that all the Town were his Friends, becauſe Colonel *Dore* the preſent Mayor was ſo, who had been lately ſecured. The Lord *Feverſham* ſent out ſeveral Parties in queſt of him; and on *Tueſday* Morning, the Lord *Grey* was taken in the Diſguiſe of a Shepherd at *Holtbridge* in *Dorſetſhire*, by the Lord *Lumley*'s Men; and putting off his Diſguiſe, he profeſs'd, *That ſince his landing in* England, *he never had one good Night's Reſt, or eat one Meal in quiet*; being perpetually agitated with the Cares that attend unfortunate Ambition. As to the Duke, the Immenſeneſs of the Reward rais'd the whole Countrey on the Search, ſo that the Ways and Roads were fill'd with their Numbers. The Lord *Grey* being taken, the ſame Men were inform'd by the Cottagers, That two Men went over a Hedge into an Encloſure overgrown with Fern; and ſo Guards were ſet on the Avenues, and about five in the Morning next Day, the *German* Count was taken, who confeſs'd that he parted with the Duke of *Monmouth* about four Hours before. This caus'd a more diligent Search to be made; and at laſt one *Perkin* diſcover'd the unhappieſt of Men hid in a Ditch cover'd with Fern, in the greateſt Diſtraction, with ſome green Peaſe in his Pocket. 'Tis ſaid he offer'd to make Reſiſtance, but the Fellow crying out for Help, and ſome Soldiers running in to his Aſſiſtance, the Duke was taken and ſecured by the Lord *Lumley*, who, under a ſtrong Guard, convey'd him, the Lord *Grey*, and the *German* Count, by eaſy Journies, to *London*. And thus ended the Rebellion, which from the Duke's firſt landing did not continue ſo long as the Space of a Month.

Monmouth's *Flight.*

He, with the Lord Grey, *is taken.*

5. It ſeems no difficult Matter to contract a Familiarity with Danger, when back'd with a whole Army to bear a Share in it, and when the eager Purſuit of Honour and Glory makes Men overlook the Horrors of approaching Death; but when Fate appears with the formal Solemnity of a Scaffold and an Axe, the greateſt Heros behold it like other Men, and with as great a Dejection of Mind. Thus the Duke of *Monmouth*, who no ſooner was taken, but imagining himſelf in the Hands of the Executioner, his

his former Spirit ſunk into Puſillanimity, aud he meanly endeavour'd to ward off the impending Blow, by the following ſubmiſſive Letter to the King, much of the ſame Strain with thoſe written to his Father, formerly mention'd. 1685. Jac. I. Reſ. 26

His ſubmiſſive Letter to the King.

'*Sir*, your Majeſty may think it the *Misfortune* I now lie 'under, makes me make this Application to you; but I do aſſure your 'Majeſty, it is the *Remorſe* I now have in me, of the Wrong I have done 'you in ſeveral Things, and now in taking up Arms againſt you. For 'my taking up Arms, it was never in my Thoughts ſince the King dy'd: 'The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* will be Witneſs for me of the Aſſu-'rance I gave them *That I would never ſtir againſt you.* But my Misfor-'tune was ſuch, as to meet with ſome horrid People, that made me believe 'Things of your Majeſty, and gave me ſo many falſe Arguments, that I 'was fully led away to believe, *That it was a Shame, and a Sin before 'God, not to do it.* But, *Sir*, I will not trouble your Majeſty at preſent 'with many Things I cou'd ſay for my ſelf, that I am ſure wou'd move 'your Compaſſion; the chief End of this Letter being only to beg of you, 'That I may have that Happineſs as to *ſpeak to your Majeſty*; for I have 'that to ſay to you, *Sir*, that I hope may give you a long and happy 'Reign. I am ſure, *Sir*, when you hear me, you will be convinc'd of the 'Zeal I have of your Preſervation, and how heartily I repent of what I have 'done. I can ſay no more to your Majeſty now, being this Letter muſt 'be ſeen by thoſe that keep me. Therefore, *Sir*, I ſhall make an End, 'in begging of your Majeſty to believe ſo well of me, that I would rather 'die a thouſand Deaths, than excuſe any thing I have done, if I did not 'really think my ſelf the moſt in the wrong that ever a Man was; and had 'not from the bottom of my Heart an Abhorrence for thoſe that put me 'upon it, and for the *Action* it ſelf. I hope, *Sir*, God Almighty will ſtrike 'your Heart with *Mercy* and *Compaſſion* for me, as he has done mine 'with the *Abhorrence* of what I have done; Wherefore, *Sir*, I hope I may 'live to ſhew you how zealous I ſhall ever be for your Service; and cou'd I 'ſay but ONE WORD in this Letter, you wou'd be conviuc'd of it; but it is 'of that CONSEQUENCE, that I dare not do it. Therefore, *Sir*, I do beg 'of you once more to *let me ſpeak to you*; for then you will be convinc'd 'how much I ſhall ever be, *Your Majeſty's moſt Humble and Dutiful,* 'MONMOUTH.

It ſeems this Letter had been little regarded, if at the ſame Time the Duke had not writ another, in very moving Terms to the Queen Dowager; who retaining her former Affection for him, and pitying his Misfortunes, prevail'd upon the King that he ſhou'd permit the Duke to ſpeak to him. The Duke being brought to the King's Preſence, immediately fell at his Feet, and having anſwer'd the ſeveral Queſtions the King ask'd him, and confeſs'd *He deſerv'd to dye*, he conjured him, with a Flood of Tears, *not to uſe him with the Severity of Juſtice, and to grant him a Life, which he wou'd be ever ready to ſacrifice for his Service.* He mention'd to him the Example of ſeveral great Princes, who had yielded to the Impreſſions of Clemency, on the like Occaſions, and who had never afterwards repented of thoſe Acts of Generoſity and Mercy; concluding, in a moſt pathetical Manner, *Remember, Sir, I am your Brother's Son, and if you take my Life, it is your own Blood that you will ſhed.* The King, after ſome Queſtions ask'd him, caus'd him to ſign a Declaration, 'That his Father 'told him, He was never marry'd to his Mother,' and then ſaid, *He was ſorry indeed for his Misfortune, but his Crime was of too great a Conſequence to be left unpuniſh'd, and he muſt of Neceſſity ſuffer for it.* The Queen is ſaid to have inſulted him in a very arrogant and unmerciful manner. So that when the Duke ſaw that no Favour was deſign'd him by this

He is brought before him.

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Interview, he roſe from his Majeſty's Feet with a new Air of Bravery, and was carry'd back to the *Tower*, in Order to his Execution.

He prepares for Death.

His following Behaviour is chiefly taken from a Manuſcript written by Dr. *Lloyd* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, ſince of *Worceſter*, who ſays That on the 14th of *July* the Biſhop of *Ely* was appointed by his Majeſty to attend the Duke of *Monmouth*, and to prepare him to dye the next Day. The Duke wrote [again] to his Majeſty repreſenting how uſeful he might and wou'd be, if his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to grant him his Life: But if that might not be, he begg'd for a longer Time, and to have another Divine to aſſiſt him, Dr. *Teniſon*, or whom elſe his Majeſty ſhou'd appoint. The King ſent him the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* to attend, and tell him he muſt dye the next Morning. The two Biſhops ſate up in his Chamber all Night, and watch'd while he ſlept. In the Morning, by his Majeſty's Order, the Lords Privy Seal and *Dartmouth* brought him alſo Dr. *Teniſon* and Dr. *Hooper*. All theſe were with him till the laſt Hour of his Life.

His Diſcourſe with ſome Divines.

They got him to own the King's Title to the Crown, and to declare in Writing, 'That the laſt King told him he was never marry'd to his Mo-'ther,' and by Word of Mouth to acknowledge 'his Invaſion was *Sin*,' but cou'd never get him to confeſs it a *Rebellion*. They got him likewiſe to own 'That He and the Lady *Herriot Wentworth* had liv'd in all Points like *Man and Wife*,' but they cou'd not make him confeſs it was *Adultery*. He acknowledg'd 'That He and his Dutcheſs were marry'd by 'the Law of the Land, and therefore his Children might inherit, if the 'King pleas'd; *but he did not conſider what he did when he marry'd her.*' He confeſs'd *That he had liv'd many Years in all ſorts of Debauchery*, but ſaid *he had repented of it, and doubted not but that God had forgiven him.* He ſaid, *That ſince that Time, he had an Affection for the Lady* Herriot, *and pray'd, That if it were pleaſing to God*, it might continue; *otherwiſe, that it* might ceaſe; *and God heard his Prayer: The Affection did continue, therefore he doubted not but it was pleaſing to God; and that this was a Marriage, their Choice of one another being guided not by* Luſt, *but by* Judgment *upon due Conſideration.* They endeavour'd to ſhew him the Falſhood and Miſchievouſneſs of this *Enthuſiaſtical Principle*, the Bane of ſo many Souls in the late Times of Confuſion. But he told them, *That it was his Opinion, and he was fully ſatisfy'd in it.* After all, he deſir'd them to give him the Sacrament the next Morning; but they told him *They cou'd not do it, while he perſiſted in that Error and Sin.* His Anſwer was, *He was ſorry for it.* And likewiſe the next Morning; he told them, *He had pray'd, That if he was in an Error in the Matter, God wou'd convince him of it; but God had not convinc'd him, and therefore he believ'd it was no Error.*

He is brought to the Scaffold.

About Ten in the Morning, *July* 15th he was led out of the *Tower*, attended by a ſtrong Guard, who were ready to have ſhot him dead, if any Reſcue had been attempted; and to prevent which, all the chief Avenues to *Tower-Hill* were ſecured by Soldiers that Morning. Notwithſtanding which, innumerable Multitudes of People were gather'd together to behold the melancholy Sight. Having mounted the Scaffold, and view'd the Executioner, he began with declaring *That he dy'd a Proteſtant of the Church of* England. The Divines attending told him, *That he cou'd not be ſo, if he did not own the Doctrine of the Church of* England *in that Point of* Non-Reſiſtance; *and if he perſiſted in his former* Enthuſiaſtick *Perſuaſion*; which they thought neceſſary in this extraordinary Juncture. He ſaid, *He cou'd not help it, yet he approv'd the Doctrine of the Church in all other Things.* He then ſpoke to the People, in Vindication of the Lady *Herriot Wentworth*, declaring, *She was a Woman of great Honour and Virtue, a Religious Godly Lady.* Upon which they told him of his living in *Adultery* with

with her. He ſaid *No*; *for theſe two Years laſt paſt he had not liv'd in any Sin that he knew of*; *and that he had never wrong'd any Perſon*; *and that he was ſure when he dy'd to go to God, and therefore he did not fear Death, which*, he ſaid, *they might ſee in his Face.* Then they pray'd for him, and he kneel'd down, and join'd with them; and in concluſion they had a ſhort Prayer for the King; at which he paus'd, but at laſt ſaid *Amen.* Riſing up, he ſpoke to the Head's-man, *to ſee he did his Buſineſs well*; *and not to uſe him as he did the Lord* Ruſſel, *to give him two or three Strokes*; *for if he did he ſhou'd not be able to lye ſtill without turning.* Then he gave the Executioner ſix Guineas, aud four to one *Marſhall*, a Servant of Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*'s, that attended him with the King's leave; deſiring *Marſhall* to *give them to the Executioner, if he did his Work well, and not otherwiſe.* He had given to this *Marſhall* over Night his Ring and Watch, and now he gave him his Caſe of Pick-Teeth, and all for the Lady *Herriot*; in which were afterwards found ſome Scripture Expreſſions in the Nature of Charms or Amulets. Then undreſſing, and preparing himſelf for the Block, the Divines in the mean time us'd theſe and the like Ejaculations, *God accept your Repentance! God accept your* Imperfect *Repentance! God accept your* General *Repentance!* Having laid himſelf down a ſecond Time, and the Sign given, the Executioner gave a light Stroke, at which he look'd him in the Face; and then he laid him down again, when the Executioner gave him two Strokes more, and then threw down his Axe, crying *he cou'd not finiſh his Work!* till being threatned by the Sheriff, and others there preſent, he took up the Axe again, and at two Strokes more cut off his Head. 1685. Jac. 1. Reſ. 26

His Execution.

Thus dy'd the fam'd and admir'd Duke of *Monmouth*, in a little above the thirty ſixth Year of his Age. We have more than once touch'd upon the Character of this extraordinary Man, who had met with the brighteſt Sun-ſhine, as well as the darkeſt Clouds of Fortune; and have taken ſome Notice of the Bravery, Generoſity and Affability of his Nature, as well as the Beauty and Gracefulneſs of his Perſon. Therefore now we ſhall only remember that theſe made him ſo much the Idol of the People, and caus'd ſuch ſtrong Impreſſions, or rather Inchantments, on their Minds and Affections, that many Thouſands of them cou'd hardly ever be made to believe he was really dead; but continu'd long in Hopes of ſeeing him again in a triumphant Manner. A ſtrange Variety of wild and extravagant Stories were told and believ'd upon this Occaſion. But that which went the fartheſt, and appear'd moſt plauſible to the Vulgar, was a ſtrong Report ſpread abroad, That there were five ſelect Perſons, ſo like the Duke of *Monmouth*, and habited ſo alike; that they cou'd very hardly be diſtinguiſh'd, from one another; and that they were all bound under a moſt ſolemn Oath, in caſe any of them ſhou'd be taken and put to Death, not to diſown his being the real Duke of *Monmouth*. One of theſe Five had the Fortune to be taken, upon the general Defeat, and put to Death upon *Tower-Hill*; ſo that the Government was put upon by a Perſonated Duke. Accordingly it was given out both in Print and Writing, 'That the Duke of *Monmouth* 'is not really *dead*, but only *withdrawn*, till the Harveſt be over; and 'then his Friends ſhall ſee him again in a much better Condition than ever 'they did yet.

His Character and Popularity.

We ſhall conclude this Period with remembering that after the Victory at *Sedgmore*, two fine Medals were ſtruck upon the Occaſion of theſe Rebellions in both the Kingdoms: The firſt was the King in Buſt, crown'd with Laurel, plac'd upon a large Baſis or Altar; on the Front of which are the Arms of *England*, &c. with the Garter, and over it the Crown, with theſe Words, *Exurge Aras & Sceptra Tuemur.* Upon the Altar lye four Scepters, bearing on their Tops the *Roſe*, *Lilly*, *Thiſtle* and *Harp*; upon each

Medals ſtruck.

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each ſide is repreſented the *Ocean*, with *Neptune* holding the *Trident*, drawn in a Chariot by *Maritime Horſes*, with two Veſſels under Sail on the other ſide. The Inſcription is JACOBUS II. D. G. MAG. BRI. ET. HIB. REX. MDCLXXXV. The Reverſe is *Juſtice* with a Sword and Balance, upon whoſe Head the Sun darts his Beams, and the Lightning iſſues out of a dark Cloud: She holds in one Scale *Mural Crowns*, which preponderate the other; in which there is a *Scimitar*, a *Proteſtant Flail* (as then call'd) with a *Serpent*, while ſhe tramples on another *Serpent* near two headleſs Bodies; their Heads lying on two ſquare Blocks, on each ſide of *Juſtice:* On that of the Right-hand is JACOBUS DE MONMOUT. On the Left-hand ARCHIBALD D. ARGYL. Upon one ſide of the Carcaſſes are repreſented Soldiers routed and flying away; on the other, a Caſtle, with two Heads fix'd on Spikes over the Gate; and on the Pedeſtal, theſe Words, *Ambitio, Maleſuada, Ruit.* The ſecond Medal is the Effigie and Buſt of the Duke of *Monmouth* himſelf, without any Inſcription at all. The Reverſe repreſents a Young-man precipitating from a ſteep Rock into the midſt of the Sea, upon which are plac'd three Crowns amongſt Brambles and Shrubs, the Words *Superi Riſere*, *July* 6th, 1685.

CHAP. II.

From the Defeat and Death of the Duke of Monmouth, *to the Diſſolution of the Parliament.*

Containing the Space of almoſt Two Years.

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Proceedings againſt the Rebels, by Jeffreys.

I. 1. THE King having gain'd his Point againſt all Rebels and Rivals, and quite driven the Enemy out of the Field, had now nothing to do but to purſue and take Revenge. He had indeed a noble Opportunity of diſplaying his Mercy and Benignity, but Fear and Terror were thought and judg'd more conducing to his preſent Security, and his future Deſigns. Accordingly the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffreys*, with four other Judges his Aſſiſtants, and a conſiderable Body of Troops commanded by Colonel *Kirk*, was ſent into the *Weſt* of *England*, with a ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to try the poor Wretches that had been in the Rebellion. They began at *Wincheſter*, with Mrs. *Alicia Liſle*, a Gentlewoman of extream old Age, who was try'd for harbouring and concealing Mr. *Hicks*, a Nonconformiſt Preacher, and Mr. *Richard Nelthorp*, tho' the latter was a Stranger, and the former in no Proclamation. No doubt but they remember'd the Crimes of her Husband *John Liſle*, who had been one of the Judges of King *Charles* the Firſt, Preſident of the High-Court of Juſtice that condemn'd the Duke of *Hamilton*, Earl of *Holland*, and Lord *Capel*, and alſo on the Trials of Sir *Henry Slingesby*, Dr. *Hewet*, &c. For tho' the Jury brought her Not Guilty three ſeveral Times, yet Judge *Jeffreys* Threats ſo far prevail'd, that at laſt ſhe was found Guilty of High-Treaſon, and beheaded; a hard Judgment, that was afterwards revers'd by the Convention call'd by the Prince of *Orange*.

Bloody Aſſizes. *Orleans. Boyer.* Tryals. *Hawles. &c.*

At Wincheſter,

And at other Places.

The Judges went next to *Dorcheſter*, where Judge *Jeffreys* finding thirty Perſons return'd by the Grand-Inqueſt, as Aſſiſtants to the late Duke of *Monmouth* he contriv'd this Stratagem of taking the ſhorteſt Way with them:

them: When they came upon their Trials he told them, that whoſoever pleaded *Not Guilty*, and was found ſo, ſhou'd have but little Time to live, but if any expected Favour, they muſt plead *Guilty*. But the Priſoners wou'd not truſt him; and of thirty pleading *Not Guilty*, twenty nine were found Guilty, and ſoon after executed; as were fourſcore more, in another Place, out of two hundred, who were deluded to plead Guilty to their Indictments, by a Promiſe of Pardon. The ſame was done at *Exeter* to near as many, who were alike deluded; as alſo at *Taunton* and *Wells*, where the Lord *Jeffreys* finiſh'd his *Bloody Aſſize:* In all which Places he condemn'd above five hundred Perſons, whereof two hundred and thirty were executed, and had their Quarters ſet up in the principal Places and Roads of thoſe Countries, to the Terror of Paſſengers, and the great Annoyance of thoſe Parts. After this bloody Expedition, it is ſaid that the Chief Juſtice was heard to boaſt, *That he had hang'd more Men, than all the Judges of* England, *ſince* William *the Conqueror*. And yet the Cruelty of the Judge often yielded to the Avarice of the Man, who was not more haſty to hang up thoſe who had no Money, than he was forward to procure Pardons for thoſe who cou'd pay well for them; and he had the Conſcience to take above Fourteen Thouſand Pounds from one Mr. *Prideaux*, to ſave his Life. And many of thoſe poor Wretches who cou'd not purchaſe Pardons at his Lordſhip's Rate, were ſold for Slaves into the *American* Plantations. Others met with different Puniſhments, as Pillories, cruel Scourgings, and the like Severities. 1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26

Nor was Judge *Jeffreys* the only ſevere Perſon upon this Occaſion; but Colonel *Kirk*, his Warlike Aſſiſtant, a bold and looſe Soldier of Fortune, is charg'd with acting a principal Part in theſe unhappy Tragedies; of which ſome Particulars are almoſt incredible: Particularly, that after *Monmouth*'s Defeat, he caus'd nineteen wounded Men to be hang'd at *Taunton*, not only without permitting their Relations to ſpeak with them, but with Pipes playing, Drums beating, and all other Military Pomp and Exultation. And that at another Town he invited his Officers to Dinner, near the Place where ſome of the condemn'd Rebels were to be executed, and order'd Ten of them to be turn'd off with a Health to the King, Ten in a Health to the Queen, and Ten more in a Health to the Lord *Jeffreys*. And he is farther charg'd with one Action that cou'd proceed only from a moſt brutal Inclination to Luſt and Blood, and that was, the drawing in a poor Maiden to proſtitute herſelf to him, with the Promiſe of ſaving her Brother's Life, and nevertheleſs cauſing him to be hang'd on the Sign-Poſt of the ſame Houſe, and out of the Window preſenting the credulous abus'd Girl with that barbarous Spectacle of his Treachery and Cruelty; which is ſaid to have ſo deeply affected her, as to make her irrecoverably diſtracted. Kirk's *Cruelties.*

On the contrary ſide, the Behaviour of moſt of the Sufferers was ſtrange and ſurprizing, as repreſented by their own Friends; ſuch as was more like to provoke the Severity, than engage the Mercy of the Judges. Their Carriages at their Trials, and their Words in their dying Speeches, ſtill preſerv'd by their Friends, were ſometimes not a little ſhocking to the King's Party. They tell us, that Colonel *Kirk* hang'd one at *Taunton* on the *White-Hart* Sign-Poſt three Times, to try if he wou'd own he had done amiſs; but he affirm'd, *That if it was to do again, he wou'd engage in the ſame Cauſe.* They further tell us of one *Edward Jervaiſe*, a Hatter of *Milbourn-Port*, who was order'd to be hang'd by *Kirk*; but being a brave ſtout Man, ſome of his Officers interceded for his Life, which *Kirk* was willing to grant, provided he wou'd acknowledge his Rebellion; which he refus'd to do: At length they offer'd to releaſe him, if he wou'd ſay *God bleſs King* James; which he alſo refus'd, and ſo ſuffer'd. According to this Opinion, Captain *Anſley*, when he came to die at *Taunton*, he declared in his *The Behaviour of the Sufferers.*

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his laſt Speech, *That if he had a thouſand Lives, they ſhou'd all have been engag'd in the ſame Cauſe.* The *Reſurrection of their Cauſe* was often hinted at in their Speeches, which by ſome weak Perſons have been ſince apply'd and attributed to a Prophetick Spirit. But what was thought moſt rational, and free from Enthuſiaſm, was the Speech of the foremention'd Mr. *Hicks*, one of the moſt conſiderable of the Nonconformiſt Preachers, out of which we may properly take the following Paragraph: 'I did 'approve of the ancient and preſent Form of Civil Government, *Engliſh* 'Monarchy I am fully ſatisfy'd with, and do alſo declare, That it is not 'warrantable for any Subject to take up Arms againſt, and reſiſt their lawful Sovereigns and rightful Princes: And therefore had I not been convinc'd by ſeveral Things I have read and heard, to believe that the late 'Duke of *Monmouth* was the legitimate Son of his Father *Charles* the Second, I had never gone into his Army, judging that without this, I cou'd 'not be freed from the Guilt of Rebellion, which I always reſolv'd to keep 'my ſelf clear from. And tho' his Father deny'd he was marry'd to his 'Mother, I thought it might be anſwer'd with this; That Kings and Princes 'for State Reaſons, often cannot be fathom'd by their Subjects, affirming 'and denying Things which otherwiſe they wou'd not do, and make even 'their natural Affections to truckle and ſtoop thereto. I exhort all to abhor all *treaſonable Plots*, and *Pretences* of all *Rebellion*, with the high'eſt Deteſtation, and to take the plain Text of ſacred Scripture to walk by, 'in honouring and obeying, and living in Subjection to rightful Kings, and 'not readily to receive, or ſuddenly to be impreſs'd with *evil Reports* and '*Defamations* of them, alſo not raſhly to be *Propagators* of the ſame.

However theſe Severities were encourag'd and carry'd on, Father *Orleans*, who receiv'd many Particulars from King *James*'s Mouth, tells us, That his Majeſty was inform'd of thoſe Diſorders too late, but as ſoon as it came to his Ears, he expreſs'd his Diſpleaſure. Yet he intimates, that the Services perform'd by thoſe that were accus'd, prevail'd with him to ſpare them. But before the Services were finiſh'd, much leſs the Accuſation cou'd arrive, the King met with an extraordinary Opportunity of rewarding the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffreys*, by the Death of the Lord-Keeper *North*, in the Beginning of *September*. Upon which Vacancy his Majeſty writ him a Letter in his Circuit, in which he order'd him 'To diſpatch the Buſineſs before 'him, and come and take the Seals, for he was forc'd, in the mean time, 'to be *Chancellor Himſelf.*' Accordingly, upon his Return in all haſte, he was made Lord Chancellor on the 28th of *September*, 'in conſideration, 'as it was declared by Authority, of the many eminent and faithful Ser'vices he had render'd the Crown, as well in the late King's Time as ſince 'his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne.' And upon his Advancement, his Majeſty was pleas'd to make Choice of Sir *Edward Herbert*, Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*, to be Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*; and of Sir *Edward Luitwich*, one of his Majeſty's Serjeant's at Law, to ſucceed him in the Place of Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*. As to the Names of thoſe that ſuffer'd in the *Weſt*, the Principal, beſides the Lady *Liſle* and Mr *Hicks*, were the two Brothers, Mr. *Benjamin Hewlin*, and Mr. *William Hewling*; Mr. *William Jenkins*, Colonel *Holms*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Battiſcomb*, Dr. *Temple*, Colonel *Matthews*, Captain *Madder*, Captain *Anſley*, Mr. *Matthew Bragg*, Mr. *Sampſon Lark*, Mr. *John Hacker*, &c.

Jeffreys *preferr'd to be Lord Chancellor.*

2. Beſides theſe great Numbers in the *Weſt*, there were ſome others try'd and condemn'd in the City of *London*; both upon the Account of this laſt Rebellion, and of the famous Plot in 1683, which was now thought fit to be examin'd and canvaſs'd a ſecond Time. In purſuance of which, the noted Alderman *Corniſh*, formerly mention'd, was ſingled out, to be made

The Proceedings againſt Alderman Corniſh.

made a Sacrifice to former Reſentments, in which we ought to be a little particular. This Gentleman having been Sheriff of *London* with *Bethel*, had ſhewn himſelf very active in the Caſe of the *Popiſh Plot*, and with his Under-Sheriff *Goodenough*, was look'd upon as too buſie in packing of *Ignoramus* Juries; and had been no leſs active in enquiring into the Myſtery of *Fitz-Harris*'s Treaſon: And farther, having been particularly acquainted with the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, &c. and ſhew'd himſelf a Favourer of their Cauſe, or their Perſons, it was now thought a proper Seaſon to take Revenge. Accordingly, on *Tueſday* the 13th of *October*, while he was freely and fearleſly following his Profeſſion, he was ſuddenly clap'd up cloſe Priſoner in *Newgate*, without the Uſe of Pen, Ink, or Paper, till *Saturday* Noon, when he had Notice of an Indictment of High-Treaſon againſt him, and his Tryal to be on *Munday* following. The next Day Mr. *Corniſh*'s Children petition'd the King for a longer Time to prepare himſelf, which was referr'd to the Judges, who deny'd the Favour, tho' he knew not whether his Tryal was for Treaſon againſt this or the late King, and his moſt material Witneſs was above a hundred and forty Miles off; and the Attorney General particularly told him, *That he had not ſo well deſerv'd of the Government, as to have his Tryal delay'd*; and ſo he was compell'd immediately to plead to the Indictment. Tho' his Name had hardly been mention'd in the late Plot, yet now he was charg'd with 'Conſpiring againſt King *Charles* the Second in the 'Year 1682; and that knowing the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, 'and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* to be Rebels and Traytors, he had promis'd 'to be aſſiſting to them in their Treaſons. 1685. Jac. 1. Ref. 26

To prove which Charge, Colonel *Ramſey*, formerly mention'd, was the only Witneſs; who ſwore, 'That about the latter End of *October*, or Be- 'ginning of *November* aforeſaid, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* deſir'd him to go 'to Mr. *Sheppard*'s Houſe, where was a Meeting of the Duke of *Mon- 'mouth*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Mr. *Ferguſon*, 'and Mr. *Sheppard* himſelf: He came late, and as they were juſt going 'away, he deliver'd his Meſſage, and they told him Mr. *Trenchard* had 'diſappointed them: He had not been there above a Quarter of an Hour, 'but Mr. *Sheppard* was call'd down, and brought up Mr. *Corniſh*, who 'preſently excus'd himſelf for not coming ſooner, alledging, *That he cou'd 'not ſtay, for he was to meet about the City Charter*; whereupon Mr. *Fer- 'guſon* open'd his Boſom, and pull'd out a Paper, which they told Mr. *Cor- 'niſh* had been read, and deſir'd to read it to him: Mr. *Ferguſon* read it, 'and Mr. *Sheppard* held the Candle while it was reading, and afterwards 'they ask'd Mr. *Corniſh How he lik'd it?* who ſaid, *He lik'd it very well*; 'He remember'd two Points in it very well; one was for *Liberty of Con- 'ſcience*, the other was, *That all who wou'd aſſiſt in that Inſurrection, 'who had Church or King's Lands in the late War, ſhou'd have them 'reſtor'd to them.* The Colonel did not hear all the Paper, but obſerv'd 'only theſe two Points; It was a *Declaration* on a Riſing, and when the 'Riſing was to have been, it was to have been diſpers'd abroad: There 'was a Riſing intended at that Time, and Mr. *Corniſh* ſaid, *He lik'd the 'Declaration, and what poor Intereſt he had he wou'd join in it.*' The Colonel being ask'd how he came not to mention this in the Lord *Ruſſel*'s and other Tryals, he anſwer'd, 'That he had had great Dealings with Mr. '*Corniſh*, and it was out of Compaſſion that he had not accus'd him be- 'fore.' And he further acknowledg'd, 'That notwithſtanding his long 'Acquaintance of fourteen Years, he never heard him ſpeak any Thing of 'thoſe Matters before or after that Time. Ramſey's Evidence.

Not to help out this Evidence, but to accumulate the Guilt, Mr. *Richard Goodenough* appear'd as a ſecond Witneſs, who having been outlaw'd in the *And that of* Goodenough

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highest Degree, was now pardon'd, and his Testimony made legal. He swore 'That there was a Design to rise in *London*, to divide the City into 'twenty Parts, and to raise five hundred Men out of each Part,' as has been formerly remember'd: 'But before that was agreed on, he being by 'chance at Mr. *Cornish*'s House, said, *The Law will not defend us, some 'other way was to be thought on*; Mr. *Cornish* said, *He wonder'd that 'the City was so unready, and the Country so ready:* Mr. *Goodenough* 'reply'd, *There is something thought of to be done here, but in the first 'Place, the* Tower *must be seiz'd, where the Magazine is*; Mr. *Cornish* 'paus'd a little, and said, *I will do what Good I can*, or *what I can*, or 'to that purpose. About some Time after, he met him upon the *Ex-'change*, and ask'd him *How Affairs went?* which Mr. *Goodenough* un-'derstood to be relating to what they had discours'd about.

The Prisoner's Defence.

The Prisoner in his Defence, frequently insisted upon the Improbability of *Ramsey*'s Deposition, which so nearly affected him; and particularly us'd these Words; 'He does declare here, he never said a Word to me, never 'spoke to me any Thing of it but there. My Lord, it is a very strange 'Thing, that there shou'd be such a Contrivance to ruin the King and 'Kingdom, and that I shou'd be one in the Business, this Villany, and not 'be consulted how to carry it on; it is very strange, they shou'd see me, 'and never say a Word of it afterwards to me. My Lord, I hope, and 'you Gentlemen of the Jury, that you will consider the Improbability of 'it; it is as improbable as any Thing in the World. I hope it doth ap-'pear to your Lordship and this Bench, *That there is no Probabality in 'it*. He owns we had a great deal of Freedom; he owns we were ac-'quainted for fourteen Years together, and that I shou'd be at such a wick-'ed villainous Meeting once, and see him so often afterwards, and never 'speak of it, and never say any Thing of it; the Great God of Heaven and 'Earth, before whom I stand, knows that I know nothing of all that he 'hath sworn against me. He must swear these Things to save his own 'Life; if he will take away my Life, he will take away many others, 'without Question, if he can save his own.' As to the Evidence of *Good-enough*, which less affected him, he brought Witnesses to prove, That he had oppos'd his being Under-Sheriff, and said *he wou'd not Trust his Estate and Reputation in the Hands of such an Under-Sheriff, who was obnoxious to the Government, and had done ill Things*; and they two not being reconcil'd, it must proceed all from Malice. His Witnesses spoke very advantagiously as to his Behaviour; and one of them, Mr. *Lane* by Name, insisted upon the Inconsistency of *Ramsey*'s Evidence with what he had gi-ven at the Lord *Russel*'s Tryal, where he had said, *That he did not hear the Declaration read, for it was read before he came in.* All this time the Court, and the Lord Chief Justice *Jones* at the Head, us'd Mr. *Cornish* very roughly, and made the worst Interpretation of his Words, and so pro-ceeded to sum up the Evidence against him; all which, as it is believ'd, wou'd not have cast him, if, besides his frequent insisting upon his never being at any Consult at Mr. *Sheppard*'s House, he had not been so urgent to have Mr. *Sheppard* appear himself. This, after summing up the Evi-dence, was call'd a great Indulgence, which the Attorney General was the more ready to admit of, because He as well as the Prisoner had *subpœna'd* him. Mr. *Sheppard* deny'd that ever he held the Candle to the reading of a *Declaration*; or that Mr. *Cornish* was there at the reading of it; but declar'd that at one of those Meetings at his House, Mr. *Cornish* came to speak a few Words there with the Duke of *Monmouth*, or some other; which, tho' a very imperfect Proof, was look'd upon so contradictory to what *Cornish* had so often protested, that the Court declar'd it to be a clear-ing and a corroborating Evidence: So that the Prisoner having in Effect

Hardship.

put

put his Fate upon a wrong Iſſue, the Court triumph'd, and the Jury found him guilty of High-Treaſon. 1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26

It is not to be doubted but this Gentleman had great Hardſhip, and unworthy Uſage in his Impriſonment, Tryal and Condemnation, and that he ſuffer'd upon wretched Evidence: But at the ſame Time it is not to be forgotten what Encouragement he gave to ſuch ſort of Evidence in the *Popiſh Plot*, and how active he appear'd towards the ſhedding of the Blood of the Lord *Stafford*; in whoſe Caſe he was ſo zealous, that, being Sheriff at that time, he was unwilling to allow him the common Favour ſhewn to the Nobility of being Beheaded. He now met with a full Retaliation; perhaps more from Heaven than from Men; and he cou'd not ſo much as obtain the ſame Favour himſelf; but on the 23d of *October* he was hang'd and quarter'd in *Cheapſide*, the Heart of the City, and his Head fix'd upon *Guild-Hall*. At his Execution, he ſhew'd all the Marks of a pious Chriſtian prepar'd for Death, and did ſeveral times aſſert and proteſt his Innocency as to thoſe Crimes for which he ſtood condemn'd: And it is ſaid that King *James* himſelf not long after expreſs'd ſome Regret, as if he believ'd he had hard Meaſure; however, his Quarters were order'd to be taken down, and deliver'd to his Relations to be decently enterr'd, as they were in St. *Laurence* Church by *Guild-Hall*: And the Parliament in 1688 had ſo great a Senſe of his Hardſhips that they thought fit to reverſe the Attainder by a particular Act for that Purpoſe. *And Execution.*

3. Beſides Mr. *Corniſh*, there were ſeveral others condemn'd, either for the Plot or the Rebellion, ſome with and ſome without Tryal. Particularly *William King* was try'd for harbouring and concealing *Joſeph Kelloway*, and *Henry Laurence*, who had both taken part with the Duke of *Monmouth* in the *Weſt*. One *John Fernly* was then alſo try'd for harbouring and concealing *James Burton*, a Perſon outlaw'd for Treaſon; and likewiſe *Elizabeth Gaunt*, for ſuccouring the ſaid *Burton* with Money, and helping him to a Paſſage, in order to his Eſcape beyond the Seas. They were all three found guilty of High Treaſon, and executed as Traytors; and particularly Mrs. *Gaunt* was burnt at *Tyburn*. The Hardſhips againſt theſe were judg'd the greater, becauſe the very Perſons harbour'd and ſuccour'd became Witneſſes againſt them. They ſuffer'd about the ſame time with Mr. *Corniſh*; and ſhortly after Mr. *Richard Nelthorp*, for harbouring of whom the Lady *Liſle* had ſuffer'd, together with Mr. *John Ayloff*, were brought from *Newgate* to the *King's-Bench* Bar; where being ask'd, 'Why Execution ſhou'd not be awarded againſt them, in regard they ſtood attainted by Outlawry of High-Treaſon, for conſpiring the Death of King *Charles* the Second;' and having nothing to ſay, that cou'd avail them, the Court made a Rule, That they ſhou'd both be executed on the *Friday* following; and accordingly they were then hang'd, Mr. *Nelthorp* before *Gray's-Inn* in *Holborn*, and Mr. *Ayloff* before the *Temple-Gate* in *Fleet-Street*. *The Execution of ſeveral others.*

The King had before iſſu'd out a Proclamation againſt *George Speak*, *Francis Charlton*, *John Wildman* Eſquires, Colonel *Danvers*, and *John Trenchard* Eſquires, by which they were ſummon'd to appear on a certain Day, as being ſuſpected of fomenting and carrying on traiterous Deſigns againſt the King; but they all abſconded. However other ſuſpicious Perſons, as the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, and the Lord *Delamere*, were taken up and committed to the *Tower*. In *November*, the Lord *Brandon*, by the Name of *Charles Gerrard* Eſq; was brought to his Tryal at the *King's-Bench* Bar, upon an Indictment of High Treaſon, 'For conſpiring to raiſe a Rebellion, and depoſe the late King of bleſſed Memory;' of which he was found guilty: And being then remanded to the *Tower*, *The Lord* Brandon *and Mr.* Hamden *pardon'd.*

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he was ſoon after brought again to the *King's-Bench* Bar, where Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him, as in Caſes of High-Treaſon: But he afterwards found Means to procure his Pardon. In like manner, ſoon after, *John Hambden* Eſq; formerly mention'd, was arraign'd at the *Old-Baily* upon an Indictment of High Treaſon, 'For Conſpiring to raiſe a Rebellion againſt 'the late King, *&c.*' Expecting no Favour, eſpecially as being a former Delinquent, he pleaded *Guilty*, and caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy. He was condemn'd to dye, as uſual, with the Remembrance of the Offences of his Family; but either the King's Mercy, or his Friends Interceſſion was ſo great, that he obtain'd a Pardon.

Bateman's *Sufferings.*

The laſt that was condemn'd and ſuffer'd Death for the ſame Conſpiracy in the late Reign, was Mr. *Charles Bateman* a Chyrurgeon of conſiderable Repute and Practice in his Calling. This Man having been a ſort of a Favourite to the laſt Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and particular Aſſiſtant to *Titus Oates* after his ſevere Whipping, was mark'd out as a factious Perſon, and try'd for High-Treaſon, and charg'd with holding ſeveral Diſcourſes about ſeizing the *Tower*, the City, the *Savoy*, *&c.* His Caſe was extraordinary; for by reaſon of his cloſe Impriſonment, and other Accidents, he appear'd perfectly diſtracted in the Court; inſomuch that his Son, after an unknown Method, was allow'd and appointed to make his Defence for him. The Witneſſes againſt him were *Keeling*, *Lee* and *Goodenough*, of whom the firſt was general, and the other two more particular, eſpecially the laſt, who was a new Evidence in this Reign. In the End he was condemn'd as a Traytor, tho' in that ſtrange Condition; but his Friends ſay, he was much recover'd before his Execution. For a Concluſion of theſe tragical Aſſizes, about three Months after there came out a Proclamation of *General Pardon*; of which more in its proper Place.

The King's happy Condition.

II. 1. Towards the latter end of this Year King *James*'s Affairs ſeem'd in the greateſt Height and Splendor, and to promiſe a firm and ſettled Felicity: The late dangerous Storms were happily appeas'd, his greateſt apparent Enemies deſtroy'd, the Parliament and the reſt of his Subjects were vying in their Loyalty, his Revenue ſettled to a high Degree, himſelf at Peace with his Neighbours, courted by them all, and holding the Balance of *Europe* in his Hand; ſo that if he had obſerv'd what he had promis'd in his *Declaration*, and firſt Speech to his Parliament, in all Appearance he might not only have reign'd happy and belov'd at home, but have effected what he told the Parliament in his ſecond Speech, *viz. To carry the Kingdom's Reputation yet higher in the World, than ever it had been in the Time of his Anceſtors.* Nor, humanly ſpeaking, could it have been otherwiſe, if he had ſtood firm to his firſt Maxim deliver'd in publick, *That the Laws of* England *were ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he cou'd wiſh*; or had he rembember'd the repeated Inſtructions of his Father, or conſider'd the dying Advice of his Brother, formerly mention'd concerning the Danger of Introducing the *Romiſh* Religion. But deaf to all faithful and ſalutary Counſels, former or latter, and forgetful of ſolemn Promiſes, he became blind to his true Intereſt; and this ill adviſ'd Prince was perſuaded, that now his Enemies were thus humbled, and his Parliament in ſo good a Humour, he had an unqueſtionable Opportunity of exerting his Prerogative, and advancing the Glory of his own Religion.

Rot. Parl. *Boyer. Jones. Tryals. Wood. Langhorne. &c.*

The ſecond MEETING *of the Parliament, with the King's Speech.*

Under theſe Circumſtances, he a ſecond Time met his Parliament on the 9th Day of *November*, when both Houſes, and the City, being fill'd with Expectation, he deliver'd his Mind in this following Speech from the Throne: 'My *Lords and Gentlemen*; After the Storm that ſeem'd to be coming 'upon Us when We parted laſt, I am glad to meet you all again in ſo great 'Peace and Quietneſs; God Almighty be prais'd, by whoſe Bleſſing that

'Rebel-

'Rebellion was ſuppreſs'd: But when I reflect what an inconſiderable Num- 1685.
'ber of Men began it, and how long they carry'd it on without Oppoſi- Jac. I.
'tion, I hope every body will be convinc'd, That the *Militia*, which have Reſ. 26
'hitherto been ſo much depended on, is not ſufficient for ſuch Occaſions;
'and That there is nothing but a good Force of *well-diſciplin'd* Troops in
'*conſtant Pay* that can defend Us, from ſuch as, either at Home or Abroad,
'are diſpos'd to diſturb Us. And in truth, My Concern for the Peace and
'Quiet of My Subjects, as well as for the Safety of the Government, made
'Me think it neceſſary to encreaſe the Number [*of fifteen thouſand Men*]
'to the Proportion I have done: That I ow'd as well to the *Honour* as the
'*Security* of the Nation, whoſe Reputation was ſo infinitely expos'd to all
'our Neighbours, by having lain open to the late wretched Attempt, that
'it is not to be repaired without keeping ſuch a *Body of Men* on foot, that
'none may ever have a Thought of finding Us again ſo miſerably unpro-
'vided. It is for the Support of this great Charge, which is now more
'than double to what it was, that I ask your Aſſiſtance, in giving Me a
'Supply anſwerable to the Expences it brings along with it; and I cannot
'doubt, but that what I have begun, ſo much to the Honour and De-
'fence of the Government, will be continu'd by you with all Chearful-
'neſs and Readineſs, that is requiſite for a Work of ſo great Importance.

'Let no Man take Exception, that there are ſome Officers in the Army
'not *Qualify'd*, according to the late *Teſts*, for their Employments: The
'Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, are moſt of them known to Me; and ha-
'ving formerly ſerv'd Me on ſeveral Occaſions, and alway approv'd the
'Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I think them now fit to
'be employ'd under Me; and I will deal plainly with you, That after ha-
'ving had the Benefit of their Services in ſuch Time of Need and Danger,
'I will neither expoſe them to *Diſgrace*, nor My Self to the *Want* of
'them, if there ſhou'd be another *Rebellion* to make them neceſſary
'to Me.

'I am afraid ſome Men may be ſo wicked, to hope and expect, That a
'*Difference* may happen between you and Me upon this Occaſion: But
'when you conſider what Advantages have riſen to Us in a few Months,
'by the good Underſtanding We have hitherto had; what wonderful Ef-
'fects it hath already produc'd in the Change of the whole Scene of Affairs
'*Abroad*, ſo much more to the Honour of the Nation, and the Figure it
'ought to make in the World; and that nothing can hinder a farther Pro-
'greſs in this Way to all Our Satisfactions, but *Fears* and *Jealouſies* a-
'mongſt Our Selves: I will not apprehend that ſuch a Misfortune can be-
'fall Us, as a *Diviſion*, or but a *Coldneſs* between you and Us; nor that
'any Man can ſhake you, in your Steadineſs and Loyalty to Me, who, by
'God's Bleſſing, will ever make you Returns of Kindneſs and Protecti-
'on, with a Reſolution to venture even My Own Life in the Defence of
'the true Intereſt of this Kingdom.

A great Weight has always been reaſonably laid upon the Words deliver'd by a *Britiſh* Monarch from his Throne, being preſum'd to be the Reſult of mature Deliberation; ſo that it is no wonder that this Speech ſurpriz'd a People, who had often ventur'd ſo boldly for the Preſervation of their Laws and Liberties, and thought themſelves ſecure of them, both from the Conſtitution of the Government, and the ſolemn repeated Promiſes of their Prince. They now began to believe, that the Jealouſies in the late Reign, tho' factious in themſelves, were well grounded, and remotely to diſcover, that the Government of a *Roman Catholick* King was inconſiſtent with a *Proteſtant Kingdom*. Indeed the Houſe of Lords thought fit to debate, Whether they ſhou'd give the King Thanks for his Speech or not? Some of that Auguſt Aſſembly were for it, while others as warmly oppos'd it; but

How the Speech was receiv'd by the Lords.

1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26

but the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, a Man of a ſharp ſatyrical Wit, ſaid, by way of Irony, *They had now more Reaſon than ever to give Thanks to his Majeſty, ſince he had dealt ſo plainly with them, and diſcover'd what he wou'd be at.* What he meant for a Jeſt, was ſuddenly laid hold on by the Courtiers for Earneſt, ſo the Affirmative carry'd it, and an Addreſs of Thanks was preſented: To which his Majeſty return'd this Anſwer, *That he was very well ſatisfy'd that their Lordſhips were well pleas'd with what he ſaid; and that he wou'd never offer any thing to their Houſe, that he ſhou'd not be convinc'd was for the Good and true Intereſt of the Kingdom:* Nevertheleſs, the Biſhop of *London* couragiouſly mov'd, in the Name of himſelf and all his Brethren, that the Houſe wou'd particularly debate the King's Speech, and the 23d of this Month was accordingly appointed; which, as it was extraordinary and unuſual in the Houſe, ſo it was not leſs ſurprizing to the King and Court, who ſoon ſhew'd a Jealouſy of theſe Proceedings.

And how by the Commons.

2. In the Houſe of Commons the Speech occaſion'd a longer and warmer Debate, where it was preſently underſtood, to be the Declaring for a *Standing Army*, and by degrees to be commanded by *Popiſh Officers*. The Thought was ſhocking and formidable, and produc'd a total Silence for a conſiderable time after the Reading of the Speech. And therefore, tho' the King's Secretary, the Earl of *Middleton* mov'd, 'That the Houſe wou'd 'immediately return their Thanks to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious 'Speech, and alſo proceed to the Conſideration of anſwering the Ends 'therein mention'd; they ſeem'd wholly at a Stand, till they were in a manner reliev'd by the Courage and Steadineſs of the Lord *Caſtleton*, who ventur'd to open the Way by his declar'd Diſlike; and ſo the Debate was adjourn'd, and left with a Committee of the whole Houſe, to be determin'd three Days after, on *Thurſday* the 12th of *November*.

A long Debate upon it.

On that Day the Earl of *Middleton*, a Member of the Commons and prepared, mov'd to have his Majeſty's Speech conſider'd by Paragraphs: The ſaid Lord, and the reſt of the Courtiers, repreſented, 'How little the '*Militia* was to be depended upon; that *France* was formidable; that the 'Forces of *Holland* were greatly encreas'd; and therefore they ought to 'approve of his Majeſty's *Increaſing his Forces in Proportion*, and vote him a *Supply to anſwer his preſent Occaſions*.' Thoſe of the *Countrey Party* ſtood up in 'Vindication of the *Militia*, which, they ſaid, in the 'late Rebellion had kept *Monmouth* from *Briſtol* and *Exeter*; and which 'might be of ſingular Uſe, if new modell'd.' They particularly expreſs'd their Jealouſies of *Standing Forces*, by alledging, 'That the Kingdom was 'guarded by Law; that they were in perfect Peace, the King both fear'd 'and lov'd, an Army little needed, Enemies juſtly intimidated: That what 'made the Rebellion grow to a Height, was, becauſe the Man that headed 'it was a *Favourite of the Faction*; and tho' he had got ſuch a Number, 'yet he was beaten by two thouſand Men only. That the preſent Army 'conſiſted of fourteen or fifteen thouſand Men, whereas the laſt Force, tho' 'not above half in Number, preſerv'd the Peace, and was ſufficient to do 'it in the late King's time; That all the Profit and Security of this Nation 'was in the Navy, and had there been the leaſt Ship in the *Channel*, it 'wou'd have diſappointed *Monmouth*'s Attempt: That ſupporting an Army, 'was maintaining ſo many idle Perſons to Lord it over the reſt of the Subjects: That *Standing Armies* debauch'd the Manners of all People, their 'Wives and Daughters: That Plow-men and Servants quit all Country 'Employments, to turn Soldiers; and that a *Court-Martial* in time of 'Peace was moſt terrible: That they had rather pay double to the *Militia*, 'from whom they fear'd nothing, than half ſo much to thoſe, of whom 'they muſt ever be afraid. Then as for Officers employ'd, not taking the

'*Teſt*, it was *Diſpenſing* with all the Laws at once: That if thoſe Men were Good or Kind, they knew not whether it proceeded from their Generoſity or Principles. That they muſt remember it is *Treaſon* for any Man to be reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*, ſince the *Pope* by Law was declar'd an *Enemy to this Kingdom*. That a Supply given, as mov'd for, was a kind of Eſtabliſhing an Army by Act of Parliament; who when they had got the Power into their Hands, they themſelves muſt then derive it from their Courteſy. And therefore they urg'd to have the Reſolution, *That the Safety of the Kingdom does not conſiſt with a Standing Force.* 1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26

To all which the Courtiers reply'd, 'That his Majeſty in his Speech only ſaid, *That the* Militia *was not ſufficient:* That the laſt long Parliament always own'd ſome Forces neceſſary; but that they were not to name the Number. That the King was the beſt Judge of that, being a great Soldier, and a good Prince. That there was a bitter Spirit in the three laſt preceding Parliaments, not yet well allay'd; ſo that a conſiderable Force was needful, beſides the *Militia*. That the Principles of the Rebel Party was *never to Repent*; That an Iſland may be attack'd, notwithſtanding any Fleet; That new Troops are not ſo good as old, and more ſubject to commit Diſorders; Therefore they inſiſted upon a Supply.' On the other Side it was anſwer'd, 'That there was already a Law, *That no Man ſhall on any Pretence whatſoever riſe againſt the King*; That Lords and Deputy-Lieutenants have Power to diſarm the Diſaffected: That if they gave thus a *Supply*, it was for an *Army*; and then might not that Army be made of thoſe that wou'd not take the *Teſt*; which Act was not deſign'd as a *Puniſhment* for the *Papiſts*, but a *Protection* for *Proteſtants*: That they were for mending the *Militia*, and make it ſuch as the King and Kingdom might confide in it; and that to truſt to *Mercenary Force* alone, was to give up all their *Liberties* at once. That it was for Kings to come to that Houſe from time to time, on extraordinary Occaſions, which they wou'd not do any more, if an Army was provided for by Law: That Armies were uſeful, when Occaſion was for them; but if they eſtabliſh'd them, it wou'd be no more in their Power to Disband them: That there was not a Company form'd till 1588, and as ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* had done with her Army, ſhe disbanded it: That Armies had often been fatal to Princes; and that the Army in the late King's time often turn'd out their Leaders.

Then as to the Supply that was mov'd, ſome were for giving it 'Only for the extraordinary Charge paſt;' others, 'To reward the Officers not qualify'd, or to take them off ſome other way:' Others alledg'd, 'That the King's Revenue was ſufficient to maintain the Force on foot.' However, the Queſtion being put, *That a Supply be given to his Majeſty*, it was carry'd in the affirmative; but theſe Words, *towards the Support of the additional Forces*, which was mov'd by one of the Members to be added, were rejected; and inſtead of them, it paſt, *That the Houſe be mov'd to bring in a Bill to make the* Militia *uſeful*. The Sum demanded by the King's Agents, was Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds; which the reſt thinking exorbitant, ſaid, 'That the Meaſure of their Supply was their Security; that the Uſe was to direct the *Quantum*; that therefore Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds was enough to maintain the additional Forces two Years, till the *Militia* be made uſeful; and that they ought to leave the Door open for coming thither another time.' Others ſaid, 'That they had, that Seſſion, already given *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſes* for his Majeſty's Life, which amounted to Six Millions of Money: That they ought to give little now, to have Opportunity to give more another time; for if they gave ſo much then, they ſhou'd have nothing left to give; and if they proceed- *A Supply voted.*

1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26

The Case of Papists being employ'd.

'proceeded thus, what they had wou'd be taken from them.' But nevertheleſs, after a long Debate, they were ſo generous, that the Queſtion being put for a *Supply of Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds to be given to his Majeſty*, it paſs'd in the affirmative.

As to the *Roman* Catholicks in the Army, beſides what is already mention'd, it was repreſented by one of the Members, 'That his Majeſty on his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown told them, *He had been miſrepreſented, and that he wou'd preſerve the Government in Church and State now Eſtabliſh'd by Law, and maintain them in all their juſt Rights and Privileges:* That overjoy'd at this, they ran haſtily to him, and were ſo forward to give, that the King's Miniſters put their Stop to it: That they ought not to forget that there was a *Bill of Excluſion* debated in that Houſe; and that the Arguments for it were, *That they ſhou'd in caſe of a* Popiſh *Succeſſor, have a* Popiſh *Army:* That they ſaw the Act of the *Teſt* already broken; but pray'd them to remember what the late Lord Chancellor told them when King *Charles* paſs'd that Act; *By this Act*, ſaid he, *you are provided againſt* Popery, *that no* Papiſt *can poſſibly creep into any Employment.* That he was greatly afflicted at the Breach of their Liberties, and ſeeing ſo great a Difference between his laſt Speech, and thoſe heretofore made, he cou'd not believe but this was made by ſome other Advice: That what the Thing ſtruck at there was their All; and that he wonder'd there had been any Men ſo deſperate, as to take any Employment without being qualify'd for it; and concluded to have a *Standing Army* voted deſtructive to the Country.' In the middle of theſe warm Debates, one mov'd for an Addreſs to his Majeſty; but others mov'd the Inconveniency of it, if not granted; others to have the *Catholicks*, who had been ſo uſeful and well known to his Majeſty, nam'd and compenſated. Some ſeem'd to doubt his Majeſty's Compliance; others inſiſted, that it was not to be doubted, *when addreſs'd by ſuch a Houſe.* The Reſult of the Debate, was, the appointing a Committee to draw up an Addreſs to his Majeſty, which on *Monday* the 16th of *November*, was read and agreed to, in this Form:

The Commons Addreſs to the King.

'*Moſt Gracious Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's moſt loyal and faithful Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, do, in the firſt Place, as in Duty bound, return your Majeſty our moſt humble and hearty Thanks for your great Care and Conduct in ſuppreſſing the late Rebellion, which threatned the Overthrow of this Government, both in *Church* and *State*, to the Extirpation of our *Religion as by Law Eſtabliſh'd*, which is moſt dear to us, and which your Majeſty hath been pleas'd to give us REPEATED ASSURANCES you will always *defend* and *maintain*; which, with all grateful Hearts, we ſhall ever acknowledge. We further crave leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that we have with all Duty and Readineſs taken into our Conſideration your Majeſty's *Gracious Speech* to us: And as to that Part of it, relating to the Officers in the Army, not *qualify'd* for their Employments, according to an Act of Parliament made in the 25th Year of the Reign of your Royal Brother, entituled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*; We do out of our bounden Duty, humbly repreſent unto your Majeſty, that theſe Officers cannot by Law be capable of their Employments; and that the Incapacities they bring upon themſelves that Way, can no way be taken off but by an Act of Parliament: Therefore, out of that great Reverence and Duty we owe unto your Majeſty, who have been graciouſly pleas'd to take Notice of their Services to your Majeſty, we are preparing a Bill to paſs both Houſes, for your Royal Aſſent, to indemnify them from the Penalties they have now incurr'd: And becauſe the continuing them in their Employments, may be taken to be a *Diſpenſing* with that Law,

'without

'without an Act of Parliament, the Conſequence of which is of the great-
'eſt Concern to the Rights of all your Majeſty's Subjects, and to all the 1685.
'Laws made for the Security of their Religion: We therefore, the Knights, Jac. 1.
'Citizens and Burgeſſes of your Majeſty's Houſe of Commons, do moſt
'humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you wou'd be moſt graciouſly pleas'd Reſ. 26
'to give ſuch Directions therein, that no Apprehenſions or Jealouſies may
'remain in the Hearts of your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects.

After the Reading of this Addreſs, a Motion was made for going to the Lords for their Concurrence; and it was by ſome alledg'd 'That it wou'd 'carry with it the greater Weight, and be more likely to have good Effect; 'and if the Concurrence of the Lords were ask'd, the Judges in the Lords 'Houſe wou'd have an Opportunity of ſpeaking their Opinion to it.' Others oppos'd it, 'For the Lords having already given their Thanks to the King for 'his Speech, as being contented therewith; and therefore declar'd, that it 'wou'd be more for the Honour of the Houſe of Commons, in this Exigency, 'to addreſs alone.' So upon a Diviſion of the Houſe it was carry'd by a ſmall Majority, for addreſſing alone; and on the 17th of *November* the Addreſs was preſented by the Speaker, attended by the Houſe, to the King in the *Banquetting-Houſe*; when his Majeſty gave them this ſurprizing Anſwer: GENTLEMEN, *I did not expect ſuch an Addreſs from the* Houſe of Commons: *For having ſo lately recommended to your Conſideration the great Advantages a good Underſtanding between Us had produc'd in a very ſhort Time, and given you Warning of* Fears *and* Jealouſies *amongſt our ſelves; I had Reaſon to hope, That the Reputation God had bleſs'd me with in the World, wou'd have ſeal'd and confirm'd a good Confidence to you for Me, and of all that I ſay to you. But however you proceed on your Part, I will be ſteady in all my* PROMISES *I have made to you, and be juſt to my Word in this, and all my other Speeches.* *The King's Anſwer to it.*

This Anſwer was read the next Day, the 18th of *November*, with all due Reverence and Reſpect; but was ſucceeded by a profound Silence in the Houſe for a conſiderable Time: At laſt a Member mov'd 'That a par-'ticular Day might be appointed to conſider of this Anſwer.' Mr. *Coke* ſeconded the Motion, but added with an unexpected Boldneſs, *He hop'd they were all true* Engliſh *Men, and not to be frighted out of their Duty by a few hard Words.* Tho' this Speech was thought to be no more than what was conſiſtent with the Freedom of an *Engliſh* Houſe of Commons, and the Character of a Patriot, yet the Majority ſo far reſented it, as to look upon him as an *Incendiary*, and order'd him to be ſent to the *Tower*, particularly *for his indecent Speech.* And further, to ſhew their Affection as well as Duty, they readily proceeded to *Ways and Means*, towards the raiſing of the Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds before voted. Over and above, to make the King eaſie in his *Roman Catholick* Officers in the Army, they not only offer'd a Bill to indemnify them from the Penalties they had already incurr'd, but they were willing to capacitate, by Act of Parliament, ſuch a Number of thoſe Officers as his Majeſty ſhould give a Liſt of. But ſtill the Country Party inſiſted to have a Day appointed to conſider of his Majeſty's Anſwer to their Addreſs, *which to them ſeem'd not ſatisfactory*; which, notwithſtanding all their loyal and pecuniary Compliances, made the King uneaſy, and unwilling to continue them in that Diſpoſition. *Mr.* Coke *ſent to the* Tower.

3. In the mean time the Houſe of Lords ſhew'd ſuch a Diſpoſition as was not very pleaſing to the Court. Beſides their intended Debate of the King's Speech, after Thanks return'd, they thought fit to take Notice of the violent and arbitrary Proſecution of two of their Body, the Lord *Delamere* and the Earl of *Stamford*, wherein they judg'd the Privileges of Peerage to be invaded. On the firſt Day of the Seſſion, the Lord *Delamere*, in a *The Lords Proceedings.*

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The Lord Delamere's *Petition to them.*

humble Petition represented to their Lordships, 'That his Majesty, by his '*Proclamation*, dated the 19th of *July* last, did require the *Petitioner* to 'appear before him in Council within ten Days, not for any manner of 'Treason, but for other less Matters therein contain'd. That accordingly 'within seven Days he did render himself to my Lord *Sunderland:* And 'that after being brought before his Majesty, then sitting in Council, he 'was neither confronted by any Person that accus'd him, nor otherwise 'charg'd with any manner of Treason, but only ask'd some Questions re-'lating to Matters of a lesser Nature: And had he been guilty of them, 'yet, by Law, he might and ought to have been bail'd. Notwithstanding 'the Lord *Sunderland*, by Warrant bearing Date the 26th of *July* last, did 'commit the *Petitioner* to the *Tower* of *London*, for *High-Treason in* '*levying War against the King*, where he had remain'd ever since, under 'a very close Restraint. And as he avow'd himself to be altogether Inno-'cent of any evil Practice against the King or the Government, and had in 'all Things behav'd himself as became a good Subject; so he humbly pray'd 'their Lordships to take his Case into their serious Consideration, and to 'do therein what shou'd seem meet to their Lordships.' After some De-bate, the Question was put, Whether the Lords with *White Staffs* shou'd wait on his Majesty, to know the Reason why the Lord *Delamere*, a Member of their House, was absent from his Attendance there. Which being carry'd in the Affirmative, the Earl of *Rochester*, Lord-Treasurer, *re-ported* the next Day, 'That he, with the other Lords, having waited on 'his Majesty with their Message, his Majesty was pleas'd to answer, *That* '*the Lord* Delamere *stood committed for High-Treason, testified upon Oath*; '*and that his Majesty had already given Directions, that he shou'd be* '*proceeded against according to Law.*' The Lords resum'd this Debate a few Days after, when the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, by his Majesty's Command, gave this Account to their Lordships, of the Proceedings had and intended to be had against the Lord *Delamere*, in these Words; 'To 'shew your Lordships that the King has given Orders for a speedy Prosecu-'tion of him, the Treason whereof he is accus'd, was committed in *Che-'shire*, and that being a County *Palatine*, the Prosecution must be there, 'and not in the Court of *King*'s-*Bench*, as it might be, if the Treason had 'been committed in any other County: And therefore his Majesty had gi-'ven Orders for a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, in order to the find-'ing an Indictment against him. Which Commission is already pass'd; and 'if the Indictment be not found before the End of the *Term*, the Lord '*Dalamere*'s Prayer being enter'd in the *King*'s-*Bench*, he may be bail'd.

The Earl of Stamford's *Petition to them.*

The other Case was that of the Earl of *Stamford*, who on the 11th of *November* put up a Petition to the Lords, importing, 'That in *July* last he 'was taken in Custody at his own House in *Leicestershire*; and being 'brought to *London*, was, by the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Warrant, commit-'ted to the *Tower*, for *High-Treason, in conspiring the Death of the late* '*King*, where he remain'd ever since, and was now a close Prisoner, and 'had not had the Use of Pen, Ink or Paper, except to sign *Petitions*, in 'the *Gentleman Porter*'s or *Warder*'s Presence: That he took Leave and 'Assent, That he was Innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge, and had 'endeavour'd to behave himself with all Duty and Loyalty to the King, and 'his Royal Brother of Glorious Memory: That nevertheless, he heard 'there was an Indictment of *High-Treason* found against him; but Where, 'When, or How, or upon What Evidence, or upon What Matter, he knew 'not. Wherefore, he humbly pray'd, that their Lordships, according to 'the ancient Course of Proceedings of this most honourable House, wou'd 'be pleas'd to order him to be brought before them in their House of Par-'liament, there to hear the Matter charg'd against him: And that there-

'upon

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'upon ſuch farther Proceedings might be had, as are agreeable to Juſtice, and 'the uſual Courſe of Parliamentary Proceedings in Caſes of the like Nature.' Upon Reading this Petition, the Houſe of Peers immediately order'd the Lord Mayor, and the reſt of the Juſtices of the City of *London*, forthwith to return in their Houſe, by Virtue of his Majeſty's Writ of *Certiorari*, the Indictment found before them againſt the Earl of *Stamford*. On the 17th of *November*, the ſaid Earl, purſuant to their Lordſhip's Order, was brought to the Bar, and the Indictment found againſt him. And his *Petition* being read, the Lord Chancellor ask'd him, *What he had to ſay to the Houſe?* His Lordſhip reply'd, *That he had been ſtrictly confin'd by ſixteen Weeks Impriſonment, and not allow'd the Liberty of Pen, Ink and Paper, or Friends to come to him; and therefore he cou'd ſay no more till he knew his Charge.* Whereupon the Houſe order'd the Earl of *Stamford*'s Tryal 'ſhould be in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, on the firſt Day of *December* next: 'That in the mean time, he ſhou'd be allow'd the Liberty of Pen, Ink and 'Paper, and Friends to come to him, in Order for his Tryal; and that the 'Lords with *White Staffs* ſhou'd attend the King, to deſire his Majeſty, 'in Behalf of this Houſe, that a Place may be appointed in *Weſtminſter*-'Hall, and that his Majeſty wou'd give Order for a Commiſſion to appoint 'a Lord *High-Steward*, in Order to the ſaid Tryal.' On the next Day the Lords were made acquainted, 'That the King had comply'd with their 'Deſire.'

But in the mean time, the King, finding the Temper of both Houſes not exactly agreeable to his own, thought fit to put an End to the Seſſion, tho' with the Loſs of ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds voted by the Commons: And accordingly on the 20th of *November*, his Majeſty order'd a Commiſſion to the Houſe of Peers, who ſending for the Commons, the Lord Chancellor let both Houſes know, 'That it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, for ma- *The Parliament ſudenly prorogu'd and ended.*
'ny *weighty Reaſons*, that this Parliament be Prorogu'd till the 10th of *Fe-*
'*bruary* next.' And thus ended the ſecond Meeting of this Parliament, after it had ſate but eleven Days; and tho' prorogu'd from time to time, it never met to do Buſineſs after; it being diſſolv'd in leſs than two Years time, and no other call'd during this Reign. And here we may wonder, that after ſuch ſolemn Promiſes on the King's Side, and ſuch large Compliances on the other, there ſhou'd be ſo little Union between them: If either of them had been leſs, the King's future Actions had then been much more excuſable, and leſs liable to the Cenſure of an Hiſtorian, who eſpecially is to take notice of open Ingratitude, and publick Breach of Faith.

4. After the breaking up of the Parliament, two Lord's Tryals were expected, namely of the Earl of *Stamford* and the Lord *Delamere*. The firſt never came on, but the latter did, in a little above a Month's time, with the uſual Solemnity of a Lord High-Steward, and a ſelect Number of about thirty Lords. After ſome Formalities, and ſpecial Pleas offer'd by the Lord *Delamere*, the firſt Witneſs produc'd againſt him was the Lord *Howard*, who had not yet done with the *Drudgery of Swearing*, as it was call'd, but was forc'd again to do Penance for his former Crimes, which he introduc'd in theſe Words; *I am call'd, not to be an Evidence againſt my Lord* Delamere, *but againſt my ſelf; that is, to repeat what I have often deliver'd at ſeveral Tryals, in the Courts of Juſtice; and which I muſt always repeat with Shame and Confuſion for my Guilt, as I cannot but always reflect upon it with Sorrow and Horror.* After a very long Story that had no Relation to the preſent Cauſe, it preſently appear'd to the World that the Lord *Grey* was in Favour, or at leaſt pardon'd, by being brought in as a ſecond Witneſs; more, to prove the Truth and Deſign of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, than the real Guilt of the Perſon accus'd. Others *The Tryal of the Lord* Delamere.

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He is acquitted.

also appear'd, as *Wade*, *Jones*, and *Goodenough*; but none came fully to the Point, which was the Lord's Correſpondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, but one *Saxon:* But he being prov'd to be a Perſon of very little or bad Reputation, the whole Body of the Peers acquitted his Lordſhip, and ſo he came off with Triumph; but, perhaps, with ſuch juſt Reſentment, that he afterwards prov'd a prime Inſtrument in removing thoſe that had ſo much endanger'd him.

A general Pardon.

The other Lord, the Earl of *Stamford*, came off with leſs Difficulty; for ſoon after, upon bringing his *Habeas Corpus*, he was admitted to Bail; and in the Beginning of the next Year, tho' Innocent as to any Proof, thought fit to lay hold on the Proclamation of Pardon, which was iſſu'd out after all the Tryals were over. This was call'd by the Name of *General*, but clogg'd with ſuch Number of *Exceptions* as to Perſons, and ſome of thoſe Perſons ſo inconſiderable, that it was thought of very little Uſe, or at leaſt met with no conſiderable Thanks.

Promotions and Preferments.

And now we may conclude the Year 1685 with the Accounts of ſome Promotions and Preferments, and the Deaths of ſome conſiderable Perſons. As to the Former, beſides thoſe already mention'd, as the Lord *Jeffreys*, the Lord *Churchill*, *&c.* his Majeſty was pleas'd to beſtow ſeveral other Honours, and more particularly the Honour of the *Garter* upon four Perſons, at ſeveral Times; as firſt the Duke of *Norfolk* on the 6th of *May*; next, the Earl of *Peterborough*, on *June* the 18th; thirdly, the Lord Treaſurer *Rocheſter*, on the 29th of *June*; and laſtly, the Earl of *Feverſham*, on the 31ſt of *July*. His Majeſty being deſirous to beſtow a Mark of his Royal Favour upon *Henry Jermyn* of *Chevely* in the County of *Cambridge*, Eſq; for the conſtant Loyalty of himſelf and his Family, was pleas'd to grant him the Title and Dignity of Baron of *Dover* in the County of *Kent*, on the 15th of *May*. The Earl of *Arlington*, ſo often mention'd, dying this Year in *July*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute the Earl of *Ailesbury* Lord Chamberlain in his Place: And he dying in leſs than three Months Time, his Majeſty was pleas'd to give his White Staff to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, who became a conſiderable Favourite in this Reign. The Earl of *Peterborough*, beſides the Honour of the *Garter*, had the *Golden Key* given him as Groom of the Stole. The Duke of *Queenborough*, the Earl of *Perth*, the Lord *Preſton*, and the Earl of *Plymouth*, were, at ſeveral Times this Year, made Privy Counſellors. In *December*, his Majeſty appointed the Earl of *Clarendon* to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the room of the Duke of *Ormond*. And about the ſame Time, the King was pleas'd in Council to declare the Earl of *Sunderland*, his principal Secretary, to be Lord Preſident of his Council; who from that Time became prime Miniſter of State, and by his Addreſs upon all Occaſions, gain'd a ſpecial Influence upon the King's Affairs and Actions, during the greateſt Part of his Reign.

The Deaths of Biſhop Sparrow,

For the Deaths of conſiderable Men this Year, beſide the Lord Keeper *North*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Earl of *Alesbury* already mention'd, we ſhall begin with three Learned Divines; and firſt Dr. *Anthony Sparrow*, Maſter of *Queen*'s College in *Cambridge*, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Exeter* and *Norwich*, after he had been a conſiderable Sufferer in the Times of Confuſion: He left behind him the Character of a pious, induſtrious and paſtoral Man, and in his Labours was diſtinguiſh'd by his judicious *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*, &c. The ſecond was Dr. *Lawrence Womack*, likewiſe educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and no leſs a Sufferer in the late Times, who at the Reſtauration was made Archdeacon of *Suffolk*, and laſt of all Biſhop of St. *Davids:* He was much noted for his polemical Writings, particularly againſt the Diſſenters, from whom he had receiv'd ſuch Hardſhips, and dy'd poſſeſs'd of a very famous and ſelect Library.

Biſhop Womack.

Library. The third was Dr. *Thomas Marſhall*, Dean of *Gloceſter*, another Loyaliſt of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and a great Follower of the famous Archbiſhop *Uſher*, who being forc'd to travel, afterwards ſhew'd himſelf to be very well vers'd in Books as well as Men, and to be a noted Critick, eſpecially in the *Gothick* and *Engliſh Saxon* Tongues, a painful Preacher, a good Man and Governor, and a Perſon worthy of his Station in the Church. To theſe three we may add a fourth Divine, Dr. *John Pell*, Rector of *Laindon* and *Bartleſdon* in *Kent*, a Perſon educated in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, and of an extraordinary Genius, being a mighty Linguiſt, and a celebrated Mathematician, even in the moſt difficult Parts of *Algebra*, &c. a Perſon who had been us'd, and conſulted upon many publick Occaſions, yet following his Books only, and being a ſhiftleſs Man as to worldly Affairs, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be cozen'd of his Revenues, and dy'd in Obſcurity. 1685. Jac. 1. Reſ. 26 *Dr.* Marſhall, *Dr.* Pell.

After theſe Divines, we ſhall mention three others of various Note and Character, and firſt Sir *William Dugdale* Knight, and *Garter* Principal King of Arms, a *Warwickſhire* Gentleman by Birth, but of no Academical Education, who falling into the Acquaintance of Mr. *Burton*, Sir *Henry Spelman*, Mr. *Dodſworth*, and other famous Antiquaries, follow'd and purſu'd that ſort of Studies with ſuch an indefatigable Labour and Pains, that he became himſelf the moſt celebrated Antiquary in the Kingdom: His *Monaſticon*, his *Baronage*, his *Antiquities of* Warwickſhire, and other of his Works, are wonderful Inſtances of Induſtry. *Wood* intimates that the Diſtractions of his Worldly Affairs made his Works not altogether ſo accurate as they might have been; however, adds he, what he has done is prodigious, conſidering the great Troubles he had endured for his Loyalty, and the Cumberances of this World he had run through; and therefore his Memory ought to be venerated and perpetuated, for preſerving ſo many things from periſhing, which otherwiſe wou'd have been eternally bury'd in Oblivion. The next was Sir *John Marſham* Baroner, a Gentleman of *London* by Birth, educated in St. *John*'s College in *Oxford*, and farther improv'd by his Travels into ſeveral Countries; after which he ſtudy'd the Law in the *Middle-Temple*, and became one of the Six Clerks in *Chancery*. In the troubleſome Times that ſucceeded, he became a great Sufferer, and at laſt a Compounder for his Eſtate; notwithſtanding which he purſu'd his Studies with that Succeſs, that he became famous both at Home and Abroad for his nice and exact Skill in Hiſtory, Chronology and Languages; inſomuch that Father *Simon*, in one of his Books, calls him 'The great *Marſham* 'of *England*,' and the moſt learned Men in *Europe* have made very honourable mention of him, upon the account of his accurate and excellent Writings. After a Life of great Labour, and ſeveral Honours receiv'd from King *Charles* the Second, he left the World in the eighty third Year of his Age. The laſt to be mention'd is Mr. *Thomas Otway*, the Son of a Clergy-man in *Suſſex*, who had a ſhort Education in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, from whence repairing to *London*, he became a moſt celebrated Dramatick Poet; his Plays being as much heard and read as any that appear'd upon the Stage. He was a Man of excellent and improving Parts, and of a luxuriant Imagination, and had an admirable Talent of moving and raiſing the Paſſions in his Tragedies; but in his Comedies he had ſo much Lewdneſs with his Wit, that he ſeem'd to outdo his Contemporaries in debauching the City, as well as the Stage: And, leading a Life of full Liberty, he met with the natural Effects of it, to die very poor and young, in the thirty third Year of his Age. *Sir* William Dugdale, *Sir* John Marſham, *And Mr.* Thomas Otway.

1686. Jac. 2. Reſ. 27 *The King's Deſigns.*

Hornby. Complete Hiſtory. *Boyer.* *King.* Gazettes.

III. 1. The King being now, in effect, got to the Height of his Power, his Parliament not ſitting, his ſtanding Forces encreaſing, and his Revenues ſufficient to maintain them, he began more openly to ſhew his Reſo-

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Reſolutions of encouraging and eſtabliſhing his own Religion; and, in order to ſo great a Work, to aſſume a more arbitrary Power than had been known or charg'd upon any of his Family. In both theſe he is ſaid to have been hurry'd on more by the treacherous Advice of others, than by his private Inclination, which was of it ſelf unqueſtionably ſtrong, and conſequently yielding to all ſuch Impreſſions.

Proceedings in Scotland.

Whatſoever were his Incouragements or Inducements, the King to feel the Pulſe of his *Engliſh* Subjects, began to raiſe the Superſtructure of his Arbitrary Power in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; in the former of which he had laid the Foundation by his Popularity and politick Diſſembling his religious Deſigns, when he was made Lord Commiſſioner for his Brother. Before that Parliament had broke up the laſt Summer, beſides other Acts formerly mention'd, one paſs'd *Containing a Tender of Duty, and Offer of the* Exciſe *to his Majeſty*; in the Preamble of which they Declare, 'That they owe 'all their Bleſſings to the Sacred Race of their glorious Kings, and to the 'Solid, Abſolute Authority wherewith they were Inveſted by the firſt and 'Fundamental Laws of their Monarchy:——And therefore they again declare to the World, 'That they Abhorr and Deteſt, not only the Authors 'and Actors of all preceding Rebellions againſt their Sovereign, but alſo 'all Principles and Poſitions which are contrary or derogatory to the 'King's *Sacred, Supreme, Sovereign, Abſolute Power* and *Authority*, which 'none, whether particular Perſons or collective Bodies, can participate of any 'manner of Way, or upon any Pretext, but in Dependence on him, and 'by Commiſſion from him, *&c.*' And as it were intentionally to introduce a Deſpotick Power, they paſs'd another Act, 'To confirm and ap'prove whatever had been done by his Majeſty's Privy-Council, Juſtice-'Court, and thoſe Commiſſionated by them, in Baniſhing, Impriſoning or 'Fining ſuch as refus'd to Take and Swear the *Oath of Allegiance*; and 'to Aſſert the Royal Prerogative in the utmoſt Extent of them.

The King's Letter to the Parliament there.

Theſe Advances gave great Incouragement to the King, who had a hopeful Proſpect of the *Scots* compliance in all Things; therefore amongſt them he firſt attempted to repeal the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts* enacted againſt *Papiſts*. Accordingly, having ſummon'd the Parliament of that Kingdom to Re-aſſemble on the 29th of *April* this preſent Year, he wrote an earneſt Letter to them, wherein, 'He recommends to their ſpecial Care, his Inno'cent *Roman Catholick* Subjects, who had always been Aſſiſtant to the 'Crown in the worſt of Rebellions and Uſurpations, tho' they lay under 'Diſcouragements hardly to be nam'd: Theſe he moſt heartily recommend'ed to them; to the End, That as they had given good Experience of 'their true Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour, ſo, by their Aſſiſtance, they 'might have the Protection of his Laws, not ſuffering them to lye under '*Obligations*, which their Religion cou'd not admit of; by doing of which, 'they wou'd give a Demonſtration of the Duty and Affection they had to 'him, and do him moſt acceptable Service. And this Love he expected 'they ſhou'd ſhew to their *Brethren*, as they ſaw him an *Indulgent Fa'ther* to his People.

After the reading of this Letter, to engage the Parliament to a Compliance with his Majeſty's Deſire, the Earl of *Murray*, who was appointed Lord High-Commiſſioner upon this Occaſion, made them a plauſible Speech, in which he promis'd them, 'That his Majeſty wou'd open a free Inter'courſe of Trade with his Kingdom of *England*; and had fully inſtructed 'his Envoy at the Court of *France*, to recover the Poſſeſſion of the ſeve'ral Privileges of the *Scotch* Merchants Trading with that Kingdom. And 'that his Majeſty wou'd redreſs the Trouble that the *Scotch* Merchants 'met with in the matter of the Staple and Trade with the *Netherlands*; 'and that he wou'd remove the Prejudice which the Kingdom ſuffer'd,

'by

'by the Importation of *Iriſh* Horſes, Cattel and Victuals. And that his 1686.
'Majeſty was willing to grant them an open Mint, the want of which, Jac. 2.
'was a terrible Prejudice to the Traffick of the Kingdom: And that he
'wou'd not at this time demand any more Supplies or Impoſitions of any Reſ. 27
'kind; notwithſtanding his great Charges in ſuppreſſing the late horrid
'Rebellion: And that he wou'd give his Royal Conſent to all ſuch Laws
'and Regulations, as might ſecure exact Payment to the Countrey from all
'his Officers and Soldiers in their Quarters. And laſtly, That he wou'd
'graciouſly paſs his full and ample Indemnity, with ſome needful and ne-
'ceſſary Exceptions, for all paſt Crimes and Miſdemeanours whatſoever.'
Having expatiated upon all theſe Heads, he concluded his Speech in theſe Words; 'And now, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, after ſo great and excellent
'Deſigns for promoting the Honour, the Eaſe and Wealth of this King-
'dom; After his Reſolution to pardon ſo many Enemies, and to free ſo
'many of the Guilty from further ſevere, but juſt Proſecutions; his Ma-
'jeſty believeth that none will wonder, if he deſire, by the Advice and
'Conſent of this Great Council, to give Eaſe and Security to ſome of his
'good Subjects of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, who have been at all
'Times firm to the Monarchy, and ready to ſacrifice their Lives and For-
'tunes for the Service and Security of the Crown. So that his Majeſty,
'who ſo perfectly underſtands the Loyal and Dutiful Temper and Genius
'of *Scotland*, reſts fully perſuaded of your ready and chearful Compliance
'with his Royal Deſire and Inclinations, tending ſo much to your own
'Security, and his Satisfaction; and that you will ſend me back to my
'Great and Royal Maſter, with the good Tydings of the continu'd and du-
'tiful Loyalty of this his *ancient Kingdom:* By which you will ſhew
'your ſelves the beſt and moſt affectionate Subjects, to the Beſt, the In-
'comparable, and moſt Heroick Prince in the World.

When this Speech came to be conſider'd, the Creatures of the Court ſhew'd a preſent Inclination for paſſing an Act in Favour of the *Papiſts*, without looking further than his Majeſty's Deſire. But the more conſiderate Party mov'd and prevail'd to have a Committee appointed to inſpect the Statutes provided againſt the *Roman Catholicks*. After a full Examination of thoſe Laws, the Committee drew up a Bill whereby, '*Papiſts* were
'to be allow'd the Exerciſe of their Religion in private, without repealing
'thoſe former Acts which made them liable to Penalties for publickly Aſ-
'ſembling together.' The King ſeem'd to have been contented with this Step at preſent, hoping to have gain'd more in a proper Seaſon. But however, this Bill being preſented to the Parliament for their Approbation, they divided upon it, and many warm Speeches were made againſt it. The King being inform'd of their Debates, and apprehending the Miſcarriage of his Deſigns, he diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Earl of *Murray*, his Commiſſioner, with Orders to Diſſolve, or at leaſt Prorogue that Parliament that had done ſo much in Favour of his Prerogative. And about ten Months after, he did that by his ſole Power and Authority, which he cou'd not effect with the Conſent of the Nation, as will be remember'd in its proper Place.

The Parliament not complying.

2. To proceed to the other more remote Kingdom, it was principally in *Ireland*, where the King's Deſigns of eſtabliſhing *Popery* and *Arbitrary* Power to Support it, appear'd without Diſguiſe, from the very Beginning of his Reign; a Kingdom whoſe diſtance from *England*, as well as the Number of *Papiſts* contain'd in it, gave him great Opportunities and Incouragement to execute his Projects. The famous Duke of *Ormond* was Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, a Perſon of unblemiſh'd Honour, and inviolable Fidelity to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the *Engliſh* as well as the

Proceedings in Ireland.

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The Duke of Ormond *remov'd.*

the *Iriſh* Intereſt; and therefore he was thought an improper Perſon to ſerve the preſent Government: Accordingly, within two Months after the King's Acceſſion to the Crown, he receiv'd an Order from the Court, to deliver the Sword of State to the Lord Primate of *Ireland* and to the Earl of *Granard*, appointed by the King to be Lords Juſtices. But before his Grace's Departure, he labour'd with a noble Diligence to eſtabliſh Matters on ſuch a Foundation, as it ſhou'd not be eaſy for the *Papiſts* to make a preſent Change, without a manifeſt Violation of the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom. One particular Paſſage muſt not be paſs'd in Silence, as expreſſing the brave Spirit of that excellent Patriot: He appointed a Dinner at the *New Hoſpital*, a ſtately Fabrick by him erected near *Dublin* for poor Soldiers, where were invited the Officers of the ſaid Hoſpital, and thoſe of the Army then in *Dublin*; which being over, he took a large Glaſs of Wine in his Hand, bid them fill it to the Brim, then ſtood up and call'd thus to the Company; *Look here, Gentlemen, they ſay at Court I am now become an old doating Fool; you ſee my Hand does not ſhake, nor does my Heart fail; nor do I doubt that I ſhall make ſome of my Enemies ſee their Miſtake*; and ſo drank the *King's Health*. But the Duke at his Arrival at the *Engliſh* Court, found himſelf in Diſpleaſure with the King, who really ow'd him the higheſt Obligations; and had ſuch diſmal Apprehenſions of the Poſture of Affairs in *Ireland*, that it is thought to have ſhortned his Days: For tho' he dy'd in a good old Age, yet till this Turn he enjoy'd ſuch Health of Body, and Chearfulneſs of Mind, that in the Courſe of Nature he might have liv'd many Years longer.

Before the Duke left the Government of *Ireland*, an Order came, for regulating the Council, the finiſhing of which was left to the Lord Juſtices. Upon his Departure the Privy-Council was immediately diſſolv'd, and moſt of the *Engliſh* that were active in the *Proteſtant* Cauſe, were remov'd; and tho' no *Papiſts* were immediately put in their Places, yet it was not long before they made up the major Part; and thoſe few *Proteſtants* that were left, ſeldom appear'd at the Board, as being unable to ſtand againſt the ſtrongeſt Side. The *Iriſh* fell immediately to their ordinary Practice of making Plots, but with this Difference; That whereas they had formerly been the Actors themſelves, they now father'd them upon the *Engliſh*, whom they daily impeach'd againſt the King and the Government. They were countenanc'd by the Privy Council, who preſs'd the Lords Juſtices for Orders to impower *Iriſh Papiſts* and mungrel *Proteſtants* to commit, without Bail, any Perſon Impeach'd. Theſe ſtrange Proceedings ſoon made the Lords Juſtices weary of their Government, and the Lord *Granard* wrote to *England* to be diſmiſs'd: But the *Papiſts* repreſented him as a Man fit to be kept in his Majeſty's Intereſt, being very prevalent in the *North*, among the *Scotch* Presbyterians, his Lady being of that Perſuaſion. So that King *James* wrote him a Letter with his own Hand, giving him Aſſurance, *That nothing ſhou'd be acted prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt*, for which his Lordſhip was then reputed to be zealous. And as to Plots, *Monmouth*'s Rebellion gave the *Iriſh* a fair Opportunity of contriving them, and to faſten them upon the *Proteſtants*; which made the King ſo jealous of them, or ſo ready to take Advantage, that he reſolv'd to keep a Standing Army of *Iriſh Papiſts*. This cou'd not be effected without calling in all the Arms from the Hands of *Proteſtants*. To carry on which Deſign, the King and Council wrote over to the Lords Juſtices,

The Proteſtants there diſarm'd.

'That there was reaſon to believe that the Rebellion of *Monmouth* had 'been of the ſpreading Contagion, as to Infect many, and Delude more: 'It was not therefore ſafe for the Kingdom, to have the Arms of the *Mi-* '*litia* diſpers'd abroad; but they wou'd be in greater Readineſs, for the 'Uſe of the *Militia*, and the Defence of the Countrey, to have them de-

'poſited

'posited in the ſeveral Stores of each County.' Upon theſe plauſible Inſtructions, a Proclamation was iſſu'd out; and the City of *Dublin* being prevail'd with to bring in their Arms, that Precedent was ſoon after unhappily follow'd by all the Countrey. 1686. Jac. 2. Reſ. 27

The *Proteſtants* being by this Contrivance diſarm'd, the next Deſign was to new-model the Army, which at that Time conſiſted of about ſeven Thouſand, all Proteſtants, zealous and faithful to the King's Service. For which Purpoſe they made choice of Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a Man, of all others, moſt odious and formidable to the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and one who had been nam'd by *Oates* in his *Narrative*, ſome Years before, as deſign'd for this very Service; ſo that many, who before believ'd nothing of the *Popiſh* Plot, gave Credit to it now, ſaying, *That if* Oates *were an ill Evidence, he was certainly a good Prophet.* *Talbot* with great Inſolence began to purſue a Method, which was ſaid to have been deſign'd immediately before the Death of King *Charles* the Second, which was to diſplace all Officers that had been in the Parliament or *Cromwell*'s Army, and the very Sons of all ſuch. In this Deſign the Duke of *Ormond* had Directions to proceed; but he made no Progreſs in it, under Pretence of gaining Time to find them out, but in reality, becauſe he foreſaw it was only to make room for the *Papiſts*. *Talbot* having with a high Hand caſhier'd a great many of the Officers, came over into *England*, and brought with him one *Neagle*, a ſubtle *Iriſh* Lawyer, and a moſt inveterate Papiſt; who, tho' not immediately countenanc'd by the King, was conſtantly with his Confeſſor Father *Petre*, and the reſt of the *Popiſh* Cabal. The Queen is ſaid to be much for their furious Counſels, but the King appear'd not ſo violently inclin'd, being daily adviſ'd by all the *Popiſh* Peers, 'Not to proceed too faſt in the 'Alterations in *Ireland*; leſt he ſhou'd by that Means ruin the general In-'tereſt of the *Catholicks*.' However, Colonel *Talbot* was made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, with the deſign of his immediate Return into *Ireland*, in Quality Lord Lieutenant; to which Office he had been recommended by Biſhop *Tyrrill*, tho' with ſome Reſerve, as being a Perſon confeſs'd to be odious to the *Engliſh* Nation, and therefore not proper to appear upon the Stage till Matters were come to a greater Maturity. Therefore the Lord *Bellaſis* was propos'd, but he was infirm, and excus'd himſelf from what he thought wou'd be a difficult Work. At length, to carry on their Deſign with Succeſs, and not altogether to diſguſt the *Engliſh*, it was reſolv'd that *Tyrconnel* ſhou'd return Lieutenant General of the Army, and the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom, as was formerly hinted: All which was compleated on the latter End of the laſt Year, 1685.

Colonel Talbot's *Proceedings.*

He is made Earl of Tyrconnel.

The Earl of Clarendon *made Lord Lieutenant.*

3. In the mean Time the *Iriſh Papiſts* in all Parts of the Kingdom proceeded in their former Stratagems of Impeaching the *Proteſtants* for trayterous Deſigns; but theſe were generally ſo weakly contriv'd, and compos'd of ſuch palpable Inconſiſtencies, that they ſerv'd only to demonſtrate the Innocence of the Proteſtants, and the inveterate Malice of the Informers. But when theſe Impeachments were found to be ſo unskillfully manag'd, as to miſs of their wicked Intents, they then apply'd themſelves to other Courſes: In particular, many went out *Torys*, and committed ſo many Robberies and Outrages upon the *Engliſh*, that Thouſands left and deſerted the Kingdom. At the ſame time *Tyrconnel* drove on with greater Fury than before; not only diſplacing the Officers of the Army, but alſo turning out the private Soldiers, and to both preferring which of the *Iriſh* he thought fit: His Will was his Law, and his Actions purely Arbitrary; for he brought over Blank Commiſſions ſign'd by the King, for ſuch as he was willing to put in. This Part he acted in a moſt inſulting barbarous Manner; turning looſe ſome Soldiers, ſtripp'd to their Shirts; ſeizing the

Tyrconnel's *Outrages.*

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Horſes of ſome Officers and Troopers, giving them Notes not amounting to the fourth Part of the juſt Values; and to others, giving nothing but ill Words, and vile Reproaches. The moſt noted Officers, who were turn'd out of their Commiſſions, were the Lord *Shannon*, Captain *Fitz-Gerald*, Captain *Coote*, and Sir *George Saint George*; in whoſe Places were put in the moſt virulent *Papiſts*, and the worſt of Men. In ſum, two or three hundred Gentlemen, who had laid out all, or the greateſt Part of their Portions, to purchaſe or follow theſe Military Employments, were arbitrarily Disbanded, and five or ſix thouſand private Soldiers ſent a Begging.

Clarendon's Care.

Notwithſtanding theſe Outrages, the Diſcouragements of the *Engliſh* were in ſome meaſure alleviated, when they found that the Lord Lieutenant, tho' a near Relation to the King, acted as a Perſon of inviolable Integrity to the *Proteſtants*; for which they look'd upon him as a Man that wou'd ſtem the impetuous Torrent of the *Popiſh* Faction. And indeed his very firſt Action gave no ſmall Proof of it, which was to revive the fainting Spirits of the *Proteſtants*, by telling them, *of the great Aſſurance the King had given him of protecting their Religion.* But in reality, that noble Earl ſoon found himſelf but half a Governor, for *Tyrconnell* aſſum'd more than a Share in the Adminiſtration of all Affairs; of which we have this particular Inſtance. Upon a *Sunday* Morning the Earl going to Church, he perceiv'd an *Iriſh* Officer he never ſaw before, commanding his own Guard of Battel-Axes, which very much ſurpriz'd him; whereupon he made a Stop, demanding, *Who he was?* and, *Who put him there?* The *Iriſhman*, as much frighted, as the Lord Lieutenant was diſturb'd, in broken Expreſſions told his Excellency, *He was a Captain put in by the Lord* Tyrconnel. His Excellency demanding of him, *When?* he reply'd, *That Morning.* His Excellency bid them call the former Captain, and diſmiſs this of *Tyrconnel*'s. The next Day the Lord Lieutenant queſtion'd *Tyrconnel* for this Action, who reply'd, *He did nothing but by the King's Orders:* To which the Earl bravely return'd, *That while his Majeſty entruſted him with the Government, he wou'd not be determin'd by his Lieutenant General.* Complaints on both ſides were made to the King, and the mutual Diſcontents every Day encreas'd; the Lord Lieutenant knowing himſelf to be Supreme, and the Lieutenant General daring to be Superior.

But in vain.

The Latter therefore, having compleated his Deſign in Modelling the Army, went over into *England*, and conſulted with his Party, how to obtain the ſole Government of *Ireland.* We are told, That the Queen, Father *Petre*, and the Earl of *Sunderland*, very much importun'd the King in his Favour; but the *Popiſh* Lords, who had a wiſer Foreſight, appear'd againſt it, and believ'd that his Furiouſneſs wou'd ruin all; notwithſtanding they were extremely deſirous to have *Ireland* in the abſolute Diſpoſal of the *Papiſts*: For, after divers Projects, when the moſt conſiderable of them, upon an Apprehenſion of a Storm falling upon them in *England*, were for Addreſſing the King, 'To have liberty to ſell their Eſtates, and that his 'Majeſty wou'd intercede with the King of *France* to provide for them in 'his Dominions;' the King took an Occaſion to tell them, *That before their Deſires came to Him, he had often thought of Them; and had provided a ſure* Sanctuary *and* Retreat *for them in* Ireland, *if all thoſe Endeavours ſhou'd be blaſted in* England, *which he had made for their Security; and of the Succeſs of which he had not yet Reaſon to deſpair.* By which it was ſoon gueſs'd, that the Earl of *Clarendon* was to be recall'd; and his Brother the Lord Treaſurer, having accidentally heard what was then in Agitation, immediately acquainted the King with it; who abſolutely deny'd, *That there was any Intention of removing his Brother from the Government of* Ireland; but, on the contrary, aſſur'd him, *He was very well*

well ſatisfy'd with his Conduct there. Shortly after, the Treaſurer receiv'd from his Brother, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the ſame Intimations about his Removal. Upon which he again apply'd to his Majeſty; who as poſitively deny'd the whole Matter as he had done before: And to remove the Jealouſies of the Lord Lieutenant, he wrote a Letter to him, as was ſaid, with his own Hand, aſſuring him, 'He had yet no Thoughts, and he 'believ'd never ſhou'd have, whilſt both of them liv'd, to call him away 'from the Government of *Ireland.* 1686. Jac. 2. Ref. 27

Notwithſtanding which, in the latter End of this Year, the King thought fit to ask the Advice of his Council, who was the moſt proper Perſon to be plac'd in the Government of *Ireland?* Several were propos'd, but none approv'd of; but after the Inclination of the Board had been ſufficiently ſifted, the King again brought on *Tyrconnel*, which was withſtood by all but the Lord Preſident; and in Oppoſition to which the Popiſh Party contended vigorouſly. The Lord *Powis* was particularly conſider'd as a Perſon whoſe moderate Carriage had entitul'd him to a tolerable good Character among the *Proteſtants*, and therefore the moſt proper to be plac'd in this Station, the better to amuſe them. This Lord was naturally covetous, and the Government of *Ireland* being a Poſt of great Profit, his Friends adviſ'd him to agree with the Lord Preſident, and become Tenant for Life: In order to which, we are told, that *Powis* came to Terms, and agreed for four thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; but whatever the Bottom of the Deſign was, we are told, the Lord Preſident never forſook *Tyrconnel* at the Council-Board, and carry'd it for him againſt all Oppoſition. Some conjectur'd, that he acquainted the King with the Bargain of *Powis*, and that the King made *Tyrconnel* agree to the ſame Terms; but it is more certain that *Tyrconnel*, who ſeldom conſider'd what he ſpoke, wou'd ſwear, *He got not ſo much by the Government as ſerv'd to maintain him*; notwithſtanding it was ſuppos'd to be worth to him eighteen thouſand Pounds *per Annum.* However the Bargain was, the Confirmation of this diſmal News ſtruck the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* with the greateſt Damp and Terror: Many of them that had Patent Employments, obtain'd Licence under the Broad-Seal, to come away; and many of the Merchants call'd in their Effects, and left the Kingdom. His Excellency the Earl of *Clarendon* did all he cou'd to aſſiſt the poor *Proteſtants*, in ſheltering them from the impending Storm; and it was by many interpreted as a Signal Act of Providence, that after *Tyrconnel* was come to *Holy-Head*, he was there detain'd full ſixteen Days, by contrary Winds. But he at laſt arriv'd at *Dublin* in the Beginning of *February* $168\frac{4}{7}$. and tho' his Appearance was with a ſad Conſternation to the *Proteſtants*, yet care was taken to publiſh in the *Gazette*, 'That there 'never was ſeen ſo great a Concourſe of People at any Chief-Governor's 'Landing, as at his; expreſſing their general Satisfaction by loud Acclama'tions as he paſs'd through the Streets, by Ringing of Bells, and by Bone'Fires at Night throughout the City, together with all other Publik De'monſtrations of Joy. Tyrconnel *made Lord Lieutenant.*

Upon *Tyrconnel*'s Arrival, the Earl of *Clarendon* caus'd the Privy-Council to meet at the Palace of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and there formally deliver'd the Sword of State to the new Lord Lieutenant, with a memorable Speech, in which he told his Excellency, 'That the Miſunder'ſtandings and Feuds in that Kingdom, were Things much to be lamented, 'and he cou'd wiſh the Occaſion of them were remov'd, which was this, '*viz.* That the *Engliſh* of that Kingdom had been repreſented as a *Com'pany of diſaffected and fanatical People:* That this was a hard Charge, 'if it were true; but from what he had learn'd, both by his own Obſer'vation, and the Information of others, he believ'd them to be as *Loyal 'Subjects*, and generally as *True Sons of the Church of* England, as any Clarendon's *Speech at his leaving* Ireland.

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'it has. That it is a Church that can make it her Brags, that in all the 'Conſpiracies, Plots and Rebellions that ever have been againſt the King, '*not one orthodox Member of her Communion has been any way in them:* 'That he profeſs'd himſelf to be of that Church, and accounted it his 'greateſt Happineſs that he was ſo. That as for the Proteſtants of that 'Kingdom in particular, he cou'd ſay in their Favour, that when the Re-'ſtoration of King *Charles* was oppos'd in *England*, they were the Men 'who us'd their indefatigable Induſtry to effect it. That he deſign'd to tell 'this to the King, and hop'd, by his Lordſhip's Prudence, theſe Calumnies 'and Aſperſions that had lain upon them, wou'd be remov'd; and that as 'they and the *Roman Catholicks* were the Subjects of one Prince, they 'wou'd unanimouſly agree, in their Love of one another, and in promo-'ting his Honour and Happineſs.' He clos'd his Speech with telling him, *That as he receiv'd the Sword in Peace, ſo he deliver'd it up in Peace.*

Tyrconnel's Anſwer,

The new Lieutenant's Anſwer was to this Effect: 'That it was the 'King's Deſign, and conſequently his Command to him, to Govern that 'Kingdom according to the Law, without any Partiality; and therefore he 'declar'd, That all Men ſhou'd enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religion and 'Properties, according to Law. That he knew that there were great 'Fears in the Kingdom; ſome removing their Goods and Plate, others 'calling in their Money: What the Reaſon of it was, he cou'd not imagine; 'but for his own Part, he wou'd not have any diſtruſt his Majeſty's Prote-'ction. That the Lord *Clarendon* had hinted, *That he wou'd have no 'Diſtinction of Names, or any thing elſe that might breed Jealouſies a-'mong the People*; which he wou'd make his whole Buſineſs to bring a-'bout; for this was the Command of the King, who was both the *Greateſt* 'and *Juſteſt* Prince that ever rul'd theſe Kingdoms, *&c.*' And farther, to ſuppreſs, if poſſible, the general Fears and Diſcontents of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, the new Lord Deputy ſoon after publiſh'd a Proclamation, import-

And Proclamation.

ing that, 'Whereas We are inform'd, That ſeveral diſaffected Perſons with-'in this his Majeſty's Kingdom, have been of late very induſtrious, by falſe 'Reports and malicious Inſinuations, to ſuggeſt to many of his Majeſty's 'Loyal Subjects, as if we his Majeſty's chief Governor intended to govern 'under his Majeſty, here, otherwiſe than by the known Laws of this Land 'of *Ireland*; and as if ſome of his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects ſhou'd ſtand in 'hazard of being diſturb'd and diſquieted in their juſt Liberties, and Proper-'ties, and other Rights due to them by Law: Which Calumnies have been 'heighten'd and encourag'd by ſome few fiery Spirits in the Pulpits, by ta-'king upon them to treat of Matters that do not lie within their Pro-'vince, *&c.* We therefore Publiſh and Declare, That we will, by the 'Grace of God, apply all our Care and Induſtry to yield and exact a per-'fect Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands; and to take diligent Care 'that all his Majeſty's Subjects within this Kingdom, of what Perſuaſion or 'Religion ſoever they be, *ſhall be protected in their juſt Rights and Pro-'perties, due to them by Law, and in the free Exerciſe of their Religion*; 'Provided they perſevere in their Duty and Allegiance to his Majeſty, 'without giving any Occaſion of Diſturbances to the Peace of the King-'dom, *&c.*' But theſe fair Pretenſions prov'd too much like the Promiſes of his Maſter; and they were not only leſs believ'd, but they were very ſhortly confuted by his own Practices, to the unexpreſſible Terror and Miſchief of the poor *Proteſtants* in that Kingdom. It is now time to return more immediately to *England*.

King James's Proceedings in England.

IV. 1. While things were thus prepared and diſpos'd in the diſtant Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the like Meaſures, tho' with greater Cautions, were concerted to introduce the *Romiſh* Religion, and as a Sup port

Boyer. King. Complete Hiſtory. Welwood. MSS. Spratt.

port of it, Arbitrary Power, in *England* it ſelf. It was natural to believe, that the vigorous Oppoſition the King had met the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, in his Deſign of ſetting up a *Diſpenſing Power*, and favouring *Popery*, wou'd have been ſufficient to deter him from that dangerous, if not chimerical Attempt. And indeed it is not eaſy to imagine, that a Prince rather gracious and good-natur'd, than either haughty or cruel, cou'd have fallen into the Deſire and Exerciſe of a Deſpotick Power, and ſo ſoon forgot what he had declar'd in his firſt Speech to his Council, *That the Laws of* England *were able to make a King as Great and Happy as he cou'd deſire to be*, if he had not been ſooth'd and elevated by Flatterers and Time-Servers; and perhaps over and above puſh'd on by treacherous and deſigning Men, who cou'd afterwards eaſily alledge, *That what they did, was for the Good of the Nation.* However, the King met with great Encouragement from ſome Men of all Profeſſions, whoſe Numbers were magnify'd upon all Occaſions. The Pulpits, tho' now more ſparing than ever, were not exempt from Time-Servers; particularly that of *Rippon*, where Dr. *Cartwright* the Dean, a Man puritanically educated, took the Liberty to give a right Notion of King *James* Promiſes, and in effect tells the World, 'That 'the King's Promiſes were *free Donatives*, and ought not be too ſtrictly 'examin'd or urg'd; and that they muſt leave his Majeſty to explain his 'own *Meaning* in them.' This Gloſs, as Dr. *King* tells us, ſo pleas'd his Majeſty, that he ſoon after rewarded the Author with the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, tho' very unfit for that Character; and ſhew'd in all his Actions, that he deſign'd to proceed accordingly: And this plauſible Humour ſoon run through the whole Party; whenever they were pinch'd, and under a Neceſſity of ſerving themſelves by the Aſſiſtance or Credulity of *Proteſtants*, they promis'd them fair, and declin'd no Terms with them; but when their Turn was ſerv'd, they would not allow them to mention any Promiſe, much leſs to challenge the Performance. 1686. Jac. 2. Ref. 27

In the firſt Place the King reſolv'd to have no other Sitting Parliament, till he cou'd manage and form this or a new one to his own Mind and Pleaſure; therefore he kept it on Foot by ſeveral Prorogations, for near two Years, as it were to try Experiments, and at length diſſolv'd it, as will be remember'd afterwards. In the mean time he likewiſe reſolv'd to have *Weſtminſter*-Hall entirely at his own Command, and fill'd only with thoſe Judges who ſhou'd aſſert his Diſpenſing Power, or in effect ſhou'd execute or break the Laws, when and how his Majeſty thought fit. To this End the King began a new Cuſtom call'd *Cloſeting*, which he practis'd with the old Judges, and ſeveral Members of Parliament, by which the Virtues, as well as the Frailties, of many Men were in Time ſufficiently diſcover'd: And before he wou'd make any new Judges, he enter'd into a profeſs'd Bargain with them, That they ſhou'd maintain his Prerogative of Diſpenſing with the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*. The firſt Man the King attempted to perſuade, was Sir *Thomas Jones*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, a Perſon who had been too obſequious to him in the Tryal of Mr. *Corniſh*, but now ſhew'd a great Steadineſs and Averſeneſs to his Majeſty's Inclination, and at laſt plainly told him, *He cou'd not do it.* The King anſwer'd, *He wou'd have twelve Judges of his own Opinion.* To which Sir *Thomas* briskly reply'd, *That poſſibly he might find twelve Judges of his Opinion, but he cou'd ſcarce find twelve Lawyers of that Mind.* Upon this and the like Backwardneſs in the Judges, on the 21ſt of *April*, Sir *Thomas Jones*, now mention'd, *William Montague*, Eſq; Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Job Charlton*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, had all their *Quietus*: And in their Places, Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, was ſworn Lord Chief Juſtice of the ſame Court; Sir *Edward Atkyns*,

Cloſetings.

Removals among the Judges.

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Atkyns, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, was ſworn Lord Chief Baron; Sir *Edward Luitwich*, Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, was ſworn one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*; and *Richard Heath*, Eſq; Serjeant at Law, and a *Papiſt*, was made one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*. Yet, upon the humble Petition of Sir *Job Charlton*, ſo diſplac'd, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute him Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*.

About the ſame Time his Majeſty thought fit to make a Call of Serjeants at Law, among whom there was a Mixture: Sir *John Holt* Recorder of the City of *London*, Sir *Ambroſe Philips*, *Chriſtopher Milton*, Eſq; *John Powell*, Eſq; *John Tate*, Eſq; *William Rawlinſon*, Eſq; *William Killingworth*, Eſq; *John Hodges*, Eſq; *Thomas Geers*, Eſq; and *George Hutchins*, Eſq; who gave their Rings with this particular Motto, *Deus, Rex, Lex.* *Farther Alterations.* And the better to give the Reputation of Law to the Court, Sir *John Holt* and Sir *Ambroſe Philips* were made the King's Serjeants: But within a few Days, *Chriſtopher Milton*, a profeſs'd Papiſt, was Knighted and made one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; Sir *John Powell*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, and Sir *Thomas Powis* Solicitor-General, in the Room of Mr. *Heneage Finch*, who had ſerv'd the Crown ſo faithfully. Not long after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon another *Popiſh* Lawyer, *Richard Allibone* of *Gray's-Inn*, Eſq; and to make him one of his Council at Law, and ſoon after a Judge. About the ſame Time, and in much the ſame Manner, his Majeſty was pleas'd to model his Privy-Council; for this Summer, the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, and the Lord *Dover*, all known and zealous *Romon Catholicks*, were at once ſworn of his Majeſty's honourable Privy-Council; and ſoon after the new Earl of *Tyrconnel* was admitted to the ſame Honour. Two remarkable Biſhops were likewiſe made about the ſame Time, Dr. *Thomas Cartwright* beforemention'd, of *Cheſter*, and Dr. *Samuel Parker* of *Oxford*. From whence the Reader will eaſily form to himſelf proper Sentiments both of the Temper of the Court, and the Diſpoſition of the King.

King James's *Court.*

2. Surrounded with ſuch Courtiers, the King proceeded with all Vigour towards the Propagation and Eſtabliſhment of his own Religion, notwithſtanding his repeated and ſolemn Promiſes to ſupport the Church of *England*. His firſt Step was a general *Toleration* to all his Subjects, of which the *Papiſts* were chiefly to reap the Benefit; but this Toleration, being contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Realm, cou'd not ſubſiſt, unleſs a more illegal Innovation was introduc'd to ſupport it under the Name of a *diſpenſing Power*, by the virtue of which every Thing might be effected. *The diſpenſing Power ſet on foot.* King *Charles* the Second was the firſt *Engliſh* Prince, perhaps, that ever aim'd at any Thing like a diſpenſing Power; firſt in the Year 1662, and again in 1672, when he endeavour'd for an Indulgence to the Diſſenters; but at both Times he was ſo handſomely and ſeaſonably check'd by his loyal Parliament, that he fairly and totally deſiſted, as has been formerly remember'd. Such a diſpenſing Power King *James* arrogated to himſelf, tho' of a far larger Extent: And how the firſt Steps towards it were reliſh'd by the Houſe of Commons, appears by their foremention'd Addreſs againſt the *Popiſh* Officers. Neither was it ſufficient for this Prince to aſſume the Right and Exerciſe of this Power; but ſuch was the Misfortune of *England*, that the Party about him wou'd have the Nation made to believe, *That a Power in the King to diſpenſe with Law, was Law.* To maintain which ſtrange Poſition, ſeveral Writers were employ'd; and the *Obſervator*, who had triumph'd in ſeveral Arguments, now wrote below himſelf. Theſe not being ſufficient, the new Judges, all but one, were prevail'd upon to give their Opinions directly for it, and in the military and mock Caſe of Sir

Edward Hale, to make it a general Rule in Law; 'First, That the Laws 'of *England* are the King's Laws. *Secondly*, That therefore it is an in- 'cident, inſeparable Prerogative of the King's of *England*, as of all other 'Sovereign Princes, to diſpenſe with all *Penal Laws* in particular Caſes, 'and upon particular neceſſary Reaſons. *Thirdly*, That of theſe Reaſons 'and Neceſſities the King is the ſole Judge:' And which is a Conſequence thereupon. 'Fourthly, That this is not a *Truſt* inveſted in, and granted to 'the King, but the ancient Remains of the Sovereign Power of the Kings 'of *England*, which never was yet taken from them, nor can be.' Thus by the Breath of a few mercenary Judges, in effect, the Laws, of *England* were baſely given up at once into the Power and Will of the King. 1686. Jac. 2. Reſ. 27 *The Judges Opinion for it.*

This mighty Point being in appearance gain'd, tho' not ſo ſatisfactorily as was deſired, the *Roman Catholicks* were not wanting in improving it to the utmoſt Advantage. The free and open Exerciſe of their Religion was ſet up every where; and *Jeſuits Schools* and *Seminaries* erected not only in *London*, but alſo in the moſt conſiderable Towns in the Nation. The Church of *England* had now but a precarious Title to the *National Church*, and began to ſee the impending Dangers, which, being encreas'd by the ſlaviſh Compliance of ſome few of her Members, now threatned the whole Body. *Romiſh* Candidates had already ſwallow'd up Eccleſiaſtical Preferments and Dignities in their Hopes and Expectations: Four *Roman Catholick* Biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the Royal Chapel, and diſpatch'd down, under the Title of *Vicars Apoſtolical*, to exerciſe their Epiſcopal Functions in their reſpective Dioceſes; and their *Paſtoral Letters*, directed to the Lay-Catholicks of *England*, were diſpers'd about the Countrey, and printed by the King's own Printer, with publick Licenſe: Their *Regular* Clergy appear'd in their Habits at *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s, and made no Scruple to tell the Proteſtants, *That they hop'd in a little time to walk in Proceſſion through* Cheapſide. The Building of St. *Paul*'s Cathedral was carry'd on with greater Vigor than before, in expectation that it wou'd in Time turn to the Benefit of the *Papiſts*. A mighty Harveſt of new Converts was now expected; and that Labourers might not be wanting, whole Flocks of *Prieſts* and *Regulars* were ſent from beyond Sea to reap it: In ſum, the only Step to Preferment was to be of the King's Religion, or a Promoter of it, ſince all important Affairs were manag'd in the Privy-Council by Catholicks, and ſome few others, whoſe Actions were more difficult to excuſe, or extenuate. *The Increaſe of Popery.*

Beſides the *diſpenſing Power*, another Project was ſet on foot to advance the *Romiſh* Cauſe, which was an Order by way of Letter, directed to the Proteſtant Biſhops, 'Prohibiting all the inferior Clergy from Preaching up- 'on controverted Points in Divinity;' which was look'd upon as forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit, when it was openly attack'd by the *Romiſh* Prieſts in their Sermons, and other Diſcourſes printed by Authority. This Order was taken from a Precedent in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, whoſe firſt Step ſhe made towards *Popery*, was to iſſue out a Proclamation, forbidding the Preaching upon controverted Points of Religion; for fear, as it was alledg'd, of *raiſing Animoſities among the People*. And as the Clergy were prohibited on one ſide, ſo they were threatned on the other with exacting upon them the full Value of their *Firſt Fruits* and *Tenths*, and bringing them into farther Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies. But this enſnaring Letter, and the attending Menaces, were ſo far from being regarded, that the Chief of the Clergy did more to vindicate the Doctrine of their own Church, and expoſe the Errors of that of *Rome*, both in their Sermons and Writings than ever had been done, either at Home or Abroad, ſince the *Reformation*; and in ſuch a Style, and with ſuch a mighty Force of Reaſon, as will be the Standard of Writing to ſucceeding Ages. And now the *A Letter ſent to the Clergy.* *Their glorious Writings.*

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the Church of *England* Heroes, *Stillingfleet*, *Tillotſon*, *Tenniſon*, *Wake*, *Patrick*, *Sharp*, *Sherlock*, and ſeveral others, gain'd immortal Honour by their Pens, while the Proteſtant Diſſenters of all kinds, appear'd to the World almoſt like unconcern'd Spectators.

An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion erected.

3. To check theſe and the like Champions, and to awe the whole Body of the Church of *England*, the King erected a new Court of *Inquiſition*, under the Name of *a Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs:* And, to blind the People, there were ſome Biſhops of the Church of *England* nominated as Commiſſioners; of whom one refus'd to act from the Beginning, and another excus'd himſelf, after he came to ſee where the Deſign of it was levell'd. This Commiſſion, as it appear'd, was a manifeſt Violation of the Laws of the Land; and, as if that had not been enough to mortify the Clergy of the Nation, there were ſome *Roman Catholicks* appointed Commiſſioners; and conſequently the Enemies of the *Proteſtant* Religion were become the Judges and Directors of a *Proteſtant* Church, both in its Doctrine and Diſcipline. At firſt the Commiſſion was directed to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Jeffreys*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High-Treaſurer, the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord Preſident of the Council, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, or any Three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor was always to be one; devolving the whole Care of Spiritual Affairs upon them, in the largeſt Extent that ever had been known in *England*.

The Subſtance of the Commiſſion.

The Tenor and Subſtance of this extraordinary Commiſſion was, 'That 'theſe Perſons were to exerciſe and execute, under the King, all manner 'of Juriſdictions and Pre-eminencies, touching or concerning any Spiritual 'or Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions within the Realm of *England* and Dominion 'of *Wales*, to viſit, reform, redreſs and amend all Abuſes, Offences, Con'tempts and Enormities whatever; which by the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical 'Laws of this Realm might be lawfully corrected, redreſs'd and amended; 'empowering, authorizing and appointing them by virtue of his *Prerogative Royal*, to execute the Premiſes according to the Effect and Tenor 'of the Commiſſion. As alſo to enquire of all Offences, Contempts and 'Miſdemeanours, committed, or hereafter to be committed in any Coun'ty, City, Borough, or other Place exempt or not exempted, and the 'Offences to correct and puniſh by Cenſure of the Church. Alſo to 'ſearch for, and call before them, all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, of what Degree 'or Dignity ſoever; and to puniſh the Offenders, by depriving and ſuſpend'ing them from all Promotions Eccleſiaſtical, and all Functions in the 'Church. And for ſuch as ſhou'd be obſtinate and diſobedient, to puniſh 'them by Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Deprivation, or other Eccleſia'ſtical Cenſure. And farther, to ſend for all Statutes, Rules, Ordinances, 'Letters Patent, and Writings belonging to the Univerſities, Cathedrals, 'Collegiate-Churches, Colleges and Grammar-Schools, and all other Eccle'ſiaſtical Corporations, concerning their Erections and Foundations; and 'upon Examination of the ſaid Statutes, the ſame to correct, amend, and 'alter, and to devize and ſet down ſuch Orders and Statutes as they ſhall 'think meet and convenient, to be ratify'd and confirm'd by the King. 'And laſtly, to execute the Commiſſion, and every Branch and Part of it, 'notwithſtanding any Appellation, Provocation, Privilege or Exemption 'whatſoever.' And to all their Acts, Orders, Proceſſes, Decrees and Judgments, they were to affix a Seal, engraven with the *Roſe* and *Crown*, and the Letters J. II. R. and a Ring about it, containing theſe Words, *Sigillum Commiſſariorum Regiæ Majeſtatis ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas*; to be kept in the Cuſtody of Mr. *Bridgeman* their Secretary.

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The Nature and Deſign of it.

The better to underſtand the Nature of this Commiſſion, and the pretended Legality thereof, it is to be obſerv'd, That King *Henry* the Eighth, by virtue of a full Supremacy, was enabled by Parliament not only to delegate Commiſſioners, but to appoint a *Vicar-General* to act in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, after a very abſolute manner. And by virtue of a Branch of an Act in the Firſt of *Elizabeth*, the Queen and her Succeſſors, were again empower'd to exerciſe the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, and ſhe accordingly erected a *High-Commiſſion Court*, both to reſtrain the Growth of *Popery*, and to ſupport the Eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*; which continu'd to the Beginning of the Long-Parliament in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt. Now becauſe the Commiſſioners did proceed in uſual Caſes to Fine, Impriſon, and Oppreſs, not only *Popiſh Recuſants*, but alſo other *Diſſenters*; therefore, 'For Repreſſing and Preventing of the aforeſaid Abuſes, Miſchiefs 'and Inconveniences,' the Parliament in the 17th Year of King *Charles* the Firſt, 'Repeal'd the ſaid Branch of the Firſt of *Elizabeth*, command-'ing, That no new Court ſhou'd be erected with the like Power, Juriſdi-'ction or Authority; and forbidding all Eccleſiaſtical Judges to proceed to 'Fine or Impriſon the King's Subjects, or tender the Oath *Ex Officio*.' The *High-Commiſſion Court* being thus put down, ſome *Papiſts* and ſome *Diſſenters* wou'd have wholly deny'd, that there was any Power remaining in the Church; and particularly alledg'd, 'That all manner of coercive Juriſ-'diction was taken from the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and other Ordina-'ries.' To obviate this Objection, there was another Act made in the 13th of *Charles* the Second, Intituled, *An Act for Explanation of a Clauſe contain'd in an Act of Parliament made in the* 17th *Year of the late King* Charles, *&c.* Reciting, 'That upon the ſaid Statute, ſome Doubt had been 'made, That all ordinary Power of Coercion and Proceedings in Cauſes 'Eccleſiaſtical were taken away, whereby the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice in 'Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical had been obſtructed;' it was therefore Enacted, 'That 'neither the ſaid Act, nor any thing therein contain'd, doth or ſhall take 'away any ordinary Power or Authority from any of the ſaid Archbiſhops, 'Biſhops, *&c.*' And farther Enacted, 'That the afore-recited Act of the '17th of *Charles*, and all the Matters and Clauſes therein contain'd (ex-'cepting what concerns the *High Commiſſion Court*, and the Erection of 'ſome ſuch-like *new Court by Commiſſion*) ſhall be, and is hereby repeal'd— 'Provided always, That neither this Act, nor any thing therein contain'd, 'ſhall extend or be conſtrued to revive or give Force to the ſaid Branch of 'the Statute in the firſt of *Elizabeth*, and mention'd in the 17th of *Charles*, 'but that the ſaid Branch of the Statute in the firſt of *Elizabeth*, ſhall 'ſtand and be repeal'd in ſuch ſort as if this Act had never been made.

Papiſt Pretences.

From this Act of the 13th of *Charles* the Second, the *Popiſh* Party now began to infer, 'That there was no other Power taken from the *Eccleſia-'ſtical Commiſſioners*, than that of *Fining*, *Impriſoning*, or tendering the 'Oath *Ex Officio*; That ſo much was ſuppreſs'd by the 17th of *Charles* the 'Firſt, and no more: That an *Eccleſiaſtical Court* exerciſing this Power, 'was put down, and the erecting the like for the Time to come ſtrictly 'forbidden; but that the Court now ſet up by King *James*, was not like 'to that, ſince it pretended not to *Fine*, or *Impriſon*, or tender the Oath '*Ex Officio*, but kept within the Bounds of *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*.' And farther, they boldly averr'd, 'That the Court held by his Majeſty's *Eccle-'ſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, was more legal than *Doctors-Commons*, and the '*Biſhops-Courts*; the firſt being in the King's Name, and the other only 'in the Name of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops.' And thus the *Papiſts* ſupported by a King of their own Religion, worſted the *Proteſtants* with their own Weapons, and made uſe of thoſe very Statutes againſt them, which were chiefly deſign'd to diſcountenance *Popery*. But the Matter was ſo

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palpable, that the very granting of this new Commiſſion, was by many of the beſt Lawyers thought Illegal; and even the Creatures of the Court ſeem'd to be conſcious of it: For tho' it was granted in the Beginning of *April*, yet it was not open'd till four Months after, the Beginning of *Auguſt* following; and then it appear'd very ſtrange, that the Power of *Excommunication*, a pure Spiritual Act, ſhou'd be granted to mere Lay-Men; for the *Quorum* in the Commiſſion, as before hinted, were the Chancellor and any other Two. For theſe Reaſons, the cautious Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was firſt nominated, totally refus'd to act in it; and the new Biſhop of *Cheſter* was put in, as a fitter Inſtrument for the common Deſign.

The Biſhop of London *order'd to ſuſpend Doctor* Sharp.

4. The new *Commiſſion* being once open'd, and ſet on foot, the Commiſſioners ſoon ſhew'd the Extent of their Power, in the Suſpenſion of Dr. *Compton*, Biſhop of *London*. This active Prelate, by a Conduct worthy of his noble Birth, and his high Station in the Church, had acquired the Love and Eſteem of all the *Proteſtant* Churches at Home and Abroad; and therefore was more immediately the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the *Romiſh* Party at Court. He had farther provok'd them by his brave Examination of the King's laſt Speech in Parliament; ſo that they ſeem'd to wait for an Occaſion to enoble the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* with ſuch an illuſtrious Sacrifice; and when ſuch an Occaſion was rather taken than given, in the Buſineſs of Dr. *Sharp*, at that time Rector of St. *Giles*, and Dean of *Norwich*, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*. This worthy Divine, admired for his great Talents in the Pulpit, taking Occaſion in ſome of his Sermons to vindicate the Church of *England*, in Oppoſition to the Errors of *Popery*; this, by the Court Emiſſaries was interpreted to be, 'The endeavouring to beget in the Minds of his Hearers an ill Opinion of 'the King and his Government, by inſinuating Fears and Jealouſies to diſ-'poſe them to Diſcontent, and to lead them into Diſobedience and Rebellion; 'and particularly, a Contempt of the *Order about Preachers*.' Upon which the King ſent a Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, expreſly Requiring and Commmanding him 'Forthwith to ſuſpend Dr. *Sharp* from farther 'Preaching in any Pariſh-Church or Chapel in his Dioceſe, until he had 'given him Satisfaction, and his farther Pleaſure be known herein.

This Letter was very ſhocking to the Biſhop of *London*, who perceiv'd that the Deſign was to forbid all Preaching againſt *Popery*, and the Effect of it might be to ſuſpend all the eminent Preachers in *England*: However, his Lordſhip endeavour'd to divert the Storm that threatned the Church and Clergy, and therefore he wrote a ſubmiſſive Letter to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to be communicated to the King, and made Dr. *Sharp* himſelf the Bearer of it to *Hampton-Court*; in which Letter he ſet forth, 'That he 'thought it his Duty to obey his Majeſty in whatſoever Commands he 'laid upon him, that he cou'd perform with a ſafe Conſcience: But in this 'he was to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge; and by the Law, 'no Judge condemns a Man before he has Knowlege of the Cauſe, and has 'cited the Party. However he had acquainted Dr. *Sharp* with his Maje-'ſty's Diſpleaſure, whom he found ſo ready to give all reaſonable Satisfa-'ction, that he had made him the Bearer of that Letter.' No Anſwer cou'd be obtain'd to this Letter of the Biſhop; and therefore two Days after Dr. *Sharp* carry'd his Petition to *Windſor* in his own Name, humbly repreſenting to the King, 'That ever ſince his Majeſty was pleas'd to give 'Notice of his Diſpleaſure againſt him, he had forborn the publick Ex-'ercile of his Function. And as he had endeavour'd to do the beſt Service 'he cou'd to his Majeſty, and his late Brother, in his Station; ſo he had 'not vented now in the Pulpit any Thing tending to Faction or Schiſm; 'and therefore pray'd that his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to lay aſide his 'Diſpleaſure

His Letter to the King.

Dr. Sharpe's *Petition.*

'Diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt him, and reſtore him to that Favour which 'the reſt of the Clergy enjoy'd under his gracious Goverment.' Yet ſtill his Petition had no Effect, and nothing cou'd ſatisfy the *Popiſh* Cabal but a Revenge upon the Biſhop of *London*, tho' he and his Family had been the moſt noted Loyaliſts in the Nation; and this Affair of Dr. *Sharp* was made uſe of as a plauſible Pretence to mortify him, and in his Perſon the whole Body of the Clergy. 1686. Jac. 2. Reſ. 27

The Commiſſioners Proceedings againſt the Biſhop of London.

So when the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* was open'd, the Biſhop was cited to appear before the Commiſſioners ſitting in the Council-Chamber at *White-Hall*, which he did on the 4th of *Auguſt*, where he was treated in a manner unworthy of his Quality and high Station, without the Allowance of a Chair to ſit on. Chancellor *Jeffreys* directing his Speech to him, inform'd his Lordſhip, 'That the Lords there preſent had receiv'd Orders to inſpect 'all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs and Perſons, and had commanded him to call 'his Lordſhip before them, and therefore deſir'd his Lordſhip to give a di-'rect and poſitive Anſwer to his Queſtion, *What the Reaſon was he did* '*not ſuſpend Dr.* Sharp *when the King had ſent him expreſs Orders ſo to* '*do, and had told him it was for Preaching ſeditiouſly and againſt the Go-*'*vernment.*' To which the Biſhop reply'd, *That it was true, he had receiv'd ſuch an Order, and that if he had done contrary to his Duty, it was his Ignorance, and not a wilfull Neglect; that he had been always ready to ſerve his Majeſty; but if in this Affair he had not comply'd, it was becauſe he was told he cou'd not legally do it.* The Lord Chancellor anſwer'd, *That his Lordſhip ought to know the Law, and that it was a Wonder he did not; however, that the King was to be obey'd, and therefore if his Lordſhip had any Thing to ſay, the Court was ready to hear him.* Upon which the Biſhop deſir'd a Copy of the Commiſſion, and of his Charge, and an allowance of Time to make his Defence; *for he was ignorant then of his Charge, and of conſequence unprovided for his Defence.* To this the Chancellor reply'd, *That if by deſiring a Copy of the Commiſſion his Lordſhip deſign'd to Quarrel with the Juriſdiction of the Court, he knew what further to ſay; otherwiſe, that as no Copy cou'd be granted, ſo it was unreaſonable for him to deſire it, ſince it might be had in every Coffee-Houſe for a Penny; and made no Queſtion but his Lordſhip had ſeen it.* Here the Biſhop proteſted *he had not ſeen it, or deſired it with any Intent to diſpute the Legality of the Court, but becauſe it was altogether new to him; and therefore he hop'd that ſomething might be found therein that might be advantagious or inſtructive to him, in order for his Anſwer:* And then he deſir'd he might have the Privilege to read the Commiſſion himſelf, or at leaſt to hear it read. The Chancellor ſaid, *It did not lye in his Power to grant that Requeſt of himſelf*; and thereupon the Biſhop and all his Company had Orders to withdraw for a Quarter of an Hour. Returning again the Chancellor acquainted his Lordſhip, *That the Commiſſioners were of Opinion, That his Requeſt was unreaſonable, ſince if every one that appear'd before them, ſhou'd challenge a Sight of their Commiſſion, it wou'd be too great a waſte of their Time, and they were Men of Buſineſs*; and ſo he put the Queſtion again to the Biſhop, *Why he did not obey the King?* Here his Lordſhip alledg'd, *That tho' it was but a ſhort Queſtion, it yet required more Words to anſwer*; deſiring the Court withal to conſider, *That he was a Peer, a Biſhop, and one that had a publick Truſt, and therefore was willing to behave himſelf as became a Perſon in thoſe Capacities.* After which his Lordſhip inſiſting upon more Time, deſir'd till the firſt Day of the next Term; but that was judg'd unreaſonable, in regard the King's Buſineſs wou'd not admit of ſuch Delays; but at laſt they granted his Lordſhip only five Days, to the 9th of *Auguſt*.

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His ſecond Hearing.

On which Day the Biſhop came to *White-Hall* with a noble Appearance; his Nephew the Earl of *Northampton*, his Brother Sir *Francis Compton*, his Brother-in-law Sir *John Nicholas*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, who were deſirous to ſhew Honour to his Lordſhip's Perſon and Cauſe. He told the Chancellor, who was the Mouth of the Court, *That he cou'd not meet with the Commiſſion, which had been told him was upon Record, and in every Coffee-Houſe, till laſt Night.* The Chancellor was quick with him, and told his Lordſhip, *That the Court wou'd admit no quarrelling with their Commiſſion; not being ſuch Fools to ſit there, if they were not well aſſur'd of the Legality of it.* The Biſhop anſwer'd, *That he had other Reaſons to deſire a Sight of the Commiſſion; for that, perhaps, it might not reach him as a Peer and a Biſhop, or, perhaps, not reach the particular Caſe*; and therefore he inſiſted upon a longer Time to anſwer. This Demand was ſupported by Sir *Thomas Clarges*, who happening to be there preſent, ſaid loudly, *Well put; The Biſhop ask'd nothing but what was reaſonable.* The Commiſſioners, after a ſhort Conſultation, granted him a Fortnight longer; and at parting, the Chancellor made a ſort of an Excuſe to the Biſhop for what he had told him before, *That the Commiſſion was to be ſeen in every Coffee-Houſe*; alledging, *He did not mean it, as if he thought his Lordſhip frequented ſuch Places, but intended it only to expreſs that the Commiſſion was publickly ſeen all the Town over.* Beſides Sir *Thomas Clarges*, there was another Gentleman, ſuppos'd to be Sir *J. Lowther* of *Lancaſhire*, who as he was coming away in the Crowd ſaid, *There are ſome who repreſent me as a Papiſt, but the contrary ſhall appear; I will not be aſham'd or afraid to vindicate my Lord Biſhop's Cauſe againſt the Commiſſioners themſelves.*

His third Hearing.

At the Expiration of the Fortnight granted him, the Biſhop made his third Appearance with a great Attendance and Expectation; and after he had made a previous Apology, that no Miſinterpretations might be put upon his Words, he gave the Court to underſtand, that his Counſel had inform'd him, *That their Proceedings were directly contrary to the Statute Law*, which they were ready to make out. At which the Chancellor cry'd out with ſome Paſſion, *We will not hear your Lordſhip, nor your Counſel neither in this Matter.* The undaunted Prelate reply'd, *That he was a Biſhop of the Church of* England, *and by all the Laws of the Chriſtian Churches in all Ages, and by the particular Laws of this Land, he was to be try'd by his Metropolitan and Suffragans; and therefore hop'd his Lordſhip wou'd not deny him the Right and Privilege of Chriſtian Biſhops:* To which he was anſwer'd, *That they had an original Juriſdiction, and this was queſtioning their Commiſſion.* Then the Biſhop proceeded to his Plea, 'That what he was accus'd of, was before the Date of the 'Commiſſion, and they were only to cenſure Faults committed afterwards.' In anſwer to which, the Chancellor granted the Clauſe, but curſorily told his Lordſhip, 'There were general Clauſes that took in things paſt, as well 'as thoſe that were to come.' Then the Biſhop inſiſting again upon his own Right, as a Subject to the Laws of the Realm, and as a Biſhop to the Rights and Privileges of the Church, he gave in his Anſwer in Writing, and as he withdrew, left upon the Table Dr. *Sharp*'s Petition, which the King had refus'd to accept. After ſome Time ſpent in Debate, the Biſhop return'd, and the Chancellor told them, 'They were not concern'd in Dr. '*Sharp*'s Petition; but if he deſir'd it, his own Anſwer ſhou'd be read:' The Biſhop anſwer'd in the Affirmative, and farther added, 'That what he 'did in this Matter was *Juris peritorum Concilio*; and the Law ſaid, That 'what was done by Advice of Council, ſhou'd not be interpreted to be 'done *Maliciouſly* or *Obſtinately*: That if a Prince required a Judge to 'execute a Command not agreeable to Law, it was his Duty *Reſcribere &*

'*Reclamare Principi*, which he had done in writing back to the Lord 'Preſident.' And in the next Place, 'That he had done in effect what 'the King commanded; for that he adviſ'd Dr. *Sharp* to forbear Preaching 'in his Dioceſe, which he had done accordingly. 1686. Jac. 2. Ref. 27

The Biſhops Anſwer being read, and he ask'd what he had more to ſay, he deſir'd that his Council might be heard. The Conſideration of which took up half an Hours Debate; after which, his Lordſhip being call'd in, his Counſel were admitted, which were four eminent Civilians, Dr. *Oldiſh*, Dr. *Brice*, Dr. *Hedges*, and Dr. *Newton*. They all made learned and fine Speeches, but chiefly inſiſted upon the Nature of Suſpenſion, 'Which they 'ſaid was a *Judicial Act*, in the Caſe of which *Citation* was required, *Form* '*of Proceeding*, *Judgment* and *Decree*:' And Dr. *Oldiſh* took the Liberty to declare, 'That to act otherwiſe was contrary to the Law of God, 'the Law of Nature, the Laws of all Nations, in all Ages, and was ne'ver known in the World.' And Dr. *Newton* poſitively affirm'd, 'That 'the Biſhop was ſo far from being Diſobedient, that he was moſt Obedient 'to the King; for ſeeing he did *Reſcribere*, and did not hear of the farther 'Pleaſure of the King return'd, he ought to conclude, that the King was ſa'tisfy'd with what he had written, according to his Duty; and that the 'King had alter'd his Commands.' All this Time, Dr. *Pinfold* the King's Advocate ſtood at the Chancellor's Elbow, and took Notes; by which it was by all expected, that he ſhou'd make a Reply; but he was totally ſilent. After the Biſhop's Counſel had ended, his Lordſhip offer'd to the Court, *That if through Miſtake he had err'd in any Circumſtances, he was ready to beg his Majeſty's Pardon, and ſhou'd be ready to make any Reparation.* *His Counſel pleads.*

Notwithſtanding all Arguments, the Biſhop was order'd to make his fourth Appearance before them, ſix Days after, and to hear his Sentence, which was in theſe Words: 'Whereas *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, has been 'conven'd before Us, for his Diſobedience and other Contempts mention'd 'in the Proceedings of this Cauſe; and the ſaid Biſhop being fully hear'd 'thereupon, We have thought fit, upon due Conſideration of the Matter, 'to proceed to this our definitive Sentence, Declaring, Decreeing and Pro'nouncing, That the ſaid Lord Biſhop of *London*, ſhall, for his ſaid Diſo'bedience and Contempt, be ſuſpended during his Majeſty's Pleaſure. And 'accordingly, We do, by theſe Preſents, Suſpend him the ſaid Lord Biſhop 'of *London*; Peremptorily Admoniſhing him, and Requiring him hereby, 'to abſtain from the Function and Execution of his Epiſcopal Office, and 'from all Epiſcopal and other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, during the ſaid Su'ſpenſion, upon Pain of Deprivation and Removal from his Biſhoprick.' In purſuance of the full Execution of which Sentence, an Order was ſent to the Dean of St. *Paul's*, enjoining him to cauſe the ſaid Sentence to be affix'd upon the Door of the *Chapter-Houſe*, and the South Door of the ſame Cathedral. And immediately after, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough* were appointed Commiſſioners to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within the Dioceſe of *London*, during the Suſpenſion of the Biſhop. We know not who of this new Court voted for or againſt this Suſpenſion; only we are aſſured from the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in his Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*, that he himſelf twice gave his poſitive Vote for the Biſhop's Acquittal. As to Dr. *Sharp*, the firſt Cauſe of this Proſecution, he was likewiſe by theſe Commiſſioners formally Suſpended; but, in pretended Mercy, was ſhortly after reſtored to the Exercile of his Function. *His fourth Appearance, and Suſpenſion.* *Dr. Sharp ſuſpended.*

Complete Hiſtory. *Boyer. Leſtrange. Welwood. Jones. Wood. &c.*

V. 1. During theſe Tranſactions, and while the King was in appearance ſucceſsful in all Things, the *Jeſuits*, to advance their main Deſign of

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King James's Standing Army.

eſtabliſhing *Popery*, as we are told, were continually repreſenting to his Majeſty the great Progreſs the *French* King had lately made in the Converſion of his *Proteſtant* Subjects, by the ſhort Arguments of his Military Miſſionaries, and made him ſenſible, how precarious his *Diſpenſing Power* wou'd be, unleſs he had a ſtronger Support than the Opinion of his Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The King, who was eaſily led into any Project that promis'd the Security and Advancement of his Religion, aſſembled all his Forces, to the Number of about fifteen thouſand Men, on *Hounſlow-Heath*, between *London* and *Windſor*, and caus'd a Chapel to be erected at his Head Quarters, where *Maſs* was publickly ſaid every Day. Here his Majeſty entertain'd himſelf ſeveral Days in this Summer, and took great Delight in his Regular Camp, which daily brought great Numbers from all Parts to view and viſit the ſame, which next the King was under the Command of the Earl of *Feverſham*, who had the Title of Lieutenant General. Tho' at firſt this ſmall Army conſiſted chiefly of *Proteſtants*, having but few *Popiſh* Officers of Diſtinction, ſuch as the Duke of *Berwick*, the Earl of *Dumbarton*, the Lords *Dover* and *Mongomery*, Colonel *Richard Hamilton*, Lieutenant Colonel *Sackvile*, *&c.* Nevertheleſs it began to create a Jealouſy in a People who were never us'd to ſee Encampments in Time of Peace; and they were particularly apprehenſive that the *Proteſtants* in this Army might join with the *Romaniſts* in advancing the King's Cauſe; it being the Belief and Duty of Soldiers, blindly to execute the Commands of their Leaders.

Mr. Johnſon's Addreſs to the Proteſtant *Soldiers.*

To obviate which Danger, Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, a notable Clergy-Man more than once mention'd, notwithſtanding his former Sufferings, took the Courage to write *An Addreſs to the* Engliſh *Proteſtants in King* James's *Army*, in theſe Words, 'Gentlemen, next to the Duty we owe to God, 'which ought to be the principal Care of Men of your Profeſſion, who 'carry your Lives in your Hands, and often look Death in the Face, in the 'Service of your Native Countrey, wherein you drew your firſt Breaths, 'and breath a free *Engliſh* Air: Now I deſire you to conſider how you 'will comply with theſe two main Points, by engaging in the preſent Ser-'vice. Is it in the Name of God for his Service, that you have join'd 'your ſelves with *Papiſts?* Who indeed muſt fight for the *Maſs-Book*, 'but will burn the *Bible*, and who ſeek to extirpate the *Proteſtant* Reli-'gion with Your Swords, becauſe they cannot do it with their Own: And 'will you be Aiding and Aſſiſting to ſet up *Maſs-Houſes*, to erect that 'Kingdom of Darkneſs and Deſolation amongſt us, and train up all our 'Children to *Popery?* How can you do theſe things, and call your ſelves '*Proteſtants?* What Service can you do your Countrey, by being under 'the Command of *French* and *Iriſh Papiſts*, and by bringing your Nation 'under a Foreign Yoke? Will you help them to make forcible Entry into 'the Houſes of your Countrey-Men, under the Name of *Quartering*, con-'trary to *Magna Charta*, and *Petition of Right?* Will you be aiding and 'aſſiſting to all the Murders and Outrages which they ſhall commit by 'their void Commiſſions, which were declared *Illegal*, and ſufficiently blaſt-'ed by both Houſes of Parliament; if there had been any Need of it? For 'it was very well known before, That a *Papiſt* cannot have a Commiſſi-'on, but by Law is utterly diſabled and diſarm'd. Will you exchange your '*Birth-Right* of *Engliſh* Laws and *Liberties*, for *Martial* and *Club-Law*; 'and help to deſtroy all others, only at laſt to be eaten up your ſelves? If I 'know you well, as you are *Engliſh Men*, you hate and ſcorn theſe things. 'Therefore be not unequally yok'd with idolatrous and bloody *Papiſts*: '*Be valiant for the Truth, and ſhew your ſelves Men.* The ſame Con-'ſiderations are humbly offer'd to all *Engliſh Sea-Men*, who have been the 'Bulwark of this Nation, againſt *Popery* and *Slavery*, ever ſince 1588.

The

The Tendency of this Addreſs was too fatal to the King's Deſigns to be left unpuniſh'd; therefore Mr. *Johnſon* being try'd in *Trinity* Term at the *King's Bench* before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, &c. *For publiſhing two moſt ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels, to ſtir up his Majeſty's Subjects to Rebellion*, he receiv'd this Sentence the next Term; 'That he ſtand in 'the Pillory three ſeveral Times; firſt in *Weſtminſter*, next at *Charing-Croſs*, and laſtly at the *Royal-Exchange*; That he pay a Fine of five hun-'dred Marks; and that he be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*.' There is no Doubt but his *Julian*, and his former Practices were remember'd before this ignominious Sentence paſs'd againſt him: But being a Clergy-Man, out of a real or pretended Reſpect to the Gown, he was order'd to be Degraded before theſe Puniſhments were to be inflicted upon him. Of which Affair, we have this Account from Authority; '*November* the 20th, This Day '*Samuel Johnſon* Clerk, lately convicted of high Miſdemeanours in the 'Court of *King's Bench*, and adjudg'd for the ſame to ſtand in the Pillory, 'and to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, was brought before the Right 'Reverend Fathers in God the Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, the Lord Biſhop 'of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*, Commiſſioners ap-'pointed by his Majeſty, to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction 'within the Dioceſe of *London*, during the Suſpenſion of the Lord Biſhop 'of *London*, who were met, with ſeveral of the moſt eminent Divines of 'the City, in the *Chapter-Houſe* of St. *Paul's*; where the ſaid *Johnſon*, ac-'cording to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, in a full Court, receiv'd Sentence of '*Degradation*; and was Degraded and Deveſted accordingly, and deliver'd 'over as a mere *Lay-Perſon*, into the Hands of the Secular Officer, to un-'dergo the Puniſhments above mention'd.' As to the Whipping, contrary to the Account in his Life, the cruel part of it was conſiderably mitigated by the private Aſſiſtance of his Friends, who by Money and good Management got him reliev'd as much as cou'd be expected in theſe ſevere Times. However, it made a ſtrong and unuſual Impreſſion upon the Minds of the People, and the Seeds ſown in the *Addreſs to the Soldiers* took deeper Root, and very much promoted that great Defection which happen'd two Years after in the King's Army.

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His ſevere Puniſhment for it.

2. Beſides Mr. *Johnſon*'s, there were ſeveral other Proſecutions this Year, and firſt that of the famous *Miles Prance*, ſo often mention'd in the laſt Book, who this Summer was brought to the *King's Bench* to be try'd upon an Information exhibited againſt him, 'For *Wilful* and *Malicious* '*Perjury*, in the Evidence he gave at the Tryals of *Green*, *Bury* and *Hill*, 'relating to the Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*;' to which the Priſoner, without Heſitation, pleaded Guilty. About a Month after he was again brought to the *King's Bench*, where he declares his hearty Sorrow and Repentance for his heinous Offence, and then receiv'd this Sentence, 'That 'he pay a Fine of an hundred Pounds; That he be brought to all the Courts 'of *Weſtminſter* with a Paper on his Head declaring his Offence; and that 'he ſtand three times in the Pillory, firſt before *Weſtminſter-Hall*, next 'at the *Royal Exchange*, and laſtly at *Charing-Croſs*; and that he alſo be 'whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and be committed in Execution till he 'paid his Fine.' Only the Whipping Part of his Puniſhment was, for his Confeſſion and Submiſſion, remitted. It has been believ'd and aſſerted that his owning himſelf guilty was only to mitigate his Puniſhment; but however it was, a conſiderable Time after, without any appearing Inducement, he made a voluntary and large Confeſſion of his Crimes in Writing, and in expreſs Terms declar'd all the material Parts of his *Narrative* and *Depoſitions* to be abſolutely falſe, and chiefly the Effects of Fear and Cowardice.

The Proſecution of Miles Prance.

Beſides

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Of Mr. Whitaker.

Beſides this Proſecution, we ſhall juſt mention two more, before we proceed to other Matters; and firſt, Mr. *Edward Whitaker* had been convicted in *Eaſter-Term* four Years before, *for juſtifying the Rebellion of* Forty One, *and the Murther of King* Charles *the Firſt, and flying for the ſame, and abſconding ever ſince.* Whereupon Mr. Attorney-General, in this *Michaelmas-Term*, mov'd for Judgment againſt him; and the Court adjudg'd him, 'To pay a Fine of a Thouſand Marks, and remain in Priſon (when 'taken) till the ſame be paid.' Soon after Mr. Attorney-General mov'd the Court of *King's-Bench* for Judgment againſt *George Speake* Eſq; convicted *For a Riot, and for Reſcuing* John Trenchard *Eſq; from his Majeſty's Meſſengers, who had a Warrant to apprehend him for High Treaſon.* Upon which the Court adjudg'd him, 'To pay a Fine of two thou-'ſand Marks.

And Mr. Speake.

The King's Management of his Courtiers.

3. Towards the latter End of this Year, it more plainly appear'd how zealous the King was in bringing over Proteſtants to his own Religion. He had not only cloſeted his Judges and chief Officers, upon the Queſtion of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, but now he more warmly ſolicited his prime Miniſters to be reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*. He firſt undertook to manage the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was look'd upon then to be more than ordinary obſequious to his Majeſty's Deſire, and to make his loweſt Obeyſance at the *Popiſh* Altar, tho' he did not ſeem willing to be *formally Reconcil'd*, as the Term was, *to the Catholick Church*. What the Tenor of that Diſcourſe was which the King had with him was never publickly known; but however Father *Petre*, the King's Confeſſor, thought fit to magnify the Earl's Obedience, at a Meeting with the Jeſuits; particularly adding, *That it was neceſſary for him as yet to appear a* Proteſtant, *for weighty Reaſons of State.*

Over and above the Tye of Affinity, and the grateful Remembrance of paſt Services, the King had a particular Affection and Eſteem for the Earl of *Rocheſter* his Brother in-law, on whom therefore he had beſtow'd that noble Place of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, upon his firſt Advancement to the Throne: Yet it ſeems, nothing cou'd maintain the Earl in this Poſt, but the changing his Religion, and embracing that of the King's, which, by this time, was become the main if not only ſtep to Preferment. His Lordſhip being preſs'd and tir'd out by the King's Solicitations, at length told his Majeſty, *That to let him ſee it was not through any Prejudice of Education or Obſtinacy that he perſevered in his Religion, he conſented to hear ſome* Proteſtant *Divines diſpute with his* Popiſh *Prieſts, and wou'd ſide with the Conquerors.* Upon which the King readily appointed a Conference to be held at *White-Hall*, at which his Majeſty himſelf, and ſeveral Perſons of Honour were preſent with the Earl of *Rocheſter*. The Proteſtant Champions were Dr. *Simon Patrick*, a Perſon of a clear Head and great Reading, and Dr. *William Jane*, a Man of deep Learning, and famous for Polemick Divinity. Thoſe on the *Popiſh* ſide, were one *Gifford*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and Mr. *Tilden*, who having turn'd *Roman* Catholick at *Lisbone*, went under the Name of Dr. *Godden:* And the Subject of their Diſpute was, *The Rule of Faith*, and *The proper Judge in Controverſy*. The Conference was very long; and at laſt the *Romiſh* Doctors were preſs'd with ſo much Strength of Reaſon and Authority, that they were forc'd to quit the Field to their Antagoniſts. Whereupon the Earl of *Rocheſter* openly declar'd, *That the Victory that the* Proteſtant *Divines had gain'd, made no Alterations in his Mind, being before-hand convinc'd of the Truth of his Religion, and firmly reſolv'd never to forſake it.* His Majeſty going off abruptly and diſcontented, was heard to ſay, *He never ſaw a Bad Cauſe ſo Well, or a Good One ſo Ill maintain'd.*

A Conference held about Religion.

I have

I have been further aſſur'd by a private Hand, that in the latter end of the Diſpute, the *Romiſh* Prieſts being nonpluſs'd by a particular hard Queſtion put by the contary Side, deſir'd firſt an *Hour's*, and then *a Week's time to conſider for an Anſwer*; upon which the King in a Paſſion ſhou'd *bid them go home, and conſider their whole Lives.* 1686. Jac. 2. Reſ. 27

Tho' this Conference prov'd triumphant on the *Proteſtant* Side, it ſoon turn'd to the Prejudice of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt: For the *Jeſuits* were ſo exaſperated againſt the Lord Treaſurer for his ſteadineſs in this Caſe, that one of them ſaid, *That Lord muſt be Anathematiz'd; and that the King cou'd never proſper while ſuch an Heretick was near him.* So within a few Days after, about the end of *December*, the King ſent to the Earl for his *White-Staff*, his Commiſſion of High-Treaſurer; which he immediately reſign'd: And ſoon after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute *John* Lord *Bellaſis*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, *Henry* Lord *Dover*, Sir *John Ernley*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir *Stephen Fox*, Commiſſioners for Executing the Office of Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*. But to alleviate the Loſs of the Treaſury, his Majeſty thought fit to aſſign to the Earl of *Rocheſter* an Annuity of five thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, upon the *Poſt-Office*: Which Bounty ſo engag'd his Lordſhip, that he afterwards went over to *Holland* to ſupport the King's Intereſt there, and to do him what reaſonable Service he cou'd. But there was leſs Care taken of the Elder Brother, the Earl of *Clarendon*, who not only loſt his Government in *Ireland*, as is already remember'd, but his Privy Seal in *England*; in whoſe laſt Place his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* to be Lord Privy-Seal. Beſides the diſplacing of the two Brothers, ſeveral other *Proteſtants* of Diſtinction were cloſſeted and remov'd from their Employments, either for their Religion, or their Non-Compliance with his Majeſty's Deſires. In ſum, the King drove on his Religious Deſigns with ſo rapid a Courſe, that ſeveral of the *Roman* Catholicks complain'd of the violent Methods, and the impolitick Conduct of the leading Men of their Party: And it was obſerv'd, as the ſtill Sea is often fore-runner of a Storm, ſo the moſt diſcerning amongſt them began to ſuſpect a ſudden Change from the quiet and calm Behaviour of the *Proteſtants*, in general.

The Earls of Rocheſter *and* Clarendon *both diſplac'd.*

4. The governing Party about the King was ſo fond of making a Shew of their imaginary Trophies, that towards the End of this Year, the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, formerly try'd for his Life, was diſpatch'd to *Rome* in Quality of Extraordinary Ambaſſador, where he made his Publick Entry with a magnificent Train, and moſt ſplendid Equipage. His Deſign and Inſtructions were, 'To reconcile the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* 'and *Ireland*, to the Holy See, from which, for more than an Age, they 'had fallen off by the *Northern* Hereſy.' Pope *Innocent* the Eleventh receiv'd his Embaſſy as a Perſon who ſaw further than thoſe who ſent it. For the Ambaſſador had but a cold Reception from his Holineſs; and none of the Cardinals, but thoſe of a particular Faction, took any farther Notice of him, than what they were oblig'd by Form and good Manners. The Court of *Rome* conſiſted of too refin'd Politicians to be impos'd upon by Shew and Noiſe, and were too well acquainted with *England* to expect great Advantages from ſuch haſty ill-tim'd Advances as were made to them. Beſides this Pope being not only ſtrongly prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but having an old Averſion to the *French*, and a freſh Reſentment againſt them, on the Account of the *Regale* and the Bombarding of *Genoa*, he was not over-fond of an Embaſſy from a Prince who he thought was in an Intereſt he wiſh'd to ſee humbled. *Caſtlemain* had ſeveral Audiences of the Pope, but to little effect; for whenever he began to talk of Buſineſs, his Holineſs had a Fit of coughing at command, to free

An Embaſſy to Rome.

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himself from the Ambassador's Conversation. These Audiences and Coughings continu'd from time to time, and became the Subject of Diversion to all, but a particular Faction. At length *Castlemain* was advis'd to threaten to be gone; at which the old Father was so little concern'd, when they told him of it, that he answer'd with his usual Coldness, *Well, since he will be gone, tell him he had best to rise early in the Morning, and rest himself at Noon; for in these Countries it's dangerous to travel in the Heat of the Day.*

But with little Success.

In the main, King *James* met with nothing but Mortification at *Rome*, in the Person of his Ambassador, whom he soon after recall'd; being able to obtain of the Pope but two inconsiderable Things, namely, a License for the Marshal *D'Humiere's* Daughter to marry to her Uncle; and the other a Dispensation of the Statutes of the *Jesuits Order*, that Father *Petre* might enjoy a Bishoprick; the Want of which was suppos'd to be the Reason of the Vacancy of the Archbishoprick of *York*. As to the Supplies which *Castlemain* had private Orders to ask, his Holiness excus'd himself upon the Account of the vast Sums he gave the Emperor and the *Venetians*, to carry on the War against *Turkish* Infidels. Notwithstanding the Pope's Coldness, the *Jesuits* in *Rome*, paid the highest Respect to this Ambassador, which did him no Service with the Old-man; for his Holiness and that *Order*, were never hearty Friends. They entertain'd him in their *Seminaries*, with the greatest Magnificence; and nothing was wanting in Nature or Art, to grace his Reception. All their Stores of *Sculpture*, *Painting*, *Poetry* and *Rhetorick*, seem'd to have been exhausted upon this Entertainment. And tho' all the *Inscriptions* and *Emblems* center'd upon the *Triumph of the* Romish *Religion, and the Ruin of Heresie in* England; yet Care was taken, not to omit such particular *Trophies* and *Devises* as were adapted to their new acquired Liberty of *setting up their publick Schools at* London.

The Deaths of Archbishop Dolben,

This Year there dy'd three venerable Prelates, and first Dr. *John Dolben*, Archbishop of *York*, who had his Education in *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, where he for some Time became an Officer in the Army of King *Charles* the First, during the Civil Wars, and a particular Support to the Church of *England* when in the lowest Ebb. After the Restauration he had several Honours deservedly conferr'd upon him; being a Man of an open, generous and noble Disposition, and withal of a natural, bold and happy Eloquence in the Pulpit: And as he resembled his Uncle, the famous Bishop *Williams*, in the Greatness of his Parts and Abilities, so by a kind of an Hereditary Right, he succeeded him in his Preferments, the Deanery of *Westminster*, and the Archbishoprick of *York*. The next was Dr. *John Fell*, Bishop of *Oxford*, educated in the same College, a particular Friend to the other, likewise an Officer in the Garrison, and a prime Assistant with him in securing the Remains of the Church of *England*. Upon the King's Return, he was made Dean of *Christ-Church*, and by degrees became the grand Restorer of the Exercises, Disputations, Morals, Ceremonies, Habits, Privileges, and whatever else might conduce to the Discipline and Glory of the University; and likewise became a most noble Benefactor to his own famous College, where he display'd both his Piety and his Munificence, and shew'd himself admirable in training up the Sons of the Nobility. He was eleven Years Bishop of *Oxford*, where he spent his Time in Celibacy, of an unspotted Life, and unblemish'd Reputation, and was the Publisher, or perhaps the Author of all but the first of those excellent Books said to be written by the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*. The third was Dr. *John Pearson*, Bishop of *Chester*, a *Norfolk* Man by Birth, by Education of the University of *Cambridge*, where he was first admitted in *King's-College*. Retiring to *London* during the great Troubles, in the Year 1660, he return'd to *Cambridge*, where he was

Bishop Fell,

And

Bishop Pearson.

was firſt made Maſter of *Jeſus-College*, then *Margaret*-Profeſſor of Divinity, and Maſter of *Trinity-College*; from whence he was laſtly remov'd to the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, which See he fill'd with great Honour and Reputation: For beſides his Preaching, he ſhew'd himſelf a Perſon of very great and deep Learning, and his Works are highly valuable; his *Expoſition upon the Creed* is a famous Body of Divinity, and his *Hiſtorical and Chronological Diſſertations*, are written with that Accuracy and Judgment, that they have been admired and quoted by the moſt curious and learned Men in foreign Countries. How great a Loſs the Church and the Publick ſuſtain'd by the Death of theſe three Prelates, will be the better known when we remember that the Archbiſhoprick was kept vacant during the greateſt Part of this Reign, and the Biſhopricks of *Oxford* and *Cheſter* were fill'd up by ſuch Time-Servers as *Parker* and *Cartwright*. 1686. Jac. 2. Ref. 27

After theſe Divines, we ſhall take notice of the Deaths of three conſiderable Stateſmen, and firſt of *Arthur Anneſley*, Earl of *Angleſey*, of *Ireland* by Birth, but his Education chiefly in *England*, where after he had join'd with the Long-Parliament, *Cromwell* and his Party, he became ſo ſerviceable in the Reſtauration, that the King not only made him a Baron and an Earl, but likewiſe Lord Privy-Seal for ſeveral Years, as is already remember'd. He was a Man of deep Politicks, very ſubtle and reſerv'd in the Management of his Affairs, of more than ordinary Parts, and one who had the Command both of a ſmooth and a keen Pen. He was alſo much converſant in Books, and in Matters of Theology appear'd a *Calviniſt*, but the Encouragement he gave to Perſons of very different Perſuaſions, made it doubtful to many, where to fix his Religion: He was coming into Favour with the preſent King *James*, when he was taken away by Death, after he had acted the Politician more than Forty Five Years. The other two were own Brothers, and Sons to *Thomas* Lord *Coventry*, Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and mention'd in the laſt Volume: The Elder was *Henry Coventry*, brought up to the Civil Law in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who after he had been a great Sufferer in the Royal Cauſe, upon the King's Return was made one of the Grooms of his Bed-Chamber, and afterwards employ'd with the Lord *Holles* to compleat the Treaty of *Breda*; and after other Services, he was rewarded with the Office of Secretary of State, which in eight Years Time he reſign'd, and at laſt dy'd in Retirement. He fill'd his Place with Honour and Reputation, but his Memory ſuffers by being concern'd in the Breach of the *Triple League*, ſo often mention'd in the laſt Book. The other Brother was *William Coventry*, who was likewiſe educated in *Oxford*, and made Doctor of the Civil Law, who having improv'd himſelf by Travelling during the Civil Wars, at the Reſtauration was honour'd with Knighthood, made a Privy-Counſellor, and had ſeveral Employments beſtow'd upon him. He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by that notable Book call'd, *The Character of a Trimmer*, thought to be compos'd by the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, a Book, tho' liable in ſome Paſſages, undoubtedly written with a Maſterly Pen. At his Death he generouſly gave Five Thouſand Pounds for the Relief of the *French* Proteſtants, and the Redemption of the Captives at *Algiers*.

The Earl of Angleſey.

Sir Henry Coventry.

And Sir William Coventry.

MSS. Gazettes. *Boyer. Calamy. Hornby. Burnet.*

VI. 1. We cannot better introduce the new Year $168\frac{6}{7}$, than with a remarkable Letter, never yet publiſh'd, written in *Latin* from a *Jeſuit* of *Liege*, to a Brother of his at *Friburg*, which gives a curious Account of the religious Affairs in *England*. The Letter is dated *Feb.* 2^{d}, $168\frac{6}{7}$, and runs thus in *Engliſh*: 'It is wonderful to ſee King *James*'s great Affection to 'our Society: He wiſh'd Proſperity to this whole College, by the Reve-'rend Father the Provincial, and earneſtly recommended himſelf to our 'Prayers. Upon Father *John Keynes*'s Return into *England*, he gave him 'a moſt

A remarkable Letter from a Jeſuit, of the State of England.

1686/7. Jac. 2. Ref. 27

'a moſt gracious Reception (while Earls and Dukes were commanded for 'ſome Hours to wait for Admittance) with whom in the Queen's Preſence, 'he diſcours'd with all Familiarity: He ask'd him, *How many Candidates 'for Orders he had, and how many Students?* And upon the Provincial's 'Anſwer to his Majeſty, who was very urgent with him, *That of the former, 'and of the latter, he had above Fifty*; he reply'd, *There wou'd be Occa- 'ſion for double or treble that Number, to effect what he deſign'd for that 'Society's Performance*; and order'd that they ſhou'd be all exercis'd in 'the Art of Preaching; *For now*, ſays he, *England has need of ſuch.*

'I do not doubt but you have heard, that the King writing to Father '*de la Chaiſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, concerning the Affairs of the 'Houſe among the *Walloons*, declar'd, That whatever was done to the *Eng- 'liſh* Fathers of that Houſe, he wou'd look upon as done to Himſelf. Fa- 'ther *Clare*, Rector of the ſame Houſe, being arriv'd at *London* to treat 'of that Matter, got an eaſy Acceſs to the King, and as eaſily gain'd his 'Point. The King himſelf forbid him to kneel and kiſs his Hand, accord- 'ing to Cuſtom, ſaying, *Reverend Father, you have indeed once kiſs'd my 'Hand; but if I had known then, as I do now, that you were a* Prieſt, *I 'wou'd rather my ſelf, Father, have kneel'd down and kiſs'd your Hand.* 'After he had finiſh'd his Buſineſs, in a familiar Converſation, his Majeſty told this Father, *That he wou'd either convert* England, *or die a Martyr*; *'and he had rather die the next Day and convert it, than reign twenty 'Years piouſly and happily, and not effect it.* Finally, he call'd Himſelf 'A SON OF THE SOCIETY, *of whoſe good Succeſs*, he ſaid, *he was as glad as 'of his own.* And it can ſcarcely be expreſs'd how much Gratitude he 'ſhew'd, when it was told him, *That he was made Partaker*, by the moſt 'Reverend our Provincial, *of all the Merits of the Society*; out of which he 'is to nominate one for his Confeſſor; but hitherto it is not known who 'it will be: Some report that it will be the Reverend Father the Provin- 'cial, but ſtill there is no Certainty of that. Many are of Opinion, that 'Father *Edward R. Petre*, who is chiefly in Favour with the King, will 'obtain an Archbiſhoprick, but more believe it will be a Cardinal's Cap. 'To him has been granted, within this Month or two, all that Part of the 'Palace, in which the King us'd to reſide when he was Duke of *York*, 'where there is not a Day, but you may ſee I know not how many 'Courtiers waiting to ſpeak to his *Eminence*, for ſo they ſay he is call'd. For 'the King adviſes with him, and with many Catholick Lords, who have the 'chief Places in the Kingdom, to find a Method to propagate the Faith with- 'out Violence. Not long ſince ſome of theſe Lords objected to the King, *That 'they thought he made too much Haſte to eſtabliſh the Faith.* To whom 'he anſwer'd, *I am growing old, and muſt take* LARGE STEPS; *elſe, if 'I ſhould happen to die, I might perhaps leave you in a worſe Condition 'than I found you.* When they ask'd him, *Why then he was ſo little 'concern'd about the Converſion of his Daughters, who were the Heirs 'of the Kingdom?* he anſwer'd, *God will take Care of that*; *leave the 'Converſion of my Daughters to me: Do you, by your Example, convert 'your Tenants and others to the Faith.*

'He has Catholick Lord Lieutenants in moſt Counties; and we ſhall ſhort- 'ly have Catholick Juſtices of the Peace in almoſt all Places. We hope al- 'ſo, that our Affairs will have good Succeſs at *Oxford*. In the Publick 'Chapel of the Vice-Chancellor, who is a Catholick, there is always one 'of our Divines, who has converted ſome of the Students to the Faith. 'The Biſhop of *Oxford* himſelf ſeems to be a great Favourer of the Catho- 'lick Faith; he propos'd to the Council, "Whether it did not ſeem to be "expedient, that at leaſt one College ſhou'd be granted to the Catholicks "at *Oxford*, that they might not be forc'd to ſtudy beyond Sea at ſuch great

" great Expences;" but it is not yet known what Anſwer he had. The 1686/7.
' ſame Biſhop, having invited two of our Brethren, together with ſome of Jac. 2.
' the Nobility, drank the King's Health to a certain Heretick Lord who Reſ. 27
' was in Company, *Wiſhing his Majeſty good Succeſs in all his Undertakings:* Adding alſo, *That the Religion of the* Proteſtants *in* England *did not ſeem to him in a better Condition, than* Buda *was before it was taken; and that they were next to* Atheiſts *that defended that Faith.* Many embrace the true Religion, and four of the moſt conſiderable Earls have lately made publick Profeſſion of it. Father *Alexander Keynes*, the Provincial's Nephew, to whom is committed the Care of the Chapel belonging to the Elector of *Palatine*'s Envoy, is continually taken up in ſolving and anſwering the Queſtions of Hereticks who doubt of their Faith, of whom you may ſee two or three together walking by the Chapel Door, continually diſputing about ſome Point of Religion. As to Prince *George*, it is yet uncertain what Religion he profeſſes. We gradually begin to get Footing in *England:* We teach human Learning at *Lincoln*, *Norwich* and *York*; and at *Worceſter* we have a Publick Chapel, protected by a Guard of the King's Soldiers; and we are to buy ſome Houſes in the Town of *Wiggan* in *Lancaſhire*. The Catholick Intereſt grows very ſtrong; and at ſome Churches, granted to the Catholicks, upon Holy-Days there are often counted fifteen Hundred preſent at the Sermon. At *London* alſo our Buſineſs is carry'd on with the ſame good Succeſs: Sermons are preach'd upon every Holy-Day, and there are ſo many that frequent the Chapels, that they are not big enough to hold them. Two of our Society *Dormer* and *Bertue*, preach continually before the King and the Queen; Father *Edward Neville*, before the Queen Dowager; Father *Alexander Keynes*, in the Chapel aforeſaid; others in other Chapels. There are many Houſes bought in the *Savoy*, near *Somerſet-Houſe*, which is the Queen Dowager's Palace, towards the Erecting the firſt College in *London*, for about eighteen thouſand Florins; and they are hard at work to bring them to the Form of a College, that a School may be open'd before *Eaſter*.

' A Catholick Lord Lieutenant is ſhortly to go over to *Ireland*, becauſe the King cannot be ſatisfy'd with any other to eſtabliſh the Catholick Intereſt in that Kingdom. The Parliament will certainly ſit in this Month of *February*, of whom his Majeſty is reſolv'd to ask three Things: " Firſt, That by a General Act all the Catholick Peers may be admitted to " ſit in the Upper-Houſe: Secondly, That the *Teſt* may be aboliſh'd: " And, Thirdly, which is the chief Point, That all *Penal-Laws* againſt " Catholicks ſhou'd be abrogated." And that he may the better obtain theſe Things, he deſigns to let them all know, *That he is reſolv'd to turn out all thoſe who will not heartily act for the obtaining of them; and likewiſe Diſſolve the Parliament.* At which Reſolution ſome Hereticks being terrify'd, came to a certain Earl to adviſe with him what might be done; to whom he anſwer'd, *The King's Mind is ſufficiently known; what he has once ſaid, he will certainly perform: If you love your ſelves, ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure.* There is to be a great Preparation of War at *London*, and a Fleet of above a hundred Men of War is to be fitted out againſt the Spring, but againſt whom it is uncertain. The *Dutch* are under great Apprehenſions; but for what Reaſon, altho' they are ſaid to make an Armament, Time will beſt diſcover.'

The King's Management in Scotland.

This Letter is ſo plain as to need no Commentary; therefore we ſhall proceed to take notice, That Matters, tho' very forward, appear'd not to be ripe enough for the expected Meeting of the Parliament therein mention'd, which by Prorogation was to have been on the 15th of *February*. The Three Things hop'd for were too great to be ſurmounted at that time, and

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and by such a Parliament; but that being kept on Foot by a new Prorogation, before he Dissolv'd so Loyal an Assembly, the King resolv'd to try a bold Experiment, and to venture upon the third mention'd Project, tho' never so much to the Hazard of Himself, or Constitution. This was first thought best to be try'd in *Scotland*, where his Majesty had met with very great, tho' not full Success. In order to which, he sent his Letter to the Privy-Council of that Kingdom, dated *Feb.* 12. in which he told them, 'That he was pleas'd in *August* last to inform them of his Designs, in order to the Ease of his *Roman Catholick* Subjects, to which he had then 'a dutiful Answer: That now he thought fit to publish his Royal Intentions, and to give an additional Ease to those of Tender Consciences; so 'to convince the World of his Inclinations to Moderation, *&c.* Tho' at 'the same time he expresses his highest Indignation against those Enemies 'of Christianity, as well as Government and Human Society, the *Field-Conventiclers*, whom he recommends to them to root out with all the 'Severities of his Laws.

His Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience *there.*

Pursuant to this Letter, the Privy-Council caus'd the King's Proclamation for *Liberty of Conscience* to be publish'd, which contain'd in Substance, 'That his Majesty being resolv'd to unite the Hearts and Affections of his 'Subjects, to God in Religion, to Him in Loyalty, and to their Neighbours 'in Christian Love and Charity; he had therefore thought fit, by his *Sove-'reign Authority, Prerogative Royal,* and *Absolute Power, which all his 'Subjects were to obey without RESERVE,* to give and grant his *Roy-'al Toleration* to the several Professors of the *Christian* Religion after 'nam'd. First, He allows and tolerates the *Moderate Presbyterians*, to 'meet in their private Houses only; but it is his Pleasure that *Field-Con-'venticlers* be prosecuted according to the utmost Severity of the Laws. In 'like manner he tolerates *Quakers* to meet and exercise in their Form, in 'any Place or Places appointed for their Worship.' Then the Proclamation proceeds thus, 'Considering the severe and cruel Laws made against '*Roman Catholicks*, therein call'd *Papists*, in the Minority of Our Royal 'Grandfather, of Glorious Memory, without his Consent, and contrary to 'the Duty of good Subjects, by his Regents and other Enemies to their 'lawful Sovereign, Our Great Grand-Mother Queen *Mary*, of Blessed 'and Pious Memory; wherein, under the Pretence of *Religion*, they 'cloath'd the worst of Treasons, Factions and Usurpations; and made these 'Laws, not against the Enemies of God, but their own: Which Laws have 'still been continu'd of course, without Design of Executing them, or any 'of them, *ad Terrorem* only, on supposition, That the *Papists*, relying 'upon an external Power, were incapable of Duty and true Allegiance to 'their Natural Sovereigns, and Rightful Monarchs: We of Our certain 'Knowledge and long Experience, knowing that the *Catholicks*, as it is 'their Principle to be good Christians, so it is to be dutiful Subjects; and 'that they have likewise, on all Occasions, shewn themselves good and 'faithful Subjects to Us, and Our Royal Predecessors, *&c.* do therefore, 'with the Consent of Our Privy-Council, by our *Sovereign Authority*, '*Prerogative Royal*, and *Absolute Power*, Suspend, Stop and Disable all 'Laws or Acts of Parliament, Made or Executed against any of our *Roman 'Catholick* Subjects, in any Time past, to all Intents and Purposes, making 'void all Prohibitions therein mention'd, Pains or Penalties therein ordain'd 'to be inflicted: So that they shall in all Things be as free in all Respects 'as any of Our *Protestant* Subjects whatsoever; not only to exercise their 'Religion, but to enjoy all Offices, Benefices and others which We shall 'think for to bestow upon them in all Time coming.——And whereas the 'Obedience of Our Subjects is due to Us by their Allegiance and our So-'vereignty; and that no Law, Difference in Religion, or other Impedi-

'ment

'ment whatſoever, can exempt the Subjects from their Native Obligations 1686-7.
'to the Crown; and conſidering that *ſome Oaths* are capable of being wreſt-
'ed by Men of ſiniſtrous Intentions, a Practice in that Kingdom, as fatal Jac. 2.
'to Religion as Loyalty; We therefore Call, Annul, and Diſcharge, all Ref. 27
'*Oaths* whatſoever, by which any of Our Subjects are Incapacitated from
'holding Places or Offices in Our ſaid Kingdom, Diſcharging the ſame to
'be taken or given in any Time coming, without our ſpecial Warrant and
'Conſent; And We do Stop, Diſable and Diſpenſe with all Laws injoining
'the ſaid *Oaths*, *Teſts*, or any of them, *&c.* Towards the Concluſion, the
King reiterates former Promiſes in theſe Words; 'For the Encouragement
'of our *Proteſtant* Biſhops, and the Regular Clergy, and ſuch as have hi-
'therto liv'd orderly, We think fit to declare, That it never was Our Prin-
'ciple, nor will We ever ſuffer Violence to be offer'd to any Man's Con-
'ſcience, nor will We uſe Force, or invincible Neceſſity, againſt any Man
'on the Account of his *Perſuaſion*, nor the *Proteſtant Religion*; but will
'protect Our Biſhops and other Miniſters, in their Functions, Rights and
'Properties, and all Our *Proteſtant* Subjects, in the free Exerciſe of their
'*Proteſtant* Religion in the Churches.

Many Reflections were made upon this Proclamation; and it was ſoon obſerv'd, That this Toleration of *Proteſtant Diſſenters* was purely for the Sake of *Popiſh Recuſants*; and that the *Moderate Presbyterians* had not ſo great a Liberty allow'd them as the *Quakers*, who were ſuppos'd to bear a nearer Affinity to the *Papiſts*, and more diſpos'd to the Will of a *Popiſh* Prince. Perhaps the moſt ſhocking Part of it was the *Abſolute Power which was to be obey'd without Reſerve*, at leaſt it was ſo in *England:* But the *Scots*, having in one of their Acts of Parliament, made and mention'd in the laſt Year, recited the King's *Sacred*, *Supreme*, *Sovereign*, *Abſolute Power* and *Authority*, it was leſs wonder that the King ſhou'd uſe the ſame Terms, and that the Lords of the Council in *Scotland* in their Anſwer ſhou'd tell the King, 'That his Majeſty's Commands were exactly o- *The Anſwer of the Lords of the Council.*
'bey'd, and his Royal *Proclamation* printed and publiſh'd, by which his
'Majeſty had given a farther Evidence of his Favour and Goodneſs to all
'his Subjects.'——Farther promiſing, 'To maintain and aſſert his Royal
'Prerogative and Authority with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes:'
And thus concluding; 'We are very willing that your Majeſty's Subjects
'who are Peaceable and Loyal, may be at Eaſe and Security, notwithſtand-
'ing their private Profeſſion and Worſhip; and do conceive, That ſuch of
'them as are or ſhall be employ'd by your Majeſty in Offices of Truſt, Ci-
'vil or Military, are ſufficiently ſecured by your Majeſty's Authority and
'Commiſſion for the Exerciſing the ſame. We return your Majeſty our
'moſt humble Thanks, for giving us your Royal Word, *For Maintaining*
'*the Church and our Religion as it is now eſtabliſh'd by Law*; and reſt
'ſatisfy'd, believing your Majeſty's PROMISE to be the beſt and greateſt
'Security we can have.' Sign'd by near thirty Noble-Men and others. Thus a People, who formerly rebell'd againſt the Commands of a limited and mild Prince, the Father, now ſeem'd to yield up all to the abſolute and uncontrollable Power of the Son.

2. This ready Compliance of the *Scots* was very acceptable to King 1687.
James, and gave him Hopes of finding the ſame Willingneſs in his *Engliſh* Jac. 3.
Subjects. In order to open the Matter, he aſſembled his Privy-Council, Ref. 28
and made this Declaration to them, 'That he had reſolv'd to iſſue out a
'*Declaration* for a General *Liberty of Conſcience* to all Perſons, of what *The King's Management in England.*
'Perſuaſion ſoever; which he was mov'd to do, by having obſerv'd, That
'tho' an *Uniformity* in Religious Worſhip had been endeavour'd to be eſta-
'bliſh'd within this Kingdom, in the ſucceſſive Reigns of four of his Pre-
'deceſſors,

1687. Jac. 3. Ref. 28

'deceſſors, aſſiſted by their reſpective Parliaments; yet it had prov'd altogether ineffectual. That the Reſtraint upon the Conſciences of *Diſſenters*, in Order thereunto, had been very prejudicial to the Nation, as was ſadly experienc'd by the horrid Rebellion in the Time of his Majeſty's Father. That the many Penal Laws made againſt *Diſſenters*, had rather increas'd than leſſen'd the Number of them: And that nothing cou'd more conduce to the Peace and Quiet of this Kingdom, and the Encreaſe of the Number, as well as of the Trade of his Subjects, than an entire *Liberty of Conſcience*; it having always been his Opinion, as moſt ſuitable to the Principles of Chriſtianity, *That no Man ſhou'd be perſecuted for Conſcience ſake*; for he thought *Conſcience* cou'd not be forc'd; and that it cou'd never be the true Intereſt of a King of *England* to endeavour to do it.' And at the ſame time he gave Directions to his Attorney and Solicitor-General, not to permit any Proceſs to iſſue in his Name againſt any *Diſſenter* whatſoever.

This Speech ſeem'd ſo ſpecious and plauſible, that it met with no Oppoſition in the Council; or rather the Council was ſo fitted to the King's Will, or ſo blinded by Ambition and Intereſt, that they either did or wou'd not ſee the grand Deſign of it: So that his Majeſty conceiving the Nation was now ripe and ready to receive a Yoke, that was to be impos'd with all imaginable Gentleneſs, and with the Pomp and Shew of *Indulgence*, on the 4th of *April* he caus'd his *Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience* to be publiſh'd. It was much the ſame with that of *Scotland*; ſave only that the Expreſſions of *Annulling* and *Repealing Teſts* and *Oaths*, which were made uſe of in that, were here ſoftned into thoſe of *Suſpending* and *Diſpenſing* with *Penal Laws*, &c. and inſtead of *Abſolute Power* he us'd *Royal Prerogative*. To give the Subſtance of it, in the Preamble, his Majeſty does not ſcruple to ſay, 'That he cannot but heartily wiſh, as it 'will eaſily be believ'd, That all his Subjects were Members of the *Catholick Church*; yet it is his Opinion *That Conſcience ought not to be conſtrain'd*;' and for the Reaſons alledg'd in the foremention'd Speech, which he repeats here at large. Then he ſays, 'By Virtue of his *Royal Prerogative*, he thinks fit to iſſue forth this his *Declaration of Indulgence*; making no Doubt of the Concurrence of his two Houſes of Parliament, when he ſhall think it convenient for them to meet. Firſt, he declares, That he will protect and maintain his *Arch-biſhops*, *Biſhops* and *Clergy*, and all other his Subjects of the Church of *England*, in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as by Law Eſtabliſh'd; and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions. He likewiſe declares, That it is his Royal Will and Pleaſure that all *Penal Laws* for *Non-Conformity* to the Religion Eſtabliſh'd, or by Reaſon of the Exerciſe of Religion in any manner whatſoever, be immediately *Suſpended*. And to the End that by the Liberty hereby granted, the Peace and Security of the Government in the Practice thereof may not be endanger'd, he ſtrictly Charges and Commands all his Subjects, That as he freely gives them leave to meet and ſerve God after their own Way, be it in Private Houſes, or Places purpoſely hired or built for that Uſe; ſo that they take ſpecial Care that nothing be Preach'd or Taught amongſt them, which may tend to alienate the Hearts of his People from Him or his Government; and that their *Meetings* and *Aſſemblies* be Peaceably, Openly and Publickly held, and all Perſons freely admitted to them, and that they ſignify and make known to ſome one or more of the next Juſtices of the Peace, what Place or Places they ſet apart for thoſe Uſes. And as he is deſirous to have the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects, which by the Law of Nature is inſeparably annex'd, and inherent to his Royal Perſon; and that none of his Subjects may be for the future under any *Diſcouragement* or *Diſability*, who are otherwiſe well inclin'd and fit to ſerve him, by reaſon

His Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience *at Home.*

of

'of ſome *Oaths* or *Teſts* that have uſually been adminiſtred upon ſuch Occaſions, he hereby further declares, That it is his Will and Pleaſure, that 'the *Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance*, and the ſeveral *Teſts* and *Declarations* mention'd in the Acts of Parliament made in the 25th and the 30th Year of his Brother's Reign, ſhall not hereafter be requir'd to be 'Taken, Declared, or Subſcribed by any Perſons whatſoever, who are or 'ſhall be employ'd in any Office or Place of Truſt, either Civil or Military, under him, or in his Government: And it is his Intention, from 'time to time hereafter, to grant his *Royal Diſpenſations* to all his Subjects ſo to be employ'd, who ſhall not Take the ſaid *Oaths*, or Subſcribe 'or Declare the ſaid *Teſts* or *Declarations*. And he does hereby give his 'free and ample Pardon to all *Non-Conformiſts*, *Recuſants*, and other his 'Subjects, for all Crimes and Things by them committed, or done contrary to the *Penal Laws*, formerly made relating to Religion, and the 'Profeſſion or Exerciſe thereof. And although the Freedom and Aſſurance 'he has hereby given in relation to *Liberty* and *Property*, might be ſufficient to remove from the Minds of his Subjects all Fears and Jealouſies 'in relation to either; yet he thinks fit to declare, That he will maintain 'them in all their Properties and Poſſeſſions, as well of *Church* and *Abby-Lands*, as in other their Eſtates and Properties whatſoever.

1687. Jac. 3. Ref. 28

Upon the Appearance of this Declaration, the whole Kingdom ſeem'd ſtruck with Wonder and Amazement on one Side, and Joy and Satisfaction on the other. The latter ſoon ſeiz'd upon the *Diſſenters* of all Kinds, who were ſo tranſported, that they caught greedily at the Bait, without the leaſt diſcerning the Hook in it. They were not content with a ſilent Acceptance of this *Liberty*, but were drawn in to make Inſults of Joy for it, and preſented Addreſſes of Thanks ſo high and extravagant, that ſome of them were thought offenſive to the very Ears of the King. They thought indeed no Praiſes cou'd be too great to expreſs their Gratitude; no Bleſſings ſufficient to reward their Deliverer and Benefactor.

The Behaviour of the Diſſenters *upon it.*

The *Anabaptiſts* in and about *London* thus led the Way; '*Great Sir!* 'Tis the Senſe of this invaluable Favour and Benefit, deriv'd to us from 'your Royal Clemency, that compels us once more to proſtrate our ſelves 'at your Majeſty's Feet, with the Tender of our moſt humble Thanks for '*Peace* and *Liberty*.——Such Demonſtrations as theſe, of your Majeſty's 'tender Care of the Proſperity and Quiet of your Peaceable Subjects, will 'abſolutely Command the Hearts of them all, *&c.*' Shortly after came the *Quakers*, and ſaid thus; *May it pleaſe the King!* Though we are not 'the firſt in this Way, yet we hope we are not the leaſt ſenſible of the 'great Favours; we are come to preſent the King our Humble, Open and 'Hearty Thanks for—We rejoice to ſee the Day, That a King of *England* 'ſhou'd from his Royal Seat ſo univerſally Aſſert this Royal Principle, '*That Conſcience ought not to be reſtrain'd, nor People forc'd for Matters of mere Religion*, &c.'. The *Independents* follow'd with a like Harangue; '*Sir!* The great Calamity we have been a long time under, 'through the ſevere Execution of the Laws in Matters of Religion, has 'made us deeply ſenſible of your Majeſty's Princely Clemency toward us 'your *Diſſenting* Subjects; eſpecially, ſince in the *Indulgence* vouchſaf'd, 'there are no *Limitations* hindering the Enjoyment of it with a *Good Conſcience*, &c.' The *Presbyterians* came not far behind the reſt, and made their grateful Acknowledgments, 'That his Majeſty's Princely Pity had 'now reſcu'd them from their long Sufferings; and by the ſame Royal Act, 'had reſtor'd God to the Empire over *Conſcience*; and publiſh'd to the 'World his Royal Chriſtian Judgment, *That* Conſcience *may not be forc'd*; 'and his Reſolution, That ſuch Force ſhall not be attempted in his Majeſty's Kingdoms, during his Majeſty's Reign; which they therefore pray

Their Addreſſes.

1687. Jac. 3. Ref. 28

Together with the Papists.

'may be long over them, *&c.*' And the *Papists*, as it was most proper, fell in with them, after some time, and in an Address, 'They testify'd their 'Thankfulness to Almighty God, and his Majesty, for so happy an Expe-'dient for the Ease and Comfort of all his Subjects: And though they 'were thought not to desire the least Ease or Good to those that differ'd 'from them in Opinion; yet they did not only Rojoice in the *Universa-*'*lity* of his Majesty's Bounty, but *that it flow'd from a Prince of their* '*Religion.*' It wou'd be endless to take Notice of the innumerable Addresses that flew from all Parts of the Nation, which increas'd both in their Flights and Promises; but none was more remember'd than that from Mr. *Alsop* a Preacher in *Westminster*, which we forbear to particularize: Only we shall observe in general, that for the greatest Part of this Summer the *Gazettes* were throng'd with Addresses, fill'd with such Shews of Duty and Loyalty, that the rest of the World might naturally look upon the King as Unmoveable on his Throne, if there was any Confidence to be put in Addresses.

Arguments for,

3. But because the *Dissenters* may have been too hardly censur'd, or unreasonably vindicated, in a Matter that has occasion'd so much Controversy, we shall lay before the Reader what has been said by two opposite, and not inconsiderable Writers, upon this Occasion. The First, who wrote in Defence of them, proceeds thus; 'The *Dissenters* were not so fond of 'hard Usage, as to refuse a *Liberty* so freely offered them; nor did they 'think it good Manners, to enquire too narrowly how that *Indulgence* 'came about, so long as they were shelter'd by it from Oppression. *A* '*Letter of Advice* to them, was hereupon Publish'd by that accomplish'd 'States-man the Marquis of *Hallifax*, tho' without his Name. The Letter 'was written with a great deal of Artifice, with Design to insinuate a two-'fold Caution: *That their new Friends were to be suspected; and that it* '*wou'd neither be Christianity nor Prudence to hazard the Publick Safe-*'*ty, either by desire of Ease or Revenge.* His Cautions were regarded 'by the wiser Part of them, notwithstanding the Uncertainty with what 'Design this Application was made to them. As Thankful as they were 'for their Ease and Liberty, they were yet fearful of the Issue, neither can 'any number of them of any Consideration, be charg'd with hazarding the 'Publick Safety, by falling in with the Measures of the Court, of which 'they had as great a dread as their Neighbours. And as for Revenge, tho' 'they had a fair Opportunity for it, yet cou'd they not think it a Thing 'desirable, either as Men or as Christians. If they over-did it in their 'Addresses, they thought the High-Church Party, who had been so us'd 'to topping Flights of Complement, when returning Thanks for the Dis-'solving one of the best of Parliaments, had little Reason to reflect on them.' Then clearing Mr. *Baxter*, and some others, from being concern'd in these Addresses, he says, 'They waited in Expectation of seeing the Effects of 'the Marquis's Declaration in behalf of the Church Party; *That all their* '*former Haughtiness* (they are his own Words) *towards the* Dissenters '*was for ever extinguish'd; and that the Spirit of Persecution was turn-*'*ed into a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condescension; that the Church* '*of* England *was convinc'd of its Errors in being severe to them; and all* '*thinking Men were come to a general Agreement, no more to cut our* '*selves off from the* Protestants *abroad, but rather to enlarge the Foun-*'*dations, upon which we are to build our Defences against the common* '*Enemy.*

And against the Dissenters.

The opposite Author has given us this Historical Account; 'After all, 'the *Papists* in this Island, were but as a Drop of Water in the *Thames*, 'and not able to make Opposition singly to the rest of the Nation: The

'lengthening

'lengthening their Files, had made a greater Show, and render'd them more obnoxious, but had added little to their real Strength; therefore the *Diſſenters* where to be call'd in as *Auxiliaries*, to lend their helping Hand in the great Work.' Then ſpeaking of the Declaration it ſelf, he ſays, 'This to the Churchmen ſeem'd as a dangerous Storm likely to prove fatal to their Laws and Religion, which made it appear more like a refreſhing Shower to the *Diſſenters*; who were not content to offer up their fulſom Addreſſes of Thanks to their *Jupiter Pluvius*, without inſulting thoſe who juſtly dreaded its Conſequences. The loyal Church of *England*, which had not only preach'd, but conſtantly practis'd Obedience in all Things lawful, was now condemn'd as *diſloyal* and *Diſobedient*, becauſe ſhe cou'd not exceed thoſe Limits; and the *Diſſenters*, who were always Rebels in Speculation and in Practice, whenever they had Opportunity, were in an Inſtant become the only *good Subjects*. Thoſe who had ſignaliz'd their Zeal for the King's Intereſt by a Courſe of important Services, both before and ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, were turn'd out of their Employments; and the Sticklers for the *Excluſion-Bill*, with the Patriots of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*, were now the fitteſt Perſons to be truſted. And theſe were ſo charm'd with the Favours they enjoy'd, that like Lovers in the Beginning of an Amour, if you wou'd believe their Addreſſes, *Life* and *Fortune*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, were all too ſmall a Sacrifice to return. But theſe Profeſſions were ſoon found to be like Lovers Vows, only writ in Sand, and obliterated by the next Guſt of Wind, or the next Wave of Water.' Next, ſpeaking of the Sufferings ſoon after felt by the Church of *England*, he tells us, 'That while that was harraſs'd, the *Diſſenters* lay lurking at their Eaſe in the Sun-ſhine of a Court which had thaw'd all their rigid Humour, and melted them down into a perfect Compliance with their Friends the *Papiſts*. They who were formerly refractory and diſobedient to the Laws, and were for paring the legal Prerogatives of the Crown, as if the Prieſts had tranſubſtantiated them alſo, cou'd now carry their Obedience beyond the Laws, and became the Champions of the *Diſpenſing Power*. *Harry Care*, after all his *Packets of Advice from* Rome, was now better adviſ'd, and he and others of them drew their Pens in its Defence, and directly againſt the Church of *England*, then more eſpecially the Bulwark of the *Proteſtant* Religion.

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The Reader may diſcover Truth and Light from both theſe Accounts, tho' a little overſtrain'd and obfuſcated: But this is certain, that the chief Endeavours at Court were to widen the former Breaches, and revive the Animoſities between the Church of *England* and the *Diſſenters*; and the former was more blacken'd than ever by *Henry Care* and other mercenary Writers, to the great Benefit of the *Papiſts*. In the mean time, Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, who had long writ in Defence of the Church, and laſtly for the *diſpenſing Power*, laid down his Pen, or rather was ſilenc'd as ſoon as the *Toleration* was ſet on foot, to which he had ever ſhewn himſelf an Enemy. The King's *Declaration* ſoon began to anſwer the Ends for which it was publiſh'd, and ſcarce a Day paſs'd without ſome Proteſtant or other being reconcil'd to the *Church* of *Rome*. The King's Religion was now become ſo faſhionable, as well as profitable, that it is no wonder that many weak, frail and irreligious Perſons were ready to embrace it. As the Miſchief became to be more viſible, ſo the Heats between the Church and the Diſſenters abated; and in time both began to conſider how to join and unite againſt the common Danger.

The Effects of the Declaration.

In order to effect which, and to do other Services to the *Proteſtant Cauſe*, the acute and celebrated Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, then in *Holland*, drew his Pen with no common Succeſs, and ſhew'd a Genius that made a

Dr. Burnet's ſeveral Writings.

1687. Jac. 3. Reſ. 28

conſiderable Impreſſion upon all of them. Several ſmall Pamphlets of his were ſent into *England*, according to the Seaſon of the Times, relating to the *Toleration*, both in *Scotland* and *England*, the *Teſts*, the *diſpenſing Power*, the ſuppos'd *Spirit of Perſecution* in the Church of *England*, &c. What began firſt to affect them, was his *Reflections upon the King's Proclamation in Scotland*, in which, after his laying open the Dangers therein threatned, he makes this ſarcaſtical Obſervation upon the Phraſe, *Glorious Memory*, there attributed to the King's Grandfather: 'The peculiar Glory 'that belongs to King *James*'s Memory, is, That he was a Prince of great 'Learning, and that he employ'd it chiefly in writing for Religion: Of the 'Volume in Folio, in which we have his Works', two Thirds are againſt 'the Church of *Rome*; one Part of them in a Commentary on the *Reve-* 'lations, proving that the *Pope is Antichriſt*; and another Part of them 'belong'd more naturally to his Poſt and Dignity; which is a Warning 'that he gave to all the Princes and States of *Europe*, againſt the treaſon- 'able and bloody Doctrines of the *Papacy*.' Then mentioning the *Legacy* of an ominous Wiſh on ſuch of his Poſterity as ſhou'd go over to that Religion, he adds, 'It is known King *James* was no *Conqueror*, and that 'he made more Uſe of his *Pen* than his *Sword*; ſo the *Glory* that is pe- 'culiar to his *Memory*, muſt fall chiefly on his learned and immortal Wri- 'tings: And ſince there is ſuch a Veneration expreſs'd for him, it agrees not 'ill with this to wiſh, That his *Works* were more ſtudy'd by thoſe who 'offer ſuch Incenſe to his GLORIOUS MEMORY.' As to the King's *Declaration* in *England*, reflecting upon that Part that complains of the *Endeavours in the four laſt Reigns for Unity being ineffectual*, the Doctor obſerves, 'It is not ſo very long ſince, that nothing was to be heard at Court, 'but the ſupporting the Church of *England*, and the extirpating all the *Non-* 'conformiſts; but now all is turn'd round again, the Church of *England* 'is in Diſgrace; and now the *Encouragement of Trade*, the *Quiet of the* 'Nation, and the *Freedom of Conſcience* are again in vogue, that were ſuch 'odious Things but a few Years ago, that the very mentioning of them was 'enough to load any Man with Suſpicions, as backward in the King's Ser- 'vice: While ſuch Methods are us'd, and the Government is as in an Ague, 'divided between hot and cold Fits, no wonder if Laws ſo unſteadily exe- 'cuted had fail'd of their Effect.' Then afterwards ſpeaking of the King's *Promiſes* to the *Diſſenters*, he ſays, 'It cannot be ſuppos'd that they will 'be more laſting than thoſe that were made ſome Time ago to the Church 'of *England*, who had both a better *Title* in Law, and greater *Merit* upon 'the Crown to aſſure them that they ſhou'd be well us'd, than theſe can 'pretend to.— They muſt remember, That as the Church of *England* is 'the only Eſtabliſhment that our Religion has by *Law*, ſo it is the main 'Body of the Nation; and all the *Sects* are but ſmall and ſtruggling Parties: 'And if the legal Settlement of the Church is diſſolv'd, and that Body is once 'broken, theſe leſſer Bodies will be all at Mercy; and it is an eaſy Thing 'to define what the Mercies of the Church of *Rome* are. But to proceed:

The Behaviour of the Church of England.

The numerous Addreſſes daily preſented to the King by the *Diſſenters*, upon the Account of his obliging *Declaration*, cou'd not but mortify the ſound Party of the Church of *England*, who juſtly look'd upon it at leaſt as a Jeſuitical Intention to advance *Papiſts* to Places of Truſt, and gradually to introduce them into the Legiſlature. But to add to their Affliction, the Court-Creatures gave them to underſtand, 'That they themſelves ought 'to imitate the *Nonconformiſts*, and fill up the Chorus of the grateful Ac- 'knowledgers of the King's Indulgence;' urging, as an undiſputable Motive, 'That his Majeſty had been moſt graciouſly pleas'd to Declare, *That* '*he wou'd protect and maintain his Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Clergy, and all* '*other his Subjects of the Church of* England, *in the free Exerciſe of*

'*their*

'*their Religion, and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of all their Poſſeſ-*
'*ſions, without any Moleſtation or Diſturbance whatſoever.*' Whatever were the Inducements, five Biſhops, *Crew* of *Durham*, *Barlow* of *Lincoln*, *Cartwright* of *Cheſter*, *Wood* of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and *Watſon* of St. *Davids*, prevail'd upon ſome of their Clergy to ſign Addreſſes of Thanks for that part of the King's Declaration. Yet theſe particular Addreſſes were ſo jejune and inſipid, that they ſeem'd rather like the forc'd Thanks, given by a corrected Child to a ſevere Parent, that holds the Rod over him, than like the hearty and free Acknowledgments which flow from the Senſe of real Favours. *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford* was not ſo ſucceſsful as theſe Court-Prelates; for notwithſtanding the uncommon Zeal he ſhew'd upon this Occaſion, his Clergy ſtill refus'd to ſign an Addreſs which might prove of ſo dangerous Conſequence: Yet to let the World know, that it was not out of a ſullen Humour, or Diſloyalty, that they deny'd to pay that Homage to his Majeſty, they gave their Reaſons in Writing to their Biſhops. 1687. Jac. 3. Reſ. 28

Jones.
Narratives
Welwood.
Boyer.
Burnet.
Orleans.

VII. 1. While the Rights and Privileges of the Nation were attack'd on every Side, while the *Diſſenters* adored the Hands that was putting Chains about their Necks, and while the corrupted Biſhops endeavour'd to decoy their Flocks into the ſame Compliance, the true Church felt the worſt of the Storm, which now began to diſcharge it ſelf upon thoſe glorious Seminaries of Learning, the two Univerſities; Places that had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves for their Loyalty to the Crown in the moſt difficult Times. It began with that of *Cambridge*, and in Appearance upon a ſmall Occaſion; of which Tranſaction we ſhall give a plain and diſtinct Account, with the Names of Perſons as they occur'd. The *Roman* Catholicks having got ſome ſmall Footing there, particularly in *Sidney* College, where one *Baſſet* of their Religion, obtain'd the Maſterſhip. In the Month of *February* there arriv'd a Letter from the King to Dr. *Peachel* the Vice-Chancellor, and Maſter of *Magdalen* College, importing, 'That hearing much Commendation 'of one *Alban Francis*, a *Benedictine* Monk, his Majeſty was pleas'd to 'command the Univerſity, That they ſhou'd admit him to the Degree of '*Maſter of Arts*, without Adminiſtring any Oath or Oaths whatſoever, 'notwithſtanding any Law or Statute to the contrary; which his Majeſty 'was pleas'd to diſpenſe with, in favour of the ſaid *Alban Francis*.' The Vice-Chancellor was not over-haſty to read this Letter to the Senate, or Congregation of *Regents* and *Non-Regents*; but when it was done, it was unanimouſly agreed by the Members, to teſtify their Concurrence with the Vice-Chancellor, *viz.* not to admit the ſaid *Francis*, till the King had been petition'd to revoke the *Mandate*. Hereupon the Vice-Chancellor wrote a Letter to the Duke of *Albemarle*, then Chancellor of the Univerſity, to beg his Interceſſion with the King; to which his Grace ſome time after return'd an Anſwer, 'That he had try'd, but to no Effect; but that it was 'his Sentiment, that the moſt probable Way of Succeeding in the Matter 'was, for the whole Body of the Univerſity to concur and ſign a Petition, 'and ſend it to the King.' The Univerſity, to prevent the Inconveniency of being deem'd Tumultuary Petitioners, thought it the moſt adviſeable Way to ſend up the Senſe of the whole Body by particular Meſſengers from each Houſe of the Congregation. To which purpoſe Dr. *Smoult*, Profeſſor of Caſuiſtical Divinity, was made choice of by the *Non-Regents*, and Mr. *Norris*, Fellow of *Trinity-College*, by the *Regents*. The Subſtance they were to deliver, was, 'That the Houſes thought the Admiſſion of Mr. *Fran-*
'*cis*, without the uſual Oaths, Illegal; and conſequently the King was to 'be petition'd:' Which Opinions were freely given to the two Meſſengers of each Houſe, and unanimouſly approv'd of by the voting Members, except

Proceedings againſt the Univerſities.

Firſt Cambridge.

1687. Jac. 3. Ref. 28

In the Case of Father Francis.

cept three *Papists*, and two others, willing to temporize, and follow the Stream of the Time.

At the same Time the Esquire-Beadles and Register were sent to the said Father *Francis*, to tell him, That the Senate or Congregation was ready to admit him, provided he wou'd Swear as the Law appointed; which he refus'd, insisting upon the King's Dispensation; and immediately took Horse for *London*, to prepossess his Patriots that recommended him to the King, with the Behaviour of the University. The Senate upon this, not to be wanting in their own Justification, dispatch'd after him one of the Esquire-Beadles, with two Letters, one for the Duke of *Albemarle*, and the other for the Earl of *Sunderland:* The Beadle was presently admitted to the Former, but cou'd get no Access to the Latter; and therefore put in his Letter importing, 'A most humble Submission to the King, with solemn 'Protestations, That what was done proceeded from no Principle of *Stub-* '*bornness* or *Disobedience*, but a conscientious Sense of their Obligations to '*Laws* and *Oaths*, and a respectful Intimation, That they were ready to 'Petition his Majesty when they might be admitted; but not daring to ap- 'proach without some Significations, that it wou'd be acceptable, they ap- 'ply'd themselves to his Lordship, desiring him to do the University the 'Favour to mediate for them.' The Officer was dismiss'd without any satisfactory Answer; and shortly after, a Second Letter was sent to the University, exactly the same with the other, only with an additional Clause, *To do it at their Peril.* Which being read in the Senate, they dispatch'd Mr. *Braddock* of *Catherine*-Hall, and Mr. *Stanhope* of *King*'s-College to *London*, with two other Letters to the fore-mention'd Chancellor and Minister of State, and gave the Messengers farther Instructions for the Service of the University. Some time after the Delivery of these Letters, the Duke of *Albemarle* told the Messengers, *That he had endeavour'd to intercede for them to the utmost of his Power, but to no Effect.* From the Earl of *Sunderland* they had no other Answer, but *That the King had seen the Vice-Chancellor's Letter, and was offended at the Proceeding of the University, and wou'd take Order very shortly to give a farther Answer.*

The Heads summon'd to appear at London.

Soon after, the King's promis'd Letter was sent to *Cambridge*, by one *Atterbury* a Messenger, which was no other than a Summons from the new *Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, Commanding the Vice-Chancellor to appear in Person before them, and the Senate by themselves or their Deputies, to answer such things as shou'd be objected against them. Upon which the Senate appointed Dr. *Peachel*, Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. *Echard* Master of *Catherine*-Hall, attended by Dr. *Babington*, Dr. *Smoult*, Dr. *Cook*, Mr. *Billers*, Mr. *Newton*, Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Stanhope*, all Fellows of particular Colleges, to represent them at the Council-Chamber, according to the Summons. Upon their Appearance before the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, Lord President *Sunderland*, Earl of *Mulgrave*, Earl of *Huntington*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, and Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*; the Vice-Chancellor was ask'd, *Why he had not obey'd the King's Commands in behalf of Mr.* Francis? To which the Vice-Chancellor desiring Time to answer, after three Quarters of an Hour's Debate, the Register was order'd to tell him, That the Lords had granted him a Week's Time.

The Vice-Chancellor's Plea.

At which Time, the Vice-Chancellor put in his Answer in Writing, in the Name of the whole University of *Cambridge*; Containing a Recital of several Statutes, One made in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, entituled, *An Act to secure to the Crown the Ancient Jurisdictions over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and Abolishing Foreign Power repugnant to the same.* Wherein it was Enacted, 'That every Person that shou'd be 'promoted to any Degree of Learning in the Universities, shou'd take the 'Oath therein mention'd, whereby he shou'd declare and acknowledge the

'King

'King to be the only Supreme Governor of this Realm, as well in Spiri- 1687.
'tuals as Temporals.' A Second Act made in the fifth Year to the ſame
Effect: A Third made in the third Year of King *James*; and a Fourth made Jac. 3.
in the ninth of the ſame King, entituled, *An Act for Adminiſtring the Oath* Reſ. 28
of Allegiance; by which it was Enacted, 'That the ſaid Oath ſhou'd be
'taken by the Vice-Chancellor, all the Principals of Houſes, and by every
'other Perſon that ſhou'd be promoted to any Degree, *&c.* Upon which
it was farther inſiſted, 'That both Himſelf, as Vice-Chancellor, and every
'Member of the Senate, had taken the Oath. And the ſaid Statutes were
'made for the Preſervation of the Doctrine profeſs'd by the Church of *Eng-*
'*land*, and the King's rightful Power and Prerogative, and that they had
'offer'd the ſaid Oath to *Alban Francis*, but he refus'd to take it: And
'upon his Refuſal, if they had admitted him, they had acted contrary to
'their Statutes; and it had been a Breach of Truſt, as well in the Vice-
'Chancellor, as the Senate, and a Violation of their Oaths; and for theſe
'Reaſons they cou'd not admit him. Leaving it farther to their Lordſhips
'Conſideration, *Whether their Caſe was under their Cognizance?* Laſt-
ly, they offer'd to their Lordſhips, 'That by the Statute of the ſeventeenth
'Year of King *Charles* the Firſt, there was a Clauſe, That no new Court
'ſhou'd be Erected and Appointed within this Realm, which ſhou'd have
'Like Power, Juriſdiction or Authority, as the *High-Commiſſion* then had,
'or pretended to have; and that all ſuch Commiſſions and Grants, and all
'Power and Authority granted thereby, ſhou'd be utterly void.' After
this Anſwer was read, and the Court up, the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates
were ſent for into the Council-Chamber, where they were acquainted by
the Regiſter, 'That the Commiſſioners had put off the Proceedings in their
'Buſineſs till the 7th of *May* following, and that their Attendance was ex-
'pected at that time.' In the Interim there was a Rumour ſpread abroad,
That the Lords had receiv'd a new Commiſſion; which was verify'd by the
Alteration of ſome of the Commiſſioners, yet the Gentlemen of the Uni-
verſity cou'd not prove it; for if they cou'd, the Commiſſioners had been
oblig'd to begin all again.

But the 7th of *May* being come, upon the Appearance of the Vice-Chan- *His Examination.*
cellor and Delegates, the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys* put a Queſtion to the
Vice-Chancellor, *What his Oath was that he had taken?* The Vice-Chan-
cellor, not expecting the Queſtion, with ſome Heſitation, anſwer'd, *That*
it was in ſubſtance, to adminiſter and execute the Duty or Office of the
Vice-Chancellor, which was ſtated by the Statutes of the Univerſity, and
the Laws of the Land. From whence aroſe another Queſtion, *Whether*
he did not remember any Maſters of Arts made without taking Oaths?
and Dr. *Lightfoot* was inſtanc'd; but then Dr. *Cook* affirm'd, that Mr.
Lightfoot at that Time ſubſcrib'd the Thirty Nine Articles and Canons; of
which, the Firſt aſſerted the *King's Supremacy*; and the Lord Chancellor
acknowledg'd, that *Subſcribing* was *Swearing*. Upon this a third Queſti-
on was ask'd, *Whether the Vice-Cancellor knew any Mandate from the*
King refus'd by the Univerſity before? In anſwer to which, it was in-
ſtanc'd, 'That King *Charles* the Second had ſent his *Mandate* in behalf of
'one *Tatnell*, to the Univerſity, who upon refuſing to take the Oaths,
'and the Matter repreſented to the King, his Majeſty was pleas'd to recall
'the *Mandate*.' After theſe and ſome other like frivolous Queſtions, to
ſhorten the Buſineſs, Chancellor *Jeffreys* commanded the Company to with-
draw; and after ſome time ordering them to be call'd in again, proceeded
to pronounce Sentence upon the Vice-Chancellor, as being guilty of great
Diſobedience to the King's Commands, and other Crimes and Contempts;
'That he ſhou'd be depriv'd of his Office of Vice-Chancellor, and ſuſ- *And Puniſh-*
'pended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, of his Headſhip of *Magdalen*-College, and *ment.*
that

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'that he ſhou'd not preſume to meddle with any of the publick Buſineſs of 'the Univerſity.' Which Sentence was afterwards drawn up in Form, put in Writing, and fix'd upon the Gates of *Magdalen* College, and Dr. *Balderſon* Maſter of *Emanuel* College was choſen to ſucceed in the Office of Vice-Chancellor. Thus ended the Proſecution with relation to *Cambridge*, which gave great Terror to that Univerſity, and particular Damage to *Sidney* College, the Reſidence of Father *Frances*; where there was ſo much Diſcouragement, that ſcarce a Scholar was admitted there during the reſt of the Reign. And tho' nothing like this was farther tranſacted, yet the Colleges were often peſter'd with *Mandates* for Fellowſhips, *&c.* to the great Diſcouragement of Learning, and all learned Men that had not a good Intereſt at Court.

Proceedings againſt Magdalen *College in* Oxford.

2. But the Storm that ſoon after fell upon the other Univerſity of *Oxford*, particularly upon *Magdalen* College there, as it was longer in gathering, ſo it prov'd more furious and formidable. And becauſe the boldeſt Strokes of that arbitrary Spirit that animated and actuated King *James*'s Counſels, were ſo viſible through the Courſe of this Affair, a particular Relation of the Whole cannot be improper in this Hiſtory. St. *Mary Magdalen* College is one of the moſt noble and munificent Foundations for Learning in either of the Univerſities; and therefore it was no wonder if the *Popiſh* Clergy look'd upon it with an envious and greedy Eye, and did their utmoſt to graſp ſo rich a Prize into their own Poſſeſſion. This illuſtrious Society, from repeated Grants of Kings, ratify'd in Parliament, and from their own Statutes, were in an uninterrupted, as well as inconteſted Poſſeſſion of a Right to elect their own Maſter, uſually ſtyl'd by the Name of *Preſident*.

That Place being vacant on the 31ſt of *March* by the Death of Dr. *Clark*, immediate Notice was given by the Vice-Preſident Dr. *Aldworth*, for a new Election on the 13th of *April*, by affixing a Citation upon the Chapel Door, according to the Statutes of the College. But before the Day of Election, being inform'd that the King had granted a particular *Mandate*, in behalf of one Mr. *Anthony Farmer*, a Man of ill Reputation, who had promis'd to declare himſelf a *Papiſt*, they preſented a Petition to his Majeſty, humbly repreſenting, 'That the ſaid Mr. *Farmer* was a Perſon in ſeveral Reſpects 'uncapable of that Character, according to their Founder's Statutes; and 'did moſt earneſtly beſeech his Majeſty, either to leave them to the Diſ-'charge of their Duty and Conſciences, according to his Majeſty's moſt 'Gracious *Toleration*, and their Founder's Statutes, or to recommend ſuch 'a Perſon, who might be more ſerviceable to his Majeſty, and to this Col-'lege.' The Petition was deliver'd to the Lord Preſident *Sunderland*, by Dr. *Thomas Smith*, and Mr. *Bagſhaw*, two of the Fellows, and lay four Days in his Lordſhip's Hands, with a Promiſe of his particular Favour; but his laſt Anſwer was, *That the King muſt be obey'd.* Accordingly, on the 11th Inſtant, his Majeſty's *Mandate* was deliver'd to Mr. *Robert Charnock*, Fellow of the ſaid College, a Man newly converted, and wholly devoted to the Court; which *Mandate* was directed to the Vice-Preſident and Fellows, requiring, 'Forthwith to elect the ſaid Mr. *Anthony Farmer*, and admit him 'Preſident of the College.

A Mandate *to make* Farmer *Preſident.*

This *Mandate* was read by the Vice-Preſident, with decent Reſpect, in the Chapel of the College, before the Fellows there preſent, who ask'd them, *Whether they, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Letters, wou'd forthwith elect Mr.* Farmer *Preſident?* They all agreed to defer their Anſwers till *Wedneſday* the 13th. At which time, all the Fellows being met, the Vice-Preſident read the Statute concerning *The Choice of a Preſident*, and another *Againſt Corrupt and Irregular Elections*; then read the King's Letter in

in behalf of Mr. *Farmer*, and a ſecond time demanded their Anſwer, which was to this Effect, ‘ That having a Petition lying at that time before his ‘ Majeſty, they ought not to proceed to Election, till they had receiv'd his ‘ Majeſty's Anſwer to the ſame.' Thereupon they all agreed, except Mr. *Charnock*, that the Election ſhou'd be deferr'd till the next Day. On that Morning the Vice-Preſident told them, ‘ That the Choice of a Preſident ‘ had been put off upon Account of a Petition to his Majeſty, in an- ‘ ſwer to which they had not yet receiv'd his Majeſty's Pleaſure; that the ‘ next Day was the utmoſt Time they had Power to Prorogue the Election ‘ to, by the Statutes; and therefore it was neceſſary they ſhould come to ‘ ſome Reſolution:' He told them farther, ‘ That the King had command- ‘ ed them to elect Mr. *Farmer*,' and ask'd their Senſe therein; which was unanimous, except Mr. *Charnock*, that the Election ſhou'd be deferr'd till the next Morning. Accordingly, at Eight a Clock, the Vice-Preſident and Fellows being met, Dr. *Thomas Smith* and Mr. *Bagſhaw*, acquainted the reſt from the Lord *Sunderland*, That in anſwer to their Petition, *His Majeſty having ſent his Letter to the College, expected to be obey'd.* After which the Vice-Preſident read over the King's *Mandate*, and ask'd them, *Whether they wou'd comply with it?* They deſired to proceed to an Election: And the Vice-Preſident having propos'd, *Whether they wou'd make any farther Addreſs to his Majeſty?* he himſelf, with Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *Pudſey* and Dr. *Smith*, were for a ſecond Addreſs; but all the reſt declar'd immediately for proceeding to an Election. Then the Vice-Preſident propos'd, Whether they ſhou'd go to an Election *Vivâ Voce*, or by *Scrutiny?* He himſelf, Mr. *Thompſon*, and Mr. *Charnock* were for proceeding in it *Vivâ Voce*, but all the reſt were for a *Scrutiny*, except Dr. *Smith*, who was for deferring the Election till they had once more petition'd the King. It being therefore the Senſe of the Majority, That they ought to proceed to the Election of a Preſident, according to the Statutes, and this the laſt Day limited; in order to it, the Holy Sacrament was ſolemnly taken by all, except *Charnock*; and then the Statutes concerning the *Choice of a Preſident*, and *againſt Corrupt and Irregular Elections*, were a ſecond time read by the Vice-Preſident. Every one took the Oath preſcrib'd by the Statutes, except Mr. *Thomſon* and Mr. *Charnock*, who refus'd it; and the two Senior Fellows were ſworn Scrutators in the Scrutiny of the whole Society. For the Nomination of a Preſident, Dr. *Hough* and Mr. *Maynard* had each of them the major Part of the Voices; and then the thirteen Senior Fellows being met to elect one of theſe two, Dr. *Hough* had eleven Voices, and was accordingly pronounc'd *Preſident* by the Senior Scrutator; and Mr. *Maynard* was appointed by the thirteen Senior Fellows to preſent him as *Preſident Elect* to the *Viſitor* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in order to his Admiſſion. After which Mr. *Charnock* and Mr. *Thompſon* declar'd *Vivâ Voce* for Mr. *Farmer*, according to his Majeſty's Letter. The next Day Dr. *Hough* being preſented to the Viſitor, was ſworn and admitted Preſident by his Lordſhip, according to the Statutes; and on *Sunday* the 17th he took the ſame Oath again before the Society, and then took his Seat in the Chapel, as Preſident of *Magdalen* College.

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The College elect Dr. Hough.

Upon the News of this Election at *White-Hall*, the King immediately order'd the Lord *Sunderland* to write to the Fellows, which he did in theſe Terms; ‘ *Gentlemen*, The King being inform'd, that notwithſtanding his ‘ late *Mandate* ſent to you for electing Mr. *Farmer* to be Preſident of your ‘ College, you have made Choice of another Perſon; his Majeſty com- ‘ mands me to let you know, he is much ſurpriz'd at theſe Proceedings; ‘ and expects you ſhou'd ſend me an Account of what paſs'd on that Oc- ‘ caſion; and whether you did receive his Majeſty's ſaid *Mandate* before ‘ you choſe Dr. *Hough*.' Thereupon the Vice-Preſident and Fellows drew

The King diſpleas'd.

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up their *Case*, relating to their late Election of a President, which was presented to the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, with a Letter, wherein, 'They humbly begg'd his Grace to interpose with 'his Most Sacred Majesty for them, that they might not lie under the 'Weight of his Displeasure, for not being in a Capacity of obeying his Com-'mands.' This Submission not being satisfactory; and the great Duke of *Ormond*'s Interposition little regarded, the Vice-President and Fellows were cited to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at *White-Hall*.

The Fellows cited.

On the 6th of *June*, six Fellows deputed by the Society, *viz.* the Vice-President, Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *J. Smith*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Dobson* and Mr. *Fairer*, appear'd before the Lords Commissioners, according to the foremention'd Citation. It being first demanded of them, *Why they refus'd to obey the King's Mandate?* they desired time to consider of it, which was granted to the 13th. at which time appearing, the Vice-President deliver'd in their Answer, which was read by Mr. *Bridgeman*, and wherein they al-

Their Plea.

ledg'd, 'That the College of St. *Mary Magdalen* in *Oxford* as a Body 'Corporate, govern'd by local Statutes, granted and confirm'd to them by 'his Majesty's Predecessors: That by the said Statutes of the College, to 'the Observation of which each Fellow is sworn, it is order'd, *That the Per-'son elected President thereof shall be a Man of good Life and Reputati-'on, of approv'd Understanding, and good Temper, Discreet, Provident 'and Circumspect, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs*: That at the 'time of Election of a President, the said Fellows are bound by the said Sta-'tutes to take an Oath, *That they shall nominate none to that Office, but 'such as are, or have been Fellows of the said College, or of* New-College *'in* Oxford; *or, if they are not actually Fellows at the time of Election, 'that they be such as have left their Fellowships upon creditable Accounts:* 'And when two qualify'd Persons shall be nominated at the time of Electi-'on, by the greater Number of all the Fellows, to the said Office of Presi-'dent; the thirteen Seniors also swear, *That they will elect one of them, 'whom in their Consciences they think most Proper and Sufficient, most Dis-'creet, most Useful, and best Qualify'd for the Place, without any Regard 'to Love, Hatred, Favour or Fear.* That every Fellow, when he is admit-'ted into his Fellowship in the said College, Swears, *That he will inviola-'bly keep and observe all the Statutes and Ordinances of the College; 'and that he will not procure any* Dispensation, *contrary to his aforesaid 'Oath, or any Part thereof, nor contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances 'to which it relates*; and if it shall happen that any *Dispensation* of this 'sort, of whatsoever Authority it shall be granted, *That he will neither 'make use of it, nor in any sort consent thereto.* That on the 11th of '*April* they receiv'd his Majesty's Letters Mandatory to Elect and Admit 'Mr. *Anthony Farmer* President of the said College: But forasmuch as the 'Vice-President and Fellows apprehended the Right of Election to be in 'Them, and believ'd his Majesty never intended to dispossess them of their 'Rights; and forasmuch as the said Mr. *Farmer* had never been Fellow ei-'ther of *Magdalen* or *New-College* in *Oxford*, and had not those *Qualifi-'cations* which by the said Statutes of the College are requir'd in the Cha-'racter of a President; and in regard that they cou'd not comply with his 'Majesty's Letter, without the violation of their Oaths, aud hazard of their 'Legal Interest and Property, wherewith they were by the Statutes pos-'sess'd, and which by their Oaths they are bound to maintain; they repre-'sented the same by their humble Petition to his Majesty: And that having 'deferr'd their Election to the last Day limited by the Statutes, they then 'made Choice of Dr. *Hough*, one of the Fellows of their College, and a 'Person every way Qualify'd to be President; who had been since con-

'firm'd

'firm'd by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, their Viſitor, as the Statutes of the 'College direct. And that they might not lye under his Majeſty's Diſ- 'pleaſure by their Proceedings, they did make an humble Repreſentation 'thereof to his Majeſty, by his Grace the Duke *Ormond*, Chancellor of 'the Univerſity of *Oxford*, ſetting forth their *Indiſpenſable Obligations* '*to obſerve their Founders Statutes.* All which Matters they humbly 'offer'd to their Lordſhips, and pray'd to be diſmiſs'd with their Lordſhip's 'Favour. 1687. Jac. 3. Ref. 28

This Anſwer was ſign'd but by Five of the Delegates, Dr. *Fairfax* not conſenting to it; and therefore he deſired their Lordſhips to hear him apart, and to take his Reaſons why he cou'd not ſubſcribe. This was pleaſing to the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, who expecting he wou'd ſubmit, gave him leave to ſpeak, ſaying, *Ay, this looks like a Man of Senſe, and a good Subject, let's hear what he will ſay:*—But finding his Miſtake, and that Dr. *Fairfax* inſiſted, *That in Eccleſiaſtical Courts there ſhou'd be a* Libel *given to the Party appeal'd, that he may know his Accuſation; that he deſired that* Libel, *and did not know for what he was call'd there, and that the Matter did not lie in that Court, but in* Weſtminſter-Hall; the Chancellor in a Paſſion told him, *He was a Doctor of Divinity, but not of Law.* To this the Doctor reply'd, *That he deſir'd to know by what Commiſſion or Authority they ſate?* Which put his Lordſhip beyond all Patience, and made him cry out, *Pray what Commiſſion have you to be ſo Impudent in Court? This Man ought to be kept in a dark Room; Why do you ſuffer him to go without a Guardian? Why did you not bring him to me, to beg him? Pray let the Officers ſeize him*—Then the Delegates were order'd to withdraw, and after a whole Hours debate, the Vice-Preſident was call'd in alone, and order'd to attend the Court with the reſt of the deputed Fellows, on *Wedneſday* the 22d of the ſame Month. *Mr.* Fairfax's *Treatment.*

On the appointed Day the Delegates appear'd again according to the Commiſſioner's Order, and gave in their Allegations againſt Mr. *Farmer*; the moſt material of which were; 'That he had misbehav'd himſelf in *Trinity-* 'College in *Cambridge*, and had there receiv'd *Admonition* from the Ma- 'ſter, in order to his *Expulſion:* That having left *Cambridge*, he taught 'School at *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*, under a *Non-Conformiſt* Miniſter, 'without a Licence: That in *September* 1683, he was admitted of *Mag-* 'dalen-Hall in *Oxford*, where ſuch frequent Complaints were brought a- 'gainſt him to the *Principal*, for his troubleſome Humour and unquiet 'Temper, that to preſerve the Peace of the Society, he was deſir'd to leave 'the ſaid Hall: That after his leaving *Magdalen-Hall*, he was admitted 'into *Magdalen-College*; where, diſcourſing about Religion, he declar'd, '*That there was no Proteſtant but wou'd cut the King's Throat:* Tho' 'at other times he ſaid, *That whatſoever he pretended, he was really a* 'Member of the Church of England; *and that he made an Intereſt with* 'ſome Roman Catholicks *only to get Preferment by their Means, and for* 'that Reaſon was willing to be thought of their Religion: And that, in 'general, the ſaid Mr. *Farmer* had had the Unhappineſs to lie under an 'ill Fame, as to his Life and Converſation; and ſome ſcandalous obſcene 'Actions were alledg'd, better to be omitted than recited in a Hiſtory.' *Allegations againſt* Farmer

Theſe Allegations were confirm'd by ſeveral Letters and Certificates produc'd in Court, which Mr. *Farmer* vainly endeavour'd to invalidate: But nevertheleſs the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners actually depriv'd Dr. *Hough* of his Preſidentſhip, and ſuſpended the Vice-Preſident Dr. *Aldworth* and Dr. *Fairfax*; and order'd the Fellows of the College to cauſe their Sentence to be executed, and affix'd to the Gates of their College; all which they refus'd to obey, and met with farther Threatnings. But in the mean time the Court was ſo aſham'd of *Farmer*'s profligate Life, that the Matter being in *He is laid aſide.*

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ſuſpence for about ſix Weeks; and at laſt the King inſtead of inſiſting on his *Mandate* to him, granted a Second in behalf of Dr. *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford*; of which Affair and Conſequence, a particular Account will be given in a more proper Place, the next Chapter.

The King under Difficulties.

3. All this time the King, notwithſtanding his appearing Succeſſes in the Univerſities and other Places, labour'd under uncommon Difficulties, eſpecially as to his Parliament, his Loyal Parliament that had acted ſo generouſly to Him, as well as honourably to their Countrey. The bringing them over to his Majeſty's Deſigns, had been often, and by various Methods attempted, as Cloſetings, Threats, Promiſes, *&c.* yet ſtill he met with many Impediments and unexpected Obſtructions. To compaſs this great Work, and conſequently to eſtabliſh the King's Religion, all Things were carry'd with an over-bearing Hand; and no Rewards, or Diſcouragements, not to ſay Puniſhments, were wanting to be laid upon Men of all Ranks and Qualities; and no Services were conſider'd when they came to ſtand in Competition with Religion. To exemplify which; the Lord Preſident found Means to preſerve the Aſcendency, which his ſuperior Genius gave him over Father *Petre*, to ſecure to himſelf that vaſt ſhare he had gain'd in the King's Confidence and Favours; tho' he had been a warm Promoter of the *Bill of Excluſion* in the late Reign, and for that remov'd out of his Office of Secretary State. Whereas the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Rocheſter*, Brothers-in-law to the King, and who had ſignaliz'd their Loyalty and Affection to his Majeſty, by a continu'd courſe of important Services, eſpecially in the *Popiſh* Plot and *Bill of Excluſion*, were remov'd from their Employments, merely upon the Account of their Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion, and *Papiſts* advanc'd in their Room. The ſame happen'd not long after to the noble Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who refuſing to return within the Pale of the *Roman Catholick* Church, which he had deſerted for ſome Years, was turn'd out of his Commiſſion of Colonel of Horſe, and his Regiment beſtow'd on *Richard Hamilton*.

Promotions and Alterations.

To carry on the ſame Deſigns, eſpecially to maintain the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, Sir *Richard Allibone*, and ſome other *Romaniſts*, were made Jugdes in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and *Popiſh* Juſtices of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenants eſtabliſh'd all *England* over; the Judges in their Circuits had their private Inſtructions to know how Men ſtood affected towards the King's *Diſpenſing Power*, and to turn thoſe out of their Offices and Employments, who ſhew'd the leaſt diſlike of it. The Soldiers by this time were grown intolerably inſolent: The Officers too, when ever they pleas'd, pretended to be exempt from the Civil Power; and tho' the King was in perfect Peace, yet an old obſolete Act of Parliament, that made it Death for Soldiers, taking Pay in the King's Service in his Wars abroad, on the High Sea or in *Scotland*, to deſert their Colours, was now made to extend to the new rais'd Army on *Hounſlow-Heath*. And becauſe the worthy Recorder of *London*, Sir *John Holt*, wou'd not expound that Law according to the King's deſire, he was put out of, or laid down his Place; and ſo was Sir *Edward Herbert* remov'd from being Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench* to the *Common-Pleas*, to make way for Sir *Robert Wright* to hang a Soldier upon the ſaid Statute.

It is not eaſy to imagine that King *James* cou'd ſo ſoon have gone ſuch Lengths, had he not been incourag'd or miſled by Lawyers as well as Divines. Beſides the innumerable Addreſſes from the *Diſſenters*, on which the King too much rely'd, his Majeſty was highly pleas'd with that from *ſeveral Benchers and Barriſters of the Middle-Temple*, which was preſented to him at *Windſor* on the 11th of *June*. This, being much remember'd at that Time, is inſerted as follows: 'We your Majeſty's moſt duti-

The Addreſs from the Middle-Temple.

'ful

' ful Subjects, to our great Joy, have receiv'd a happy Occaſion of making
' this Declaration of our Gratitude: And as we know that your Majeſty's 1687.
' Goodneſs is the Greateſt that ever was ſhewn by a Prince to his Sub- Jac. 3.
' jects; ſo we wiſh the Voice of Men and Angels, to return ſufficient
' Thanks for your Majeſty's Condeſcenſion and Clemency to all your Sub- Reſ. 28
' jects, in your *Gracious Declaration for a Toleration.* And as for this
' Compaſſion and Goodneſs, Thanks ought to be paid your Majeſty by all
' your Subjects; ſo we, eſpecially of the Profeſſion of the Law, have moſt
' Reaſon to be thankful for the Honour you have done Us by aſſerting
' your own *Royal Prerogative*; which is the very Life of the Law, and
' our Profeſſion. Which *Prerogatives*, as they were given by God him-
' ſelf, ſo we declare, That no Power on Earth can diminiſh them, but they
' muſt always remain entire and inſeparable to your Royal Perſon. Which
' *Prerogatives*, as we have ſtudy'd to know them, ſo we are reſolv'd to
' defend them, by aſſerting with our Lives and Fortunes, that Divine Ma-
' xime, *A Deo Rex, A Rege Lex.* And now as a Teſtimony of our per-
' fect Satisfaction in this our Addreſs, and Acknowledgement, we have
' ſubſcrib'd our Names, that your Majeſty may know us to be YOURS;
' and that the reſt of our Profeſſion may follow our Example: And there-
' fore we humbly beg your Majeſty will accept this Addreſs from us, who
' in Concluſion make bold to offer our beſt Wiſhes, and hearty Deſires,
' That your Majeſty's Counſels may proſper in Wiſdom, your Kingdoms
' flouriſh in Peace, and your Royal Perſon enjoy a long, happy and glori-
' ous Reign over us.

Expectations of the Parliament.

After all theſe Flights and Complements receiv'd, ſtill the King cou'd not manage his Parliament, which was ready to grant him all reaſonable Demands, but from time to time Prorogu'd it, not without Hopes of a Compliance at laſt. The 28th of *April* being one appointed Day, great were Mens Expectations to ſee it meet; and upon that Occaſion Dr. *Burnet* ſent over a ſhort and ſevere Pamphlet againſt Repealing the *Teſt*, directed to the Members of both Houſes, out of which we ſhall inſert one Paragraph, as making great Impreſſion at that Time: ' Our King has given ſuch Teſti-
' monies of his *Zeal* for his *Religion*, that we ſee among all his other Royal
' Qualities, there is none for which he deſires and deſerves to be ſo much
' admir'd, ſince even the Paſſion of *Glory*, of making himſelf the Terror
' of all *Europe*, and *Arbiter of Chriſtendom*, (which, as it is natural to all
' Princes, ſo muſt it be moſt particularly ſo to one of his Martial and No-
' ble Temper) yields to his *Zeal* for his *Church*; and that He, in whom
' we might have hop'd to ſee our *Edward* the Third, our *Henry* the
' Fifth reviv'd, chuſes rather to merit the heightening his Degree of Glory
' in another World, than to acquire all the Laurels and Conqueſts that this
' low and vile World can give him: And that, inſtead of making himſelf
' a Terror to his Neighbours, he is contented with the humble Glory of
' being a *Terror to his own People*; ſo that inſtead of the great Figure
' which this Reign might make in the World, all the News of *England* is
' now only concerning the Practices on ſome fearful *Mercenaries*.

The King Endeavours with it.

But when this Parliament aſſembled on the ſaid 28th of *April*, it was immediately, by Commiſſion, Prorogu'd till the 22d of *November*. In the mean time the King took infinite Pains, and us'd all Methods to bring over the reſpective Members, eſpecially that of the Cloſet. Here his Majeſty repreſented to them, ' That ſince four Monarchs attempted, and ſo many
' wiſe Politicians us'd all the propereſt Means to eſtabliſh an Uniformity
' of Religion in *England*, and all in vain, the only Method of ſetling ſuch
' Peace in the Nation, as might not be diſturb'd by Religion, was to allow
' every Man the Liberty of freely uſing his own: That the Perſecuting of
' Non-Conformiſts at home, forc'd good Subjects to go abroad, who were

' advan-

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'advantagious to foreign Countries, and thoſe who ſtay'd were uneaſy and 'diſcontented; and if they had Virtue enough to bear with their Troubles, 'they were always ready to encourage Rebellions and join with Factions: 'That the fatal Conſequences of it had been apparent in the late Reigns, 'againſt which no King cou'd ſecure his Perſon or his Subjects, without 'taking away from reſtleſs Spirits, the Pretence of Religion, which they 'abus'd to the Diſturbance of all others.' The King vary'd and reiterated theſe Arguments, and back'd and inforc'd them with Promiſes, Threats, *&c.* Whatever Impreſſions he might make upon particular Perſons, he cou'd not with all his Arts, move the Steadineſs of a Majority; and therefore when he found his Endeavours all fruſtrated, on the 2d Day of *July*, he by Proclamation Diſſolv'd the Parliament, after it continu'd in Being above two Years, tho' leſs than two Months in Action.

The Parliament Diſſolved.

CHAP. III.

From the Diſſolution of the Parliament, to the firſt Arrival and Landing of the Prince of Orange *in* England.

Containing the Space of One Year, Four Months, and Three Days.

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Preparations for a new Parliament.

I. 1. AFTER King *James* had diſſolv'd his loyal and complying Parliament, he proceeded to take different Ways and Meaſures, tho' all to bring about the ſame Deſigns he had ſo long aim'd at and attempted. Whereas his late Attempts were to induce a Parliament in Being to come into his Meaſures, his preſent Buſineſs was to make a new Parliament that ſhou'd do the like, and ſupport and eſtabliſh what he had ſo happily ſet on foot. In order to this, he reviv'd the laſt Grievance in his Brother's Reign, in which he Himſelf was ſuppos'd to have had a principal Hand; and carry'd on the Buſineſs of *Quo Warranto*'s and new modelling of Corporations to a bolder and greater Degree than had ever been known before; and for that end he employ'd Inſtruments of all ſorts, and us'd all manner of Ways and Methods that were likely to ſucceed. What he did in general, and the State of the Nation at this Time, ſhall be mention'd chiefly from the Words of a Manuſcript, written by a curious Obſerver of theſe Times, and left in the Herald's Office; which ſpeaking of the Year 1687, proceeds thus:

MSS. Boyer. Gazette Jones. Narrativ. Burnet. Complete Hiſtory. Wood. Calamy. &c.

The great Buſineſs of this Summer was the mighty Endeavours the *Romaniſts* make to oblige and diſpoſe People to be conſenting to the Repeal of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, at the Meeting of the next Parliament, which is only hinder'd from being call'd, becauſe to effect this, their Power as yet is impotent. In order to it, all Things are roundly manag'd, and not a Stone is left unturn'd that they think can forward the ſame: All their Policy and Intereſt is employ'd therein; the King being reſolv'd upon it, as appears in his *Declaration*. To which purpoſe the *Diſſenters* are pitch'd on as the propereſt Tools to perform this *great and glorious Work*, as all their Writers term it; and therefore they are only careſs'd and flatter'd, the Church of *England*'s Mind being known by her not Addreſſing. And altho' when the Duke of *Monmouth* was in the *Weſt*, the *Diſſenters* were moſt

moſt of them thrown into Priſon, as not to be truſted, they are the Men now in Favour, advanc'd to the greateſt Places in the Kingdom, and are become the only Loyaliſts: And now all the Corporations of *England* were, by Commiſſion, new regulated, the old Loyaliſts turn'd out, and new ones put in. All the Aldermen of the City are turn'd out, and *Diſſenters* made in their Room: The Liſts of the Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, *&c.* of the ſeveral Counties of *England* are review'd, and ſuch as wou'd not promiſe to employ their Intereſt in this Affair, turn'd out of Commiſſion, and others who wou'd, plac'd in their Room; who go into their ſeveral Counties to diſcourſe the Gentry, and diſcover their Inclinations, and requeſt them to promiſe that they will ſend ſuch Members to the next Parliament, that ſhall take off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*. But the Gentry are very backward in promiſing any ſuch Thing; and in many Places the Lord-Lieutenants that ſummon them, receive but blunt Anſwers, as in *Dorſetſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Suffolk*, &c. The more to influence them, all ſuch Juſtices of the Peace are alſo turn'd out of Commiſſion that they apprehend will not be aiding to the ſame, and *Diſſenters* made in their Room; beſides many other Officers about the Court that are turn'd out of their Places.—The Pamphlets, which are numerous, that are writ on this Subject are mere Trifles, they all beg the Repeal, and are purely made up of perſwaſive Paragraphs, and fulſome Complements to the *Diſſenters*, ſtill ſounding, 'What Bleſſings they will reap by the ſame, and what Fools they will 'be, if they let ſlip this Opportunity.' But the Labour they uſe to bring this about, and the mighty Pains they take to make the *Diſſenters* ſenſible of their Happineſs, cauſes People to ſuſpect the Reality thereof. All this was done in order to this great Deſign this Year, and many other State Politicians are employ'd; the Judges have it in their Charges for their Circuits, to repreſent *the great Encreaſe of Trade ſince the laſt Indulgence*, &c. yet the *Romaniſts* moſt plauſible Reaſonings are evidently no better than little Tricks and Sophiſms; and ſeem intended by themſelves, rather to abuſe the Simple, than to ſatisfy the Wiſe. Thus far the Manuſcript. 1687. Jac. 3. Reſ. 28

After the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the numerous Addreſſes that fill'd the *Gazettes* all this Summer, began to vary in their Phraſe, and to add new Promiſes beſides thoſe of *Lives* and *Fortunes*, which were by degrees look'd upon as too general; and many of them expreſſly promis'd to chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives as ſhou'd be ready to anſwer and obey the King's Deſire. Thus the *Diſſenters* in the County of *Oxford*, tell the King; 'When 'your ſacred Majeſty, in your great Wiſdom, ſhall think fit to ſummon 'another Parliament, we will uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to elect ſuch Per'ſons as may abrogate and aboliſh ſuch Laws as have impeded the free Ex'erciſe of Religion.' Thus again the *Diſſenters* of *Cirenceſter* in *Glouceſterſhire*, ſay, 'We aſſure your Majeſty, That whenſoever you ſhall pleaſe to 'ſummon a new Parliament, we ſhall uſe our beſt Endeavours for the E'lection of ſuch Members as ſhall comply with your Majeſty's gracious 'Intentions, of abrogating all the *Penal Laws* for Matters of mere Reli'gion.' And even the High-Sheriff, with the Grand-Jury and Juſtices of 'the Peace for the County of *Hereford*, were ſo pack'd together by the Court, as to aſſure the King, 'That whenſoever your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe 'to call another Parliament, all Places will concur to elect ſuch Members 'as will be ready and diſpos'd to ſecond your clement Inclinations to abo'liſh the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*. *A new Set of Addreſſes.*

It was chiefly to ſolicite this great Cauſe, that the King took a long Progreſs this Summer; and one of his cloſeſt Attendants, was his Loyal Friend *William Penn*, the reputed *Quaker*. The Deſign of the King's Journey was given out in Publick, to be the taking a View of his Ports and Harbours, and particularly of the Haven and Fortifications of *Portſmouth*; but the ſe- *The King takes a Progreſs.*

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cret Intention appear'd plainly, the influencing and preparing the Electors of every Corporation through which he paſs'd. And as the Preſence of a Sovereign King, naturally raiſes an awful Veneration on the Minds of thoſe who ſeldom approach Majeſty; it can hardly be expreſs'd with what joyful Acclamations he was receiv'd, and what Loyal Acknowledgments were paid him at *Portſmouth*, *Wincheſter*, *Bath*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Ludlow*, *Shrewsbury*, *Cheſter*, *Newport*, *Litchfield*, *Coventry*, *Briſtol*, *Banbury*, and other Places; which gave his Majeſty great Hopes and Expectations. The Univerſity of *Oxford* diſtinguiſh'd themſelves upon this ſolemn Occaſion, endeavouring by all poſſible Demonſtrations of Duty and Reſpect to remove the King's Prepoſſeſſions againſt them: But all their elegant Speeches and exquiſite Entertainments were not ſufficient to atone for the Oppoſition given to his Majeſty's Command, with relation to *Magdalen*-College: And this naturally brings us to the Continuation of the Narrative of that remarkable Affair, begun in the laſt Chapter.

Continuation of the Proceedings againſt Magdalen *College.*

2. The Court having dropp'd Mr. *Farmer*, and iſſu'd out a ſecond *Mandate* for Biſhop *Parker* to be Preſident, as is already remember'd; a Letter was ſent from the Earl of *Sunderland* to the Society of *Magdalen* College, to let them know, 'That the King expected a ready Obedience to be paid 'to his Pleaſure, and deſired a ſpeedy Account of their Proceedings.' But the Fellows, finding the Biſhop unqualify'd by the Statutes of the College, and having already legally fill'd up the Preſidentſhip by Dr. *Hough*, did think themſelves oblig'd by their Oaths not to obey the *Mandate*, nor to proceed to a ſecond Election. The King was ſo incens'd at this freſh Contempt of his Orders, that he reſolv'd to make *Oxford* a Part of his Progreſs, and to ſhew his Reſentment in Perſon. Being arriv'd there, on the 4th of *September*, he commanded the Fellows of *Magdalen*-College to attend him at his Lodgings at *Chriſt-Church*; where he ask'd Dr. *Pudſey*, the Senior of the Fellows that appear'd before him, *Whether they did receive his Letter?* Upon the Doctor's anſwering, *They did*; the King in an angry Tone reply'd, *Then you have not dealt with me like Gentlemen: You have done very uncivilly and undutifully by me.* Here they all kneel'd down, and Dr. *Pudſey* offer'd a Petition, in which they ſhew'd 'their un-'expreſſible Affliction in finding themſelves reduc'd to ſuch an Extremity, 'that either they muſt diſobey his Majeſty's Commands, contrary to their 'Inclinations, and that conſtant Courſe of Loyalty, which they had ſhew'd 'upon all Occaſions, or elſe break their Founders Statutes, and deliberately 'perjure themſelves.' Then mentioning the Statutes and the Oaths, every one were bound to obſerve and take, 'they humbly beſeech'd his Majeſty, 'to give them leave to lay their Caſe and themſelves at his Feet, and that 'he wou'd extend to them that Grace and Tenderneſs which he vouchſaf'd 'to all his other Subjects.' But their ſubmiſſive Poſture did not appeaſe the King, who refuſing their Petition, vented himſelf in theſe ſurprizing Words; *Ye have been a ſtubborn, turbulent College; I have known you theſe ſix and twenty Years; and ye have affronted me in this. Is this your Church of* England *Loyalty? One wou'd wonder to find ſo many Church of* England *Men in ſuch a Buſineſs. Go home, and ſhew your ſelves good Members of the Church of* England. *Get you gone!——Know, I am your King!—I will be obey'd; and I command you to be gone!—Go and admit the Biſhop of* Oxford Head, Principal, *what d'ye call it,——I mean* Preſident *of the College. Let them that refuſe know, They ſhall feel the Weight of their Sovereign's Diſpleaſure.* Upon which the Fellows going out of the King's Preſence, they were call'd back, and ask'd, *Whether they had not admitted Mr.* Holben *Fellow, ſince they receiv'd his Inhibition?* They anſwer'd, *There was no new Election or Admiſſion, but only*

The King reprimands the Fellows at Oxford.

only the Conſummation of a former Election. The Conſummation of a former Election, cry'd the King, *is downright Diſobedience, and a freſh Aggravation.*——*Get ye home, I ſay, again; and immediately repair to your Chapel, and Elect the Biſhop of* Oxford, *or elſe you muſt expect to feel the Weight of my Hand.*——Thereupon the Fellows once more offer'd their Petition upon their Knees; but the King cry'd out, *Get you gone; I'll receive none from you, till you have obey'd me, and admitted the Biſhop of* Oxford. Upon which they immediately went to their Chapel, and Dr. *Pudſey* propoſing, *Whether they muſt obey the King?* They readily anſwer'd, 'They 'were as ready to obey his Majeſty in all Things that lay in their Power, 'as any of the reſt of his Subjects; but the Electing of the Biſhop of *Ox-* 'ford, being directly contrary to their Statutes, and the poſitive Oath they 'had taken, they cou'd not apprehend it in their Power to obey him in 'this Matter. 1687. Jac. 3. Reſ. 28

They refuſe to elect the Biſhop of Oxford.

Accordingly they drew up an Addreſs, expreſſing the ſaid Reſolutions in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms, which they gave to the Lord Preſident *Sunderland*, and which was afterwards deliver'd to the King in his Progreſs at *Bath*. Wherever his Majeſty came, *he work'd a miraculous Converſion*, as his Flatterers expreſs'd it, except in *Oxford*; and therefore this being the only Oppoſition he receiv'd in his whole Journey, it cou'd not but provoke a Monarch, who expected to be obey'd in every thing. Yet before he made *Magdalen*-College feel the Weight of his Diſpleaſure, *William Penn*, who with a Jeſuitical Conſcience promoted King *James*'s Deſigns, was induſtriouſly employ'd; 'Not to trepan them,' as he pretended in a Letter to one of the Senior Fellows, 'but out of a paſſionate Concern for their Intereſt, 'to perſuade them either to a Compliance with his Majeſty's Letter, or to 'think among themſelves of ſome Expedient, to prevent the Ruin of their 'College and themſelves; and to offer it to his Majeſty's Conſideration, 'That the Order for the *Quo Warranto* againſt the Colleges might be re-'call'd, before it was too late; for they cou'd not but be ſenſible how 'highly his Majeſty was incens'd againſt them. Every Mechanick, adds '*Penn*, knows the Temper of his preſent Majeſty, who never will receive 'a Baffle in any thing that he heartily eſpouſes; and that he does this, 'your ſelves have had too late and manifeſt an Inſtance to doubt of his Zeal 'in the Affair. Where there are ſo many Statutes to be obſerv'd, it is 'impoſſible but ſome muſt be broken at one time or other; and I am in-'form'd by the Learned in the Law, *That a Failure in any one Point* '*forfeits your Grant, and lays your College open to the Royal Diſpleaſure.* 'I cou'd, ſays he in the Concluſion, give many other prudent Arguments 'that might poſſibly incline you to put an End to your Troubles almoſt at 'any Rate; but I ſhall only ſuggeſt this one thing to you, That your fatal 'Overthrow wou'd be a fair Beginning of the ſo much aim'd at *Reforma-'tion*, firſt of the Univerſity, then of the Church, and adminiſter ſuch an 'Opportunity to the Enemy, as may not perhaps occur in his Majeſty's 'Reign.

William Penn's *Letter to them.*

To this Letter the College return'd a handſome Anſwer; wherein, among other things, they declare, 'They are not conſcious of ever having given 'his Majeſty any juſt Offence, and therefore have no Reaſon to fear the iſ-'ſuing out of a *Quo Warranto* againſt them: And as for the reſt, they 'believe no Inſtance can be given of a *Quo Warranto*, brought againſt a 'College or Hall in the Univerſities, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Corporati-'on, for the Abuſes of ſome of the Conſtitutions and Franchiſes in them: 'That the Miſdemeanours of particular Perſons will not deſtroy a College; 'and that if the Corporation of a College ſhou'd be diſſolv'd, the Revenues 'thereof will return to the Founders Heirs, and not devolve to the Crown. 'That if their College muſt be the firſt Example of that kind, they ſhall

Their Anſwer.

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'be better juſtify'd by the Obſervation of their Statutes, at leaſt to God 'and their own Conſciences, than they cou'd by a voluntary and deliberate 'Breach of them.' Then they concluded with mentioning 'their Loyalty to 'the Crown, particularly in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, when they 'rais'd a Company at their own Charges, and under the Command of their 'Fellows engag'd againſt him.

Commiſſioners ſent to viſit them.

3. When all the Perſuaſions of *Penn*, and Endeavours of other Perſons, wou'd not prevail upon the Fellows to act contrary to their Conſciences, the King appointed an inferior ſort of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, namely, Dr. *Cartwright* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Sir *Robert Wright*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, and Sir *Thomas Jenner*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, who were ſent down to *Oxford*, to viſit *Magdalen-College* in particular. The Fellows were all cited to appear before thoſe Commiſſioners, who ſate in the College-Hall on the 21ſt Day of *October* in the Morning. The Preſident Dr. *Hough*, and all the Fellows appearing,

The Biſhop of Cheſter's *Speech to them*

the Biſhop of *Cheſter* open'd the Meeting with a particular Speech, in which he began with ſevere Reflections upon Diſloyalty and Diſobedience, eſpecially 'On their undutiful Behaviour to his Majeſty when at their Univerſity, 'in denying Compliance with his juſt and reaſonable Requeſt.' He urg'd, 'That the Church of *England* taught an *unconditional* and *unlimited Obe-* 'dience*;* and then enlarg'd upon his Majeſty's gracious Temper, that wou'd 'have no Man oppreſs'd in Things againſt his Conſcience, but wou'd ſuffer all Men to worſhip God in their own Way. In the mean time, continu'd he, we cannot but ſuppoſe that his Majeſty will make uſe of all prudent and lawful Methods to encourage thoſe of his own Religion, without injuring the Church of *England*, which is, at preſent, the Religion by 'Law Eſtabliſh'd; for his Majeſty will maintain that Altar, at which he 'himſelf does not worſhip; but at preſent we are in more Danger of *Pro-* 'phaneneſs than *Popery*.' He farther told them, 'That their Corporation, 'as others, was a Creature of the Crown; and that it was Inſolence in 'their Local Statutes, to ſpurn againſt their Maker: That their Diſtempers 'had brought this Viſitation upon them, the Conſequences of which might 'be ill to the Church and Univerſities. He exhorted them by the Bowels 'of Chriſt to conſider theſe Things.' He told them, *That the Eyes of the World were upon them, and they ought to take Care, that their Practices might not influence their deluded Admirers.* In ſum, the whole Deſign of this Speech, ſeem'd by Promiſes and Threats, to endeavour to bring them to a Compliance.

In the Afternoon, the Commiſſioners being again ſate, and the Society before them, after ſome Endeavours of Dr. *Hough* the Preſident, for longer Time to adviſe with Council, and to get a Copy of the Commiſſion, which was

His Queries to them.

deny'd; the Preſident was ask'd by the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Whether they wou'd ſubmit to this Viſitation?* To which the Doctor anſwer'd in the Name of himſelf, and the greater Part of the Fellows, *That they ſubmitted to it, as far as was conſiſtent with the Laws of the Land, and the Statutes of the College, and no farther*; and deſired their Lordſhips, *that this Declaration might be recorded.* Whereupon Mr. Juſtice *Wright* ask'd him, *Whether they cou'd imagine that they acted againſt the Law of the Land? As to the Statutes, the King had diſpens'd with them.* The next Queſtion the Biſhop put to the Preſident, was, *Whether they obſerv'd all thoſe Statutes?* and he anſwer'd, *He hop'd they did*; the Biſhop reply'd, *You have a Statute for Maſs*; *Why don't you read Maſs?* This Queſtion from a Biſhop was a little ſurprizing, but the Preſident ſoon anſwer'd it, by telling him, *That the Matter of that Oath was unlawful, and conſequently not obligatory*; *and beſides, That that Statute was taken away by the Laws*

of

of the Land. After ſeveral other frivolous Expoſtulations, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* peremptorily demanded, Firſt, *All their Regiſters.* Secondly, *An Account of the Revenues of the College, and of their Benefactors; to what Uſe their Money was aſſigned, how employ'd, and how far converted to other Uſes, or in plain Terms, how far it was deſign'd for Hoſpitality.* Thirdly, *A Copy of all the Leaſes they had let for two Years laſt paſt.* Then the Decree, declaring the Preſident's Election null and void, being read, the Preſident objected, *That being never cited before the Commiſſioners, nor heard by them either in Perſon or by Proxy, he thought himſelf the firſt Inſtance of any Man that was ever depriv'd of his Freehold, wherein he was legally inveſted.* 1687. Jac. 3. Reſ. 28

The Commiſſioners deprive Dr. Hough.

The next Morning Dr. *Hough* was ſeveral Times required to deliver up the Keys and quiet Poſſeſſion of his Lodgings, to the Perſon whom his Majeſty had appointed Preſident; which the Doctor refuſing to obey, ſtill alledging the Legality of his Election, the King's Proctor ſtood up, and accus'd him of Contumacy: And then the Biſhop of *Cheſter* admoniſh'd him three Times, *To depart peaceably out of his Lodgings, and to act no longer as Preſident, or pretended Preſident of his College.* On the ſame Day in the Afternoon, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd admit the Biſhop of* Oxford *Preſident; ſince Dr.* Hough's *Place was declared void?* To which the greateſt Part anſwer'd, *They cou'd not do it without premeditated Perjury, and therefore wou'd not do it.* During this Examination Dr. *Hough* came into Court, without any Attendance, and having waited till it was ended, and the Commiſſioners at a Pauſe, he deſired Leave to ſpeak a few Words; which being granted, he bravely ſaid, *Since you have been pleas'd to deprive me of my Place of Preſident of this College, I do proteſt againſt all your Proceedings, in Prejudice of me and my Right, as illegal, unjuſt, and null; and therefore I appeal to my Sovereign Lord the King in his Courts of Juſtice.* This ſo tranſported the Strangers and young Scholars in the Room, that they gave a triumphant *Humm!*—which ſo incens'd the Commiſſioners, that notwithſtanding all the Proteſtations the Preſident and Fellows cou'd make, the former offering to purge himſelf by Oath, that he was no ways acceſſary to it; yet the Lord Chief Juſtice was not to be pacify'd, but charging it upon Dr. *Hough*, bound him in a Bond of a Thouſand Pounds, and Security to the like Value, to make his Appearance at the *King's-Bench* Bar the Term following. Moreover the Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, *They had met with nothing but Affronts from the College: That as for himſelf, he valu'd not what People ſaid of him, but was reſolv'd to vindicate the Honour of his Maſter to the laſt Drop of his Blood; and if the Civil Power cou'd not keep them in Order, the Military ſhou'd:* At which Time ſeveral Officers then in Town, came into the Room. The ingenious Baron *Jenner* likewiſe ſhew'd his Reſentment upon this Occaſion, by punning upon the Preſident's Name, and ſaying to him, *Sir, you muſt not think to Huff* (Hough) *us.*

His Proteſtation applauded.

The Court having met again three Days after, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd inſtall the Biſhop of* Oxford *Preſident, or aſſiſt at his Inſtalment?* To this they anſwer'd, as in the former Caſe, *That as they cou'd not do it without deliberate Perjury, ſo it was not in their Power to do it.* Whereupon they adjourn'd to the Chapel, and put Mr. *Wiggins*, Chaplain to the Biſhop of *Oxford*, impower'd as a Proxy, into the Preſident's Stall, in the Abſence of all the Fellows but Mr. *Charnock*; and he took the Oaths enjoin'd by the Statutes at the Admiſſion of a Preſident, with the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. Then the Commiſſioners conducted him to the Preſident's Lodgings, where knocking three Times, and the Door not being open'd, a *Smith* was ſent for to force it open, and Mr. *Wiggins* in his Lord's Name, took poſſeſſion of the Lodgings.

The Commiſſioners inſtall Biſhop Parker *by Proxy.*

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Immediately after, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd obey the Biſhop of* Oxford, *as now inſtall'd Preſident, by virtue of the King's Mandate*? Dr. *Fairfax* briskly anſwer'd, *He neither cou'd nor wou'd obey him, having already a lawful and ſtatutable Preſident.* Dr. *T. Smith* and Mr. *Charnock* comply'd with his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and others deſir'd Time to conſider on ſo weighty a Queſtion, which was granted; the Biſhop of *Cheſter* bidding them go and conſult about it among themſelves. In the Afternoon this Anſwer was given in by the Society, except Dr. *Fairfax*: 'That whereas his Majeſty had been pleas'd by his Royal Au-'thority, to cauſe the Biſhop of *Oxford* to be inſtall'd Preſident, they did 'ſubmit as far as was lawful and agreeable to the Statutes of the College, 'and no way prejudicial to the Right and Title of Dr. *Hough*.' This Anſwer was accepted, except the laſt Clauſe, which the Lord Chief Juſtice, and Baron *Jenner* declar'd as Judges, to be inſignificant, *Since nothing they cou'd do, cou'd any way invalidate Dr.* Hough's *Title, but left them ſtill at Liberty to be Witneſſes for him, or to be any other way ſerviceable to him in the Recovery of his Right*: And upon this Aſſurance, the Society was prevail'd with to leave out the laſt Clauſe. Dr. *Fairfax* perſiſting in his former Anſwer, receiv'd Sentence of *Expulſion*; againſt which he proteſted as null, unjuſt and unlawful. This Proteſtation was over-rul'd by the Commiſſioners, and a Copy of the Sentence deny'd; tho' moſt earneſtly deſired at the Inſtance of Dr. *Hedges* and Mr. Vice-Chancellor, two Days after.

The Commiſſioners now thought they had gain'd their Point, and in a better Humour, declar'd, *They were well ſatisfy'd with the Anſwer the Society had given them*; and tho' before they had laid a *Libel* to their Charge, yet that Night they declared, *They had met with nothing but Civility, and that they ſhou'd receive the ſame from them*; *and that they had ſhewn themſelves Men of excellent Temper, and that they wou'd repreſent them faithfully Above to their Advantage*; and immediately they diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Court, with an Account of their Proceedings. On the next Morning, the Fellows having been order'd before to bring in their Anſwers to the following Queries, '1. What Gifts and Proviſions they 'had for the Entertainment of Strangers? 2. What was the Value of 'them? 3. How they were apply'd? 4. And where was the Place of 'Entertainment?' They made it very ſatisfactorily appear, that one Year with another, they gave almoſt a Hundred Pounds in Charity-Money, over and above what by their Statutes they were oblig'd to give. Upon which their Lorſhips expatiated upon their generous Bounty and Liberality, ſaying, *The Complaint on this Account was groundleſs*; *and that it wou'd induce his Majeſty to entertain better Thoughts of them in other Matters.* The Day after, the Fellows having preſented to the Commiſſioners a Liſt of Leaſes, which had been renew'd for two Years laſt paſt, Mr. *Charnock*, the new Convert, ask'd their Lordſhips, Whether their Leaſes ſtood good, which had been ſeal'd ſince Dr. *Hough*'s Election? The Lord Chief Juſtice anſwer'd, *Yes*; *for Corporations always ſpeak by their Seals.* Then their Lordſhips perus'd the College-Regiſters; and finding nothing in them to which they cou'd object, they were return'd, and the Court adjourn'd.

The Fellows are farther examin'd.

A particular Submiſſion expected from them.

Things now ſeem'd to go favourably for the Majority of the Society, when on *Friday* the 28th of *October*, the Commiſſioners convening the Fellows, acquainted them, That they had repreſented them fairly to the King; but that his Majeſty expected ſome *farther Submiſſion*, which they adviſ'd them to make, *By acknowledging their Contempt to his Sacred Majeſty in Perſon, and to his Letters*; *That they ſhou'd promiſe to behave themſelves loyally for the future*; *That they ſhou'd own the Proceedings and Legality of the Court, implore his Majeſty's Pardon, and lay themſelves*

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themſelves at his Feet; and that they ſhou'd declare their entire Submiſſion to the Biſhop of Oxford, *as their Preſident.* To this the Fellows gave their Anſwer in Writing, 'That they had endeavour'd in all their Actions, to expreſs their Duty to his Majeſty; and being conſcious to themſelves, that 'in the whole Conduct of the Buſineſs before their Lordſhips, they had 'done nothing but what their *Oaths* and *Statutes* had indiſpenſably oblig'd 'them to, they cou'd not make any *Declaration*, whereby they acknow-'ledg'd that they had done any thing amiſs; having acted according to the 'Principles of Loyalty and Obedience, ſo far as they cou'd, without doing 'Violence to their *Conſciences*, or Prejudice to their *Rights*, (one of which 'they conceiv'd the Electing a Preſident to be) from which they were 'ſworn upon no Account to depart.' Upon the Peruſal of this Anſwer, their Lordſhips expreſs'd their Diſlike to it, ſaying, *It did not come up to the Addreſs ſent to his Majeſty at* Bath, *nor to the Paper they deliver'd three Days before.* Whereupon a freſh Queſtion being put to the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd obey the Biſhop of* Oxford *as their Preſident.* All, except one or two, anſwer'd, *They cou'd not do it.* Then Mr. *Fulham*, being particularly interrogated, he alledg'd, *That the Biſhop of* Oxford *had not Poſſeſſion in due Form of Law, nor by proper Officers; and that he was inform'd that the proper Officers to give Poſſeſſion of a* Free-Hold *was the Sheriff, with a* Poſſe Comitatus. To this the Lord-Chief-Juſtice reply'd in a Paſſion, *Pray, who is the beſt Lawyer, you or I? Your* Oxford *Law is no better than your* Oxford *Divinity; if you have a mind to a* Poſſe Comitatus, *you may have one ſoon enough.* Mr. *Fulham* endeavour'd to make an Excuſe for what he had ſaid, which their Lordſhips rejected; and having thought fit to ſuſpend him from the Profits of his Fellowſhip, for his *Contempt, and opprobrious Language*, they adjourn'd till the 16th of *November*; and ſo immediately left *Oxford* and went to *London.*

Which they refuſe.

The Commiſſioners return to London.

4. After the King had ſeen an Account of the Proceedings of the Viſitors, being ſtill unſatisfy'd, his Majeſty order'd them, 'That at their Re-'turn to the College, they ſhou'd ſummon all the Fellows before them, and 'endeavour to make them ſenſible of their Offences; and if they ſhou'd re-'fuſe to ſubſcribe the above-mention'd Submiſſion, immediately to expel 'them for their Obſtinacy.' Purſuant to theſe Inſtructions, the Lords Commiſſioners return'd to *Oxford* on the 16th of *November*; and being ſat, the firſt thing they did, was to ſend for the *Buttery-Book*; then they call'd for Mr. *Joyner* and Mr. *Allibone*, two *Roman* Catholicks, whom they enter'd actual Fellows, all Oaths being diſpens'd with, beſides that of the College.

They go a ſecond time to Oxford.

Having gone ſo far, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* again made a formal Speech to the Fellows, wherein he told them; 'That their many Contempts and wil-'ful Diſobedience had occaſion'd this Viſitation, which wou'd end at laſt in 'their Ruin: That their Society had been long exercis'd in the Methods of 'of Quarrelling, had always been troubled with factious Spirits, and teſty 'Mutineers, ever ſince the Reſtoration of the late King: That they had 'encourag'd Quarrels among themſelves; Quarrels between themſelves and 'Preſident; Quarrels at length, between themſelves and Viſitor. That by 'theſe Steps, from quarrelling with the Preſident and Viſitor, they had at 'laſt advanc'd to the higheſt Pitch of Inſolence, to quarrel with their Prince, 'and affront his Sacred Majeſty.' Then he endeavour'd to make them ſenſible of their irregular Conduct, and heinous Offences, from their firſt diſobeying the King's *Mandate*, to that Day; and told them, 'They urg'd the 'Obſervances of their Statutes, of which they had not been ſo conſtant 'Obſervers when their own Humour prompted them to a Diſpenſation; wit-'neſs that of being ſerv'd *per Maſculos*, by which great Scandals had come

The Biſhop of Cheſter's *ſecond Speech to the Fellows.*

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'to the Society by reaſon of Baſtards. His Majeſty, added he, was 'extremely amaz'd that his Clemency ſhou'd be deſpis'd; but yet, to 'your Comforts be it ſpoken, his Patience and Goodneſs extend as far as 'your Provocations can: But if you will perſiſt in your Obſtinacy, thoſe 'that are too tall to ſtand, and too ſtubborn to bend, deſerve to be bro-'ken. And now I think I have ſaid enough to let you know, that the Fig-'Leaves you have ſo artfully ſtitch'd together, are not ſufficient to cover 'your Nakedneſs. I wiſh to God you had the ſame Tenderneſs for your 'Concern, as his Majeſty's Commiſſioners have for you. But if you ſtill 'perſiſt to oppoſe the Royal Power of the King, we, who are come to vin-'dicate the Right and Honour of his Majeſty, reſolve to diſcharge our Con-'ſciences, and Duties to God and the King, without any Reſpect of Popu-'larity; that's but the Paradiſe of Fools, and Scorn of Wiſe Men; and there-'fore as for us, we have no more Regard to People's Diſlike, than what 'they dream. By reaſon therefore of your late *hypocritical Submiſſion*, the 'Commiſſioners have thought fit to draw up an Inſtrument, to which, if you 'will immediately ſubſcribe, before you leave the Room, we ſhall leave you 'to his Majeſty's Pardon: And this we expect from you all, except Dr. *Tho-'mas Smith* and Mr. *Charnock*, with whoſe Behaviour the King is ſo well 'ſatisfy'd, that he expects no more from them.

The above-mention'd Submiſſion being read to the Fellows, all, except Dr. *Thomas Smith* and Mr. *Charnock*, refus'd to ſign it. Mr. *Thompſon* being call'd in his Turn, alledg'd *he had always been obedient to the King's Commands; that he was not concern'd in the Election of Dr.* Hough; *that he voted for Mr.* Farmer, *and was ready to ſubmit to the Biſhop of* Oxford; and ſo he was excus'd. After a ſhort time, all who refus'd to Sign the Submiſſion, being twenty five in Number, were call'd in, and by Sentence of their Lordſhips totally Depriv'd, and Expell'd from their Fellowſhips, *for their Diſobedience to his Majeſty's Commands, and obſtinately contemning his Royal Authority*; againſt which they all proteſted, declaring, *They wou'd uſe all juſt and legal Ways of being reliev'd.* This Sentence was confirm'd by a ſhocking Decree made at *White-Hall* by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, declaring, not only the Deprivation of Dr. *Hough*, and the ſaid twenty five Fellows, 'But that they ſhou'd be incapable of re-'ceiving, or being admitted into any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, Benefice or 'Promotion; and ſuch of them who were not in Holy Orders, they ad-'judg'd incapable of receiving, or being admitted into the ſame.' Thus by a Sentence of an illegal Court, a famous Society of learned and worthy Proteſtants were turn'd out of their Free-Holds, to make room for a *Popiſh* Seminary; and thus was the unfortunate King prevail'd with by his evil Miniſters to aſſume a Power, not only to diſpenſe with *Laws*, but likewiſe with *Oaths*. After the Expulſion of the Fellows, moſt of the *Demy*'s were likewiſe turn'd out of *Magdalen-College* by the Biſhop of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Charnock* his Vice-Preſident, and *Roman* Catholicks put in their Places.

They are depriv'd, and made incapable of any Benefice.

Biſhop Parker's *Book.*

To acknowledge the King's Favours, the Biſhop of *Oxford* ſoon after publiſh'd a Book, call'd, *Reaſons for Abrogating the Teſt, impos'd upon all Members of Parliament*; which Book was Licens'd by the Earl of *Sunderland* himſelf; and his Majeſty commanded the Stationers not to print any Anſwer to the ſame. This was very ſurprizing from a Biſhop of the Church of *England*; and the more ſo, when it was found that he had treated the chief Divines of it with an Inſolence ſuperior to any of its open Enemies. Therefore, notwithſtanding the King's Commands, ſeveral ſharp Anſwers came out againſt it; but none made greater Noiſe at this time than that written by Dr. *Burnet*; out of which we may take notice of two or three Paſſages. He unluckily turns theſe Words in the Title-Page, *Written for*

for the Author's own Satisfaction, and now publiſh'd for the Benefit of all others whom it may concern. But, ſays he, the Words are certainly wrong plac'd; for the Truth of the Matter is, That it was *written for the Author's own Benefit, and now publiſh'd for the Satisfaction of all others whom it may concern.* Speaking of the whole Body of the Biſhops, he ſays, 'If there were two or three ſuch as he among the twenty ſix, they may 'comfort themſelves with this, That a dozen of *much better* Men, had one 'among them, that I confeſs was not *much worſe*, if it was not for this, 'that he let the Price of his Treachery fall much lower than *Sam. Oxon* 'does.' Again he ſays, 'When one reflects on two of the Biſhops that 'were of that venerable Body, whoſe Memory will be bleſſed in the preſent 'and following Ages, thoſe two great and good Men that fill'd the *Sees* of '*Cheſter* and *Oxford*, we muſt conclude, that as the World was not wor-'thy of them, ſo certainly their *Sees* were not worthy of them, ſince they 'have been plagu'd with ſuch *Succeſſors*—— With what ſenſible Regret 'muſt thoſe who were ſo often edify'd with the Gravity, the Piety, the 'Generoſity, and Charity of the late Biſhop of *Oxford*, look on, when 'they ſee ſuch a *Harlequin* in his room.' Having charg'd Dr. *Burnet* with writing *Lampoons* upon the preſent Princes of *Chriſtendom*, the Doctor retorts it upon him, with this ſatyrical Period; 'It is *Lampoon* enough upon 'the Age, that he is a Biſhop, but it is a downright *Reproach* that he is made 'the *Champion* of a Cauſe, which, if it is bad of it ſelf, muſt ſuffer extreme-'ly by being in ſuch Hands.

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Burnet's *Reflections upon it.*

5. While the unequal Proceedings againſt *Magdalen-College* were depending, the King thought fit to give a Spectacle to his Subjects, which made them ſufficiently to underſtand, that he deſign'd to ſhew very little Regard to the Eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Nation. For as an Embaſſador had been the laſt Year humbly ſent to *Rome*; ſo a *Nuntio* from thence was this Year to be ſolemnly and magnificently receiv'd. *Signior Ferdinando D'Adda*, Domeſtick Prelate and Aſſiſtant to the Pope, who was the Queen's Favourite, and had follow'd the Court ever ſince the King's Acceſſion to the Crown, was declared Apoſtolical *Nuntio* the Year before, tho' in a private manner; but to complete the Character with more Pomp and Luſtre, he was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Amaſia*, in the Royal Chapel at *White-Hall*, by Biſhop *Leyburn*, Vicar Apoſtolical in *England*, aſſiſted by two other *Iriſh* Biſhops. And tho' by Law it was High-Treaſon for any to aſſume the Character of the Pope's *Nuntio*; he was now to make his Publick Entry as a foreign Embaſſador, which he did on the 3d of *July* at *Windſor* with all Ceremony and Solemnity. This being a Sight that had not been ſeen in *England* for a hundred and fifty Years before, the Concourſe of People was very extraordinary upon this Occaſion: And it is hard to ſay, whether their Surprize at the Pomp and Grandeur of the Solemnity, was greater than their Indignation to behold the *Nuntio* in all his *Pontificalibus*, preceded by a Croſs-Bearer, and a Flock of Prieſts and Monks in the Habits of their reſpective Orders. We are aſſur'd that this Ceremony occaſion'd the Diſgrace of that celebrated Patriot the Duke of *Somerſet*, firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King: For his Grace being then in Waiting, and the King having order'd him to attend the *Nuntio* to his Audience, he deſired his Majeſty to excuſe him from an Office which the Laws of the Land made criminal. The King reiterated his Orders; but his Grace perſiſting in his Denial, his Majeſty told him in a Paſſion, *That he would trouble him no more with any Commands, and therefore he expected he wou'd reſign his Places of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Colonel of the Dragoons.* To which the Duke was obedient, without the leaſt Concern; as being content to preſerve his Conſcience and Honour, while he loſt nothing but the King's Favour

The Arrival of the Pope's Nuntio.

His publick Reception.

The Duke of Somerſet *remov'd.*

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Favour and his Places. We are farther told that a certain Biſhop of the Church, or rather of the Court, was leſs ſcrupulous, and was willing to make up part of the Train, as if he had been one of the *Roman* Retinue. The *Nuntio* wanted an Opportunity to appear publickly in *London*; and therefore it was projected, that he ſhou'd be invited to come with the King himſelf to Dine at *Guild-Hall* on the *Lord Mayor's Day:* And he was accordingly receiv'd with unuſual Ceremony at *Temple-Bar* by Sir *John Parſons* and Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*, the two Sheriffs; and was particularly complemented by Sir *John Shorter* the Lord-Mayor, and a profeſs'd *Diſſenter*. And when a publick Account was given by Authority of the Grand Entertainment, eſpecial Care was taken to expreſs, 'That among the foreign Mi-'niſters who were invited, there were preſent the Pope's *Nuntio*, and the '*French* Embaſſador.' Some have been of Opinion that this Miniſter was an Inſtrument of puſhing things to the fatal Extremities that were now in Preparation. But others ſay, He had certainly a greater Share in the Intrigues of the *Ruelle*, or Ladies Aſſembly, than in thoſe of the *Cabinet-Council*; and had too much Senſe to approve of all the Meaſures that were then taken: And therefore he often deſired to be recall'd, leſt he ſhou'd be thought to be really concern'd in them.

The French *Proteſtants reliev'd.*

Notwithſtanding the King's Zeal for his Religion, he this Year extended his Generoſity in a particular Manner to the diſtreſs'd Proteſtants who had lately fled from *France* upon Account of their Religion: For he not only granted them *Briefs*, but gave them alſo large Sums out of his Privy-Purſe, to excite the Charity of his Subjects by his Royal Example. Nevertheleſs, theſe *Briefs* had not all the good Effect that was intended by his Majeſty; many People refuſing to contribute towards theſe charitable Collections, upon an ill-grounded Suſpicion that they were deſign'd by the Court for the Maintenance of *French Papiſts* that were invited over to ſerve the King's Deſigns: Others endeavour'd to leſſen King *James*'s Bounty, by ſaying it was but a Piece of Policy, in order to oblige his *Proteſtant* Subjects, and promote his new Deſign of Toleration. But a *French* Writer well obſerves, all that an Hiſtorian can ſay in this Matter is, that where the Benefit is real, it is a kind of Ingratitude too nicely to enquire into the Motive of it. The poor *Proteſtants* were not backward in expreſſing their Thanks to his Majeſty, particularly the Miniſters of their Church in the *Savoy*; but the latter did it with more Reſerve and Circumſpection, as appear'd upon the following Occaſion: The *Jeſuits* from the time of their Settlement in the *Savoy*, had a Deſign upon the *French* Chapel there; and Mr. *Pulton* their Rector or Principal, tamper'd with Mr. *Dubourdieu*, in order to engage him to reſign that Church, promiſing him, as from the King, to build them another on any Ground they ſhou'd chuſe between *White-Hall* and *Temple-Bar*, with a large Sum of Money beſides. *Monſieur Dubourdieu* made anſwer, That being but one, he deſired time to communicate his Propoſal to other Miniſters, and Church-Wardens in the *Savoy*. Theſe being met upon this critical Affair, it was agreed, That before they ſhou'd give the *Jeſuits* a poſitive Anſwer, they ſhou'd conſult with ſuch Lords who were moſt conſpicuous for their Wiſdom, and Affection to the *Proteſtant* Intereſt. Accordingly Mr. *Dubourbieu* waited upon the Lord *Hallifax*, *Danby*, *Nottingham*, and ſome few others, who all freely adviſ'd them after this Manner; *Never hearken to any Terms with the* Jeſuits; *let them purſue their violent Meaſures; ſuffer your ſelves to be thruſt out of your Church; for by that Means you will do your own and the Nation's Buſineſs.*

Promotions.

And now it may be Time to conclude the Old Year, as uſually, with Promotions and Deaths of conſiderable Perſons. As to the former, on the 26th of *April*, his Majeſty out of his Royal Favour to the Right Honour-

able

able the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord Preſident of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State, was pleas'd to honour him with a *Garter*; and he was accordingly inſtall'd at *Windſor* on the 23d of *May*. The Duke of *Berwick*, the King's natural Son, was deſign'd for General of the Standing Forces; and to qualify him with more Experience and Reputation, he was ſent over into *Hungary* to make a Campaign in the *Imperial* Army; and his Majeſty was pleas'd to Knight *Edward Vaudrey*, Eſq; who was to attend his Grace in that Campaign. Captain *William Phipps* being on the 28th of *June* preſented to the King by the Duke of *Albemarle*, his Majeſty receiv'd him very graciouſly, and conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon him, in conſideration of his extraordinary Services in a late Expedition, having brought home a great Treaſure which was taken out of the Sea, after it had lain there forty four Years. The Duke of *Albemarle* himſelf was ſoon after made Governor of *Jamaica*; which Preferment was by many look'd upon as little better than an honourable Baniſhment. In *Auguſt* his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer upon Sir *Francis Ratcliff* Baronet, of *Northumberland*, the Dignity of an Earl of this Kingdom, creating him Baron of *Tindale*, Viſcount *Ratcliff*, and Earl of *Derwentwater*. On *September* the 25th, *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain*, his Majeſty's late Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Pope, was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board. Within a Month after, his Grace *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, and Sir *Nicholas Butler*, one of the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, were ſworn, and took their Places at the ſame Board. Laſtly, on the 11th of *November*, the famous political *Jeſuit*, under the Title of the Honourable and Reverend Father *Edward Petre*, Clerk of the Cloſet to the King, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board. This laſt Step was wholly againſt the Conſent of the Queen, and the moſt conſiderable *Roman Catholicks*, who look'd upon it as a ſure Way to bring Ruin upon all the King's Affairs and Deſigns; therefore it has been by many accounted one of the Political Strains of the Prime Miniſter: But of that we cannot ſpeak with Certainty.

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Father Petre *made Privy-Counſellor.*

The Death of Dr. More.

For the Deaths of conſiderable Perſons, we ſhall begin with two Divines of very different Characters, Dr. *Henry More*, and Dr. *Thomas Jacombe*: The firſt was a *Linconſhire* Man by Birth, and of *Chriſt-College* in *Cambridge* by Education, where he continu'd many Years a Fellow, and an Ornament to that worthy Society, both for his deep Learning and exemplary Piety: He was a celebrated *Platoniſt*, one of a large and uncommon Genius, of a ſubtle and penetrating Head, and an indefatigable Searcher into Metaphyſical Notions, Immaterial Subſtances, Spirits, Apparitions, *&c.* being the great Promoter, and almoſt the Founder of Mr. *Glanvill*'s remarkable Opinions. His Works have been much admired in ſeveral Countries, but not ſo much approv'd on, he being thought too Paradoxical in his Philoſophy, if not Heterodoxical in his Divinity; yet his *Ethicks* ſhew him to be a judicious, and his *Metaphyſicks* a profound Writer. The other, Dr. *Jacombe*, was one of the Chief of the *Presbyterian* Divines, born in *Leiceſterſhire*, and for ſome Time educated in both Univerſities, being for a while Fellow of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*. Leaving that Place before the Death of King *Charles* the Firſt, he was made Miniſter of *Ludgate* in *London*, till he was ſilenc'd by the Act of *Uniformity* in 1662, after which he was ſhelter'd by the Counteſs Dowager of *Exeter*. He was a moderate and beneficent Nonconformiſt, a celebrated Preacher, a conſiderable Scholar, and a noted Theologiſt; and at his Death he left behind him an excellent Library of the moſt valuable Books, in all Parts of Learning. After theſe two Divines, we ſhall mention that famous Vertuoſo Sir *William Petty*, who had his Education both abroad and in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was made both Doctor of Phyſick, and Anatomy Profeſſor, and afterwards a Fel-

Dr. Jacombe.

Sir William Petty.

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a Fellow of the College of Physicians, and one of the first Members of the Royal Society, where he prov'd a most singular Promoter of Experimental Philosophy and Mechanick Instruments. He was a Man of a most pregnant Genius, and of a prodigious working Invention, which he continually reduc'd to Practice; and he finely distinguish'd himself by his Surveys of *Ireland*, his *Political Arithmetick*, and other Works which prov'd very honourable to himself, and useful to the Nation.

And the Duke of Buckingham.

Last of all we shall mention *George Villers* the famous Duke of *Buckingham*, a wonderful Man often mention'd in the late Reign, who in this retir'd to his only Castle at *Helmeley* in the North of *Yorkshire*, where he led a dissolute unaccountable Life for a Year and a Quarter, and spent the wretched Remains of a vast Estate; and going to hunt near *Kirby-Moreside*, not far off, he met with his last Sickness in a Publick House of that Town. Here the Lord *Irwin* his Relation prevail'd upon him to have a Clergy-man to assist him; who coming before him, ask'd his Grace *Of what Religion he was?* He answer'd to this Effect, *It is an insignificant Question; for I have been a Shame and Disgrace to all Religions; if you can do me any Good, do.* He dy'd in that House about threescore Years of Age; in which Period of Time, he had met with as much Variety of Fortunes, Accidents, Sufferings and Enjoyments in this World, as perhaps any Man in the Kingdom. With him expir'd a noble Family and Estate in the Second Generation; and those Honours were now extinguish-ed, which in their Rise had help'd to set the whole Nation into a Flame.

1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

II. 1. We are now entering upon the fourth Year of King *James's* Reign, a Year the most formidable and most fortunate to the Protestant Cause, and the Liberties of the Nation, that had happen'd since the Restauration. Tho' indeed there was no great Reason to believe that the King cou'd obtain his Ends by a Parliament, considering the general Averseness of Counties, the free Spirit which had always distinguish'd a House of Commons, and the Difficulty of making a Majority of that numerous Assembly, yet the *Protestants* were not without their just Fears: They found that the Council was almost fill'd with *Popish* Lords, and that Father *Petre*, his Majesty's Confessor and chief Almoner, was lately admitted, and had a leading Vote in their Consultations; That the Church of *England*-Men were remov'd from all Employments to make room for *Romanists*, and such as under the Name of *Dissenters* promoted the *Popish* Designs; and that the King having the Power of *England* in his Hands, and that of *France* in readiness upon Occasion, he might be tempted into desperate Measures to establish his Religion. Yet still the more moderate and patient among them comforted themselves with the Thoughts that the King being advanc'd in Years, his Reign therefore cou'd not be long; and that a *Protestant* Princess, who was the next Heir to the Crown, wou'd soon make them forget the Hardships of a *Popish* Government, and restore the happy Days of Queen *Elizabeth:* But they were struck with Consternation when they heard the Whispers of the Queen being with Child, publickly confirm'd by a Proclamation, which appeared on the 2d of *January* in the *Gazette*, and declar'd, 'That it had pleas'd Almighty God (who in signal 'Manner had bless'd his Majesty and his Kingdoms, under his Majesty's 'Government, with great Prosperity, Peace and Plenty) to give his Ma-'jesty also apparent Hopes and good Assurance of having Issue by his 'Royal Consort the Queen, who, through God's great Goodness, was 'now with Child. Wherefore his Majesty Appoints, That on the fif-'teenth of this *January*, within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, 'and upon the twenty ninth in all other Places, *Publick Thanksgiving and Solemn Prayer* shou'd be offer'd up to God, on this Occasion, in a *Form* 'of

Boyer. Gazettes. *Jones.* State-Tracts. *Hallifax. Orleans. King.*

News of the Queen's being with Child.

A Thanksgiving appointed

'*of Prayer and Religious Service*, to be prepar'd by the Lords the Bi- 1687/8.
'ſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*.

Accordingly, theſe three Biſhops, who ſtill acted in the room of the Bi- Jac. 4.
ſhop of *London*, drew up a Form of *Thankſgiving and Prayer*, at a time Ref. 28
when others were willing to decline the Undertaking. In which Form, the following Expreſſions in one of the Prayers, have been particularly remember'd and reflected upon.—— 'Bleſſed be that good Providence which has *A particular Prayer.*
, vouchſaf'd us freſh Hopes of Royal Iſſue by our Gracious Queen *Mary*.
'Strengthen Her, we beſeech Thee, and perfect what thou haſt begun:
'Command thy Holy Angels to watch over Her continually, and defend
'Her from all Dangers and evil Accidents, that what She has conceiv'd
'may be happily brought forth, to the Joy of our Sovereign Lord the
'King, the further Eſtabliſhment of his Crown, the Happineſs and Wel-
'fare of the whole Kingdom, and the Glory of thy great Name, *&c.*'
However, as far as we can learn, theſe and ſome other Expreſſions, were, by the greateſt part of the Clergy, omitted in the Reading, and paſs'd by, and the Day in moſt Places kept with great Coolneſs and Indifferency; not that there wanted Rejoicers and Time-Servers that cou'd make ſufficient amends for the others neglect.

The *Roman Catholicks*, who ſeem'd already to triumph over the *Proteſtants*, were ſtill more elevated upon this News; and ſo far, that ſome of them had the Aſſurance to declare, 'That tho' the Child ſhou'd prove a
'Daughter, yet it wou'd cut off the Princeſſes of *Orange* and *Denmark*
'from the Succeſſion,' upon a weak Suppoſition, 'That a Daughter born
'ſince the King's Advancement to the Throne, ought to take Place be-
'fore Princeſſes born while he was Duke of *York*.' And becauſe the Queen's Big-Belly was at this time Strange, therefore it was to be look'd upon as miraculous; and the *Jeſuits* gave it out, 'That it was either the
'Effect of a ſolemn Petition which the late deceas'd Dutcheſs of *Modena*
'had put up in Heaven to the Bleſſed *Virgin Mary*; or of a Vow the
'Queen had made to our Lady of *Loretto*, with the Preſent of a Golden
'Image enrich'd with Precious Stone.' Which Stories and Reports ſerv'd more to increaſe the Suſpicions of the *Proteſtant* Party, who began to re- *Suſpicions about it.*
collect former Accounts of Cheats and Impoſtures. They had heard that a like Deceit was attempted in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; when to relieve themſelves from the Fears of a *Proteſtant* Princeſs in Succeſſion, the *Romiſh* Prieſts gave it out, That the Queen was with Child, Prayers were order'd for her ſafe Delivery, and a *Popiſh* Preacher at St. *Paul*'s pretended to tell the Birth, and to deſcribe the Boy; which Sham was ſuppos'd to be defeated only by the Vigilance of King *Philip* himſelf, who wou'd not endure ſuch an Impoſture. The Remembrance of that former Fact gave now a natural Application of it; and the Story of that *Mock Conception*, as deliver'd by Mr. *Fox*, was now Reprinted and Diſpers'd with the Title of *Idem Iterum*, or, *Queen Mary's Big-Belly*. Moreover ſeveral Ballads and Lampoons were thrown about the Court, reflecting upon this Matter, and ridiculing both the Prayers and the Biſhops that compos'd them, as that of '*Two* Toms *and a* Nat, *together ſate*, &c.' The old Accounts of Impoſtures, join'd with the fabulous Stories of the Cauſe of the Queen's Conception, after ſhe had been ſeveral Years Childleſs; the great Care the *Jeſuits* took to inſinuate that ſhe wou'd certainly be deliver'd of a Prince, and ſeveral other concurring Accidents, had a mighty Influence upon the Minds of the *Proteſtants*, who began to look upon the whole as a Suppoſition. However, it cou'd not but keep them in perpetual Alarms; for ſuppoſing it, as they did, to be a *Pious Fraud*, the Diſcovery of it wou'd have been ſo much the more difficult, as it was the Intereſt of the *Popiſh* Party to uſe their utmoſt Care to conceal it.

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Addresses upon it.

The Court Party now gather'd visible Strength upon this News, and taking Advantage of the Fears and Consternation of the Protestants, they procur'd Addresses from several Counties, wherein his Majesty's dutiful Subjects not only Congratulated him upon so joyful Occasion, but assur'd him also of 'Their ready Compliance in the Electing such Members as shou'd concur 'with his Majesty's gracious Intentions of the Abrogation of the *Penal* '*Laws* and *Tests*, equally pernicious to his Majesty's *Prerogative*, and 'his Subjects *Liberty:*' Thus that from the County of *Gloceſter*. The Addresses from the Counties of *Stafford*, *Monmouth* and *York*, the Cities of *Canterbury* and *Carliſle*, the Towns of *Northampton*, *Totneſs*, &c. were to the same Effect. But none was more remarkable, or made greater Noise than that from the Corporation of *Scarborough*, which is therefore inserted at length as follows: 'The Union of *York* and *Lancaſter*, made the Inhe-

That from Scarborough.

'ritance of this Empire One; the Conjunction of *England* and *Scotland*, 'made two Kingdoms One; but your Majesty's *Declaration for Liberty* '*of Conſcience*, has made our Interest One; every Happiness was succeeded 'by a Greater, and every succeeding Age strove, as it were to outvy the 'Former. 'Tis true, our Civil Wars have been renew'd in the time of our 'Fathers; *England* and *Scotland* have again been dis-united by an unna-'tural Rebellion; but *Liberty of Conſcience* is so strong a Cement that no 'Age shall be able to dissolve it; its Firmness will encrease by its Durati-'on; for all Men will endeavour to propagate that Blessing which brings 'a visible Reward along with it: And if the darling Argument prevails, we 'have already an ocular Experience of our Profit, Men will not be more 'studious of transmitting a clear Title of their *Possessions* to their Children, 'than they will be of leaving an undoubted Inheritance of *Trade*, *Society* 'and *Brotherly Affection*. In the first Place therefore, on our Knees we 'thank the God of Heaven for your Majesty; and on the next, with all 'Humility we thank your Majesty, who, as a true Father of your People, 'have provided for them so rich a Patrimony of *Immortal Happineſs:* 'Tis a Portion put out to Use for Posterity, which in every seven Years 'will double and redouble the Principal. God Almighty, as we hope and 'pray, will grant you an *Heir Maſculine* of your *Body*; but you have 'already given us one of your *Mind* in your Gracious *Declaration*; 'tis to 'your Self alone, *O Sacred Majeſty!* that we stand oblig'd for it: We 'own it not to be the Counsel or Procurement of any other, none but a 'Wise and Gracious King cou'd have found it out, none but a CATHOLICK '*King* has been able to effect it. We hope a Parliament will concur and 'ratify this Blessing; for this Blessing has, in a manner, ratify'd it self by 'its own Success. 'Tis an Act already pass'd in the Hearts of all your 'Loyal People; and what it wants in Formality of *Law*, is supply'd in the 'concurring *Votes* of all unintereſted Men. It will spread like the Tree in 'the Vision of Holy *Daniel*, till it over-shadows the three Nations; and 'the Birds of the Air shall not only build in it, but also the Beasts of the 'Forest shall be secure beneath it. May your Majesty long enjoy the Fruits 'of so happy a Plantation; may it be Fenc'd about by the Care of the 'present Age, and made Sacred to all future Time, as set by your Auspi-'cious Hands: And as it is in our Power, so we solemnly engage our 'selves to return to your Majesty two such Members to serve in Parlia-'ment, as shall Vote for Repealing the *Test*, and all *Penal Laws* in Mat-'ters of Religion: Laws which were begot under a *Doubtful Title*, were 'bred up in *Perſecution*, and wou'd subvert the Fundamental *Freedom of* '*Conſcience*, which is God's *Magna Charta* to all his Reasonable Crea-'tures.

The Jesuits *Efforts.*

Over and above the forementioned Methods to introduce the *Romiſh* Religion, the *Jeſuits*, more especially, were daily publishing some Book or other

other to bring it into Eſteem; ſuch as *The firſt and ſecond Vindication of the Biſhop of* Condom's *Expoſition of the Catholick Church*; *A Chriſtian Doctrine compos'd by* Bellarmine; *The* Maſs *Triumphing*; *The* Maſs *vindicated*; *The Catechiſm of* Pennance; *The Catechiſm for the Curates, compos'd by a Decree of the Council of* Trent; *An Agreement between the Church of* England, *and the Church of* Rome; Vane's *loſt Sheep return'd home*; Veron's *Rule of Faith*; *The Guide in Controverſies*; *A Defence of the Doctrine and Rule of the* Roman *Catholick Church*, &c. Theſe oblig'd the Champions of the Church of *England*, formerly remember'd, to draw their Pens with freſh Vigour in Defence of the *Proteſtant* Religion; and the *Jeſuits* were ſoon over-match'd by theſe Heroes, *Stillingfleet*, *Tillotſon*, *Tenniſon*, *Wake*, *Sherlock*, &c. not only by the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, but by a deeper Stock of Learning, and a ſtronger Force of Sound Reaſoning, which had a happy Influence upon the People in theſe perillous Times. Their Learning and Piety, their Humility and Paſtoral Care, together with their Courage and Bravery, attracted the Love and Veneration of the beſt and greateſt Perſons of both Sexes: They were now eſteem'd and honour'd both according to their Worth and Function, and the Clergy-Man's Gown and Habit was ſo nobly adorned with Goodneſs and Vigilance, that every one was ready to pay Reſpect to it; and now it was that the *London* Divines may be ſaid to be the Ornaments of the *Reformed* Churches, and the Glory of the *Chriſtian* World. Therefore to ſtop theſe powerful Men, the King was prevail'd with to regulate the Preſs, and under a Pretence that the ſeveral Parties in the Kingdom maintain'd a Seditious Paper-War, a Proclamation was iſſu'd out on the 13th of *February*, grounded upon a Statute made in the Fourteenth of King *Charles* the Second, 'prohibiting the Printing, and Selling all unlicens'd and treaſonable Books and Pamphlets, under the Pains and Penalties provided by the ſaid Act.' By this Means the Church of *England* was ſubtlely debarr'd the Freedom of Confuting the Errors of that of *Rome*, which ſoon appear'd to be the main Deſign of reſtraining the Preſs: For the King caus'd ſome Books to be ſuppreſs'd, which contain'd nothing but a Defence of the Reform'd Religion, and Diſputes concerning controverted Tenets. All which, as it happen'd, ſerv'd to add a new Luſtre to the fore-mention'd Divines.

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And thoſe of the London *Divines.*

2. While the *Romiſh* Project for Abrogating the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws* was going on, and the *Proteſtants* were in amaze what to expect, an Accident fell out that help'd to buoy up the ſinking Spirits of the Nation. King *James* meeting every Day with Difficulties, which he found he cou'd not ſurmount without flying into violent Methods, at length took a Reſolution of trying the Inclinations of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*; not doubting but if he cou'd engage them to join with him in his Deſign, it wou'd find leſs Oppoſition in the enſuing Parliament. But becauſe his Majeſty did not think proper to addreſs himſelf directly to their Highneſſes, he employ'd Mr. *James Stuart*, a Lawyer, whom he had pardon'd and receiv'd into Favour after a long Baniſhment, and who pretended an intimate Acquaintance with Monſieur *Fagel*, Penſionary to the *States* of *Holland*, a wiſe Miniſter, in whom the Prince repos'd an entire Confidence, and for whom he had a particular Eſteem and Affection. To him Mr. *Stuart* wrote a Letter upon this Subject; but the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were ſo averſe to meddle in ſuch a nice Affair, and ſo unwilling to allow Mr. *Fagel* to return an Anſwer, which they knew wou'd not be pleaſing, that Mr. *Stuart* was oblig'd ſeveral Times to repeat his preſſing Inſtances, owning in his Letters, that he wrote them by the King's Directions. His Majeſty no doubt flatter'd himſelf that their Highneſſes wou'd not contradict his Intentions; eſpecially in a Conjuncture, when ſo many Reaſons ſeem'd to oblige them

The King's private Application to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

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them to concurr with him in every thing; otherwiſe he wou'd not have been ſo eager to have their Opinions. But as their Highneſſes were Strangers to Diſſimulation, and far from yielding to what might prove fatal to thoſe Laws, which the *Engliſh* look'd upon as the Bulwark of the *Proteſtant* Religion; and for which, as preſumptive Heirs to the Crown of *England*; they always expreſs'd a great Tenderneſs; they were at laſt in a manner forc'd to direct Monſieur *Fagel* to write an Anſwer to Mr. *Stuart:* And the more, becauſe the *Papiſts* had induſtriouſly ſpread it abroad, 'That 'the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* had agreed with the King's Deſign of 'taking off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*;' which Report was maliciouſly confirm'd by ſeveral Letters, which the Marquiſs of *Albyville*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague*, was put upon to write; intimating that the Prince of *Orange* had told him the very ſame thing; which Letter was alſo made publick.

Monſieur Fagel's Letter upon that Occaſion.

And therefore, to diſſipate theſe injurious Reports, the Penſionary, by their Highneſſes Directions, wrote to Mr. *Stuart* to this Effect: 'That 'ſince he earneſtly deſired to know of him, what the Prince and Princeſs 'of *Orange*'s Thoughts were, concerning the Repeal of the *Penal Laws*, 'and more particularly of the *Teſt*; he would deal very plainly with him in 'that Matter, and without Reſerve, ſince Mr. *Stuart* had ſaid in his Letters, '*That they were written by the King's Knowledge and Allowance.* Firſt, 'he moſt poſitively aſſured him, That their Highneſſes had often declared, 'as they did in a particular manner to the Marquiſs of *Albyville*, That it 'was their Opinion, *That no Chriſtian ought to be puniſh'd for his* Conſcience, *or be ill us'd becauſe he differ'd from the Publick and Eſtabliſh'd* '*Religion*; and therefore, that they cou'd conſent, That the *Roman Catholicks* in *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſhou'd be ſuffer'd to continue 'in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allow'd them in the *United* '*Provinces*, where it cou'd not be deny'd but they enjoy full *Liberty of* '*Conſcience*. And as to the *Nonconformiſts*, their Highneſſes did not only Conſent, but heartily Approv'd of their having an entire *Liberty of* '*Conſcience* for the Exerciſe of their Religion, without any Trouble, Hinderance or Moleſtation, upon that Score: And that their Highneſſes were 'ready to concur at any time with his Majeſty in the ſettling and confirming this Liberty, and to protect and maintain it, as far as in them lay, 'according to the Language and uſual Form of *Treaties*, and likewiſe to 'confirm it with their *Guarantee*, which Mr. *Stuart* had mention'd in his 'Letters. And if his Majeſty thought fit to have their Concurrence in Repealing the *Penal Laws*, their Highneſſes were ready to give it, Provided thoſe Laws ſtill remain'd in their full Vigour by which the *Roman* '*Catholicks* are ſhut out of both Houſes of Parliament, and out of all Publick Employments, both Civil and Military; as likewiſe all thoſe other 'Laws which confirm'd the *Proteſtant Religion*, and ſecured it againſt all 'the Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks*. But their Highneſſes cou'd not 'by any Means agree to the Repeal of the *Teſt*, and thoſe other *Penal* '*Laws* laſt mention'd, that tended to the Security of the *Proteſtant Religion*; ſince the *Roman Catholicks* receive no other Prejudice from theſe, 'than their being Excluded from Parliament and Publick Employments; 'and that, by them, the *Proteſtant* Religion is ſhelter'd from all the Deſigns of the *Roman Catholicks* againſt It, or againſt the Publick Safety. 'That neither the *Teſt*, nor theſe other Laws can be ſaid to carry in them 'any Severity againſt the *Roman Catholicks*, upon the Account of their '*Conſciences*; being only *Proviſions* Qualifying Men to be Members of 'Parliament, or to be *Capable* of bearing Office; by which they muſt declare before God and Man, *That they are for the Proteſtant Religion.* 'So that indeed, all this amounts to no more, than a Securing the *Pro-*

'*teſtant*

'*teſtant Religion* from any Prejudices that it may receive from the *Roman* '*Catholicks*. 1687/8.

'More than this, adds the Penſionary, their Highneſſes have thought, Jac. 4.
'and do ſtill think, ought not to be ask'd or expected from them; ſince, Ref. 29
'by that Means, the *Roman Catholicks* and their Poſterity wou'd be for
'ever ſecured from all Troubles in their *Perſons* and *Eſtates*, or in the
'Exerciſe of their *Religion:* And they think the *Roman Catholicks* ought
'to be ſatisfy'd with that, and not diſturb the Quiet of the Kingdom, un-
'der Pretence, that they are ſhut out of Parliament and Employments;
'and becauſe thoſe Laws, wherein the Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion
'chiefly conſiſted, were not Repeal'd, by which they might be put
'into a Condition to Overturn it. As to what Mr. *Stuart* had writ, *That*
'*the* Roman Catholicks *in* Holland *were not Excluded from Employments*
'*and Places of Truſt*; he was groſſly miſtaken: For their Laws were ex-
'preſs in that Point, Excluding *Roman Catholicks* by Name from all Share
'in the Government, and from all Employment whatſoever. It was true,
'he did not know any expreſs Law that had Excluded them from *Milita-*
'*ry* Employments: That had been hard indeed; ſince, in the firſt Founda-
'tion of their State, they join'd with them in aſſerting the Publick Liber-
'ty, and did them Eminent Service during the Wars; therefore they were
'not excluded from Military Employments: For the Publick Safety was no
'ways endanger'd by that, both becauſe the Numbers of thoſe of their Re-
'ligion that ſerv'd in their Troops were very ſmall, and becauſe the *States*
'cou'd eaſily prevent any Inconveniency that might ariſe from thence;
'which cou'd not have been ſo eaſily done, if the *Roman Catholicks* had
'been admitted to a Share in the *Government*, and in the *Policy* and *Ju-*
'*ſtice* of their *State*.

After this, he tells him, 'That he was aſſured of this Truth, and cou'd
'give undeniable Proof of it, That their Highneſſes deſired nothing more
'earneſtly, than that his Majeſty might reign happily, and in a perfect
'good Intelligence with his Subjects; and that his Subjects being perſuaded
'of his Majeſty's Paternal Affection towards them, might upon all Occaſi-
'ons make ſuitable Returns to his Goodneſs, by all poſſible Demonſtrations
'of Duty and Loyalty: But their Highneſſes were convinc'd in their Con-
'ſciences, That both the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Safety of the Na-*
'*tion* wou'd be expos'd to moſt certain Dangers, if either the *Teſts*, or
'thoſe other *Penal Laws*, of which he had made frequent mention,
'ſhou'd be Repealed; Therefore they cou'd not concur with his Majeſty in
'thoſe Matters; for they believ'd they ſhould have much to anſwer to God,
'if the Conſideration of any preſent Advantage ſhou'd induce them to con-
'ſent to Things which they believ'd wou'd not only be very Dangerous,
'but Prejudicial to the *Proteſtant Religion*. Laſtly, the Penſionary tells
'him, That their Highneſſes ever had, and were reſolv'd ever to preſerve
'a profound Submiſſion to his Majeſty, as they thought themſelves in Du-
'ty bound by the Laws of God and Nature: But ſince the Matter that
'was then in Hand related not to the Making of new Laws, but to the
'Total Abrogation of thoſe already made both by King and Parliament;
'their Highneſſes did not ſee how it cou'd be expected of Them, that
'They ſhou'd Conſent to ſuch an Abrogation, to which they had ſo juſt
'an Averſion; as being a Thing that was contrary to the Laws and Cu-
'ſtoms of all *Chriſtian* States, whether *Proteſtants* or *Papiſts*, who ad-
'mitted none to a Share in the Government, or Publick Employments, but
'thoſe who profeſs'd the Publick and Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and endeavour'd
'to ſecure it againſt all Attempts whatſoever.

This memorable Letter was wrote in *November* laſt, before any Whiſ-
perings of the Queen's Pregnancy; and was communicated by Mr. *Stuart*
to

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to the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Melfort*, and even to the King himſelf; and he alſo let Monſieur *Fagel* know as much, without informing him whether the Court deſir'd it ſhou'd be kept ſecret, or made publick. In the mean time it got printed in *England*, and in *December* and *January*, it was diſpers'd in great Numbers through the Kingdom, to the particular Encouragement and Satisfaction of the Generality of the People. This was ſoon after follow'd by a very notable Piece, call'd *Reflections on Monſieur* Fagel's *Letter*, which ſtill more rous'd and warm'd the Hearts of the Nation. It was written by a very extraordinary Hand, and ſome Things in it very animating, and almoſt Prophetical. Speaking of the inviolable Integrity of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, he ſays, 'Our Judges have declar'd, 'That Princes can diſpenſe with the *Obligation of Laws*, but they have 'not yet given their Opinion, that they can diſpenſe with the *Honour of* 'their *Word*; nor have their Highneſſes any Confeſſor to ſupply ſuch an 'Omiſſion.' Then to comfort thoſe that are a little deſponding, he tells them 'A Revolution will come with a Witneſs; and its like it may come 'before the Prince of *Wales* be of Age to manage an unruly Spirit, that I 'fear will accompany it.——For my own Part, tho' I am neither young 'nor ſtrong, I hope to live to ſee a Day of *Jubilee* in *England* for all 'that deſerve it; when honeſt Men ſhall have the ſame *Pleaſure* in thinking on theſe Times, that a Woman happily deliver'd hath in reflecting on 'the *Pain* and *Danger* ſhe was in.' Not long after, there appear'd on the Court ſide, a Pamphlet call'd *Parliamentum Pacificum, or the happy Union of King and Parliament in an healing Parliament*, &c. wherein it was affirm'd, 'That the Letter written to Mr. *Stuart*, was not only Sup'poſititious, but that the Author had miſrepreſented the Sentiments of their 'Highneſſes, concerning the Repeal of the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws*.' Whereupon Monſieur *Fagel* thought himſelf oblig'd to prevent the World's being impos'd upon by that Impoſture, and therefore he not only printed ſome of Mr. *Stuart*'s Letters, but wrote alſo to the Marquiſs of *Albyville* the following Letter; which he likewiſe caus'd to be made publick.

Reflections upon it.

Monſieur Fagel's *ſecond Letter.*

'*My Lord*, I have ſeen here in *Engliſh* a Pamphlet call'd *Parliamen*'*tum Pacificum*, Printed this Year in *London*, with the Earl of *Sunder*'*land*'s Allowance; of which I cannot forbear Complaining, how averſe 'ſoever I am to make Expoſtulations: The Author of it maintains, *That* '*the Letter I wrote on the* 4th *of* November *laſt, relating to the* Teſt *and* 'Penal Laws, *is either a Forgery, or that I wrote it without the Order* '*of their Highneſſes, or at leaſt of her Royal Highneſs.* Not that I pre'tend to enter into the Particulars of that Pamphlet, with Deſign to con'fute any Thing in it, it being little agreeable to my Character and Incli'nation to meddle with publick Diſputes of that Nature. But you muſt 'not think it ſtrange, if I put you in mind, That it was not of my own 'ſelf that I engag'd in Writing the ſaid *Letter*; but rather, after I had been 'powerfully preſs'd to it for four Months together, from, or in the Name 'of his Majeſty; and when at laſt I was prevail'd with to write it, I did it 'with all the Precaution which ſo nice an Affair ſeem'd to require; in ſo 'much, that in all that *Letter*, there is not one Period, which I ought to 'fear might dipleaſe his Majeſty. Nevertheleſs, I ſee that in a Writing, 'printed by publick Authority, that Letter is branded as *Suppoſititious*, 'tho' his Majeſty, and even all the Court, know the Truth of the Buſineſs: 'And beſides that, I have own'd here to your Lordſhip, as the King's Mi'niſter, and to all thoſe that have ſpoke to me of it. But what is moſt 'injurious to me, is, That I am therein charg'd with having abus'd their 'Highneſſes Names, particularly that of her Royal Highneſs; as if I were 'a Perſon capable of ſo infamous a Cheat, and of a Falſity ſo unworthy of 'all Men of Honour, and that too in an Affair of the higheſt Importance.

You

'You will not take it ill, *My Lord*, if in this Matter I refer my self to 'the Knowledge you have of it, and to what you have often told me your 'Self, to wit, *That their Highneſſes, and in particular her Royal High-* 'neſs *the Princeſs, had declar'd their Thoughts to you concerning the* 'Teſt *and* Penal Laws, *in the ſame manner as I had repreſented them*; 'That *you had acquainted the Court with it a long time before I wrote* 'my *Letter, and that you cou'd not conceive what Reaſon there was for* 'preſſing *me to write to Mr.* Stuart. I do aſſure you that I wou'd not 'be much offended at that Pamphlet, nor at any other of that Nature, ha- 'ving already foreſeen that I ſhou'd not fail of being attack'd on that 'Score, wherein I cou'd eaſily have allow'd every Body the Liberty of pleaſing 'themſelves; but that writing being publiſh'd under the Authority of the '*Preſident of the King's Council*, and *Secretary of State*, my Honour is 'concern'd to clear my ſelf to the World of ſo unjuſt an Accuſation laid 'to my Charge. 1687/8. Jac. 4. Ref. 28

'Therefore I thought I cou'd not do better than to addreſs my ſelf to 'you, *my Lord*, as being his Majeſty's Miniſter, and a Perſon perfectly 'well inform'd of the Buſineſs in Queſtion, deſiring that you wou'd be 'pleas'd to write to the Earl of *Sunderland* about it. I believe he has nei- 'ther ſeen nor examin'd the Paſſages of that Pamphlet that reflected upon 'me; and I am alſo perſuaded, that if he had, he wou'd not have ſign'd 'the Printing *Allowance:* For the ſaid Earl of *Sunderland* knows as well 'as any Body, that the ſaid *Letter* of Mr. *Stuart* is no Suppoſition, ſince 'he has ſeen the *Letter* it ſelf, or the *Engliſh* Copy of it, which I had 'ſent along with it. He ought alſo to be no leſs aſſur'd by your Letters, 'and by what you have related by Word of Mouth: That their High- 'neſſes, and particularly her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs, have ſeveral 'times told you their Opinion concerning the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*, as I 'have expreſs'd it in my Letter to Mr. *Stuart*. Therefore I dare promiſe 'my ſelf from the Juſtice and Goodneſs of the Earl of *Sunderland*, that 'he will take care that the *Allowance* which was ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd 'for the Printing of that Pamphlet, may be recall'd, and the Author of ſo 'manifeſt and outragious a Calumny brought to condign Puniſhment. Nei- 'ther will I conceal from you, that I deſign to publiſh what has paſs'd in 'this Affair, as well as what I now take the Liberty to write to you; not 'with deſign to engage any further in the main Buſineſs, much leſs to gra- 'tify any Body, but ſolely to ſhelter my Honour from ſo falſe and heinous 'an Imputation.

What was ſtill more ſurprizing in this Affair, was, That Mr. *Stuart* poſi- tively deny'd in a printed Letter, that he ever wrote to Monſieur *Fagel*, although the latter had convinc'd him to the contrary, and had his Original Letters by him. But becauſe the King had ſeen the Penſionary's Letter, which he was unwilling the World ſhou'd know; and becauſe Mr. *Stuart* found it very difficult to return a ſolid Anſwer, he choſe to have recourſe to a Jeſuitical Evaſion. Upon this Exigency, a ſubtle Author, who pre- ſum'd much upon his Sufficiency, publiſh'd *Animadverſions upon Monſieur* Fagel's *Letter*, which he addreſs'd to that Patriot *William Penn*, and wherein he maintains, 'That no Man can for the Cauſe of *Religion* plead 'any juſtifiable Excuſe for his not rendering Subjection to ſuch as are his 'Superiors in a Natural or Civil Station, in their lawful Commands; and 'that the inflicting *Temporal* Penalties for ſuch Errors in *Religious* Opini- 'ons, as cannot be evinc'd by the Principles of Reaſon and Conſcience, to 'be againſt the common *Light of Nature* (tho' they may be prov'd by 'Scripture to be againſt ſuch *Myſterious* Truths as are proper only to the '*Chriſtian* Religion) is not to be juſtify'd either by the General Law of 'Nature, or General Rules of Scripture.' Then he puts ſeveral Queries *Animadverſi- ons upon it.*

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concerning the Inconveniences of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, and inſinuates, 'That a more juſtifiable and ſuitable Security, both for our Religion 'and Civil Rights, might be obtain'd, if his Majeſty gave his Aſſent, by 'eſtabliſhing the ſeveral Matters propos'd in his *Declaration*, and ſome o-'ther *Proviſions* to be made by a new Law, than can be had or expected 'by continuing the preſent Laws.' But theſe and other Animadverſions, were rather a Confirmation than a Confutation of Mr. *Fagel*'s Letter; and made all Men perceive that it was not Liberty of Conſcience, or the free Exerciſe of Religion alone, that mov'd the *Popiſh* Party to ſtir ſo much for the Repealing of the *Teſt*, ſince by that *Letter* their Highneſſes conſented to ſecure them that Liberty, and free them from the Penalties of the Laws; but that their Aim was to have their Excluſion from Places of Truſt taken off, which was the only Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion. However the Penſionary's Letter ſerv'd at this Time to ſupport the true Intereſt of the Nation, and gain'd an entire Confidence in the Prince and Princeſs, both from the Church of *England* and the *Diſſenters*, who began to have Hopes from them, if any violent Methods were us'd againſt either.

And now the taking or not taking off the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws* in the next Parliament, became a new *Teſt* of it ſelf, and ſerv'd to diſtinguiſh the Court and the Countrey. But becauſe the direct Repeal of thoſe Laws were apt to raiſe great Apprehenſions, more ſoftning Methods were us'd, and the former inſinuated that they ſhou'd not loſe the Benefit of them, but ſomething elſe ſhou'd be granted which ſhou'd be an *Equivalent*; which Words help'd to fill the Mouths of all People for ſome Months together. But this Project was ſoon ſhatter'd, and the Word ſufficiently diſſected by the admirable Pen of the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, in a Pamphlet call'd, *The Anatomy of an Equivalent*; in which are ſeveral notable Paſſages: But that towards the Concluſion is worthy of a Place in Hiſtory, and of the Remembrance of all Princes and great Miniſters. Speaking of the Uncertainty and Variableneſs of *Intereſt*, the relying upon which was like building upon a *Quick-Sand*, he asks, 'Where are the Men ſo diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of 'Mankind, that it is impoſſible for them to miſtake their Intereſt? Who 'are they that have ſuch an Exemption from human Frailty, as that it can 'never happen to them not to ſee their Intereſt for want of Underſtanding, 'or not to leap over it by Exceſs of Zeal? Above all, Princes are moſt liable 'to Miſtake; not out of any *Defect* in their Nature, which might put 'them under ſuch an unfortunate Diſtinction; quite contrary, the Blood 'they derive from great and wiſe Anceſtors, does rather diſtinguiſh them 'on the better ſide; beſides that, their great Character and Office of Go-'verning, giveth a noble Exerciſe to their Reaſon, which can very hardly 'fail to raiſe and improve it. But there is one Circumſtance annex'd to their 'glorious Calling, which in this Reſpect is ſufficient to outweigh all theſe 'Advantages; it is, That Mankind divided in moſt Things elſe, agree in 'this, to conſpire in their Endeavours to deceive and miſlead them; which 'maketh it above the Power of human Underſtanding, to be ſo exactly 'guarded, as never to admit a Surprize; and the higheſt Applauſe that 'cou'd ever be given to the greateſt Man that ever wore a Crown, is, 'THAT THEY WERE NO OFTNER DECEIVED.

Hallifax's *Anatomy of an Equivalent.*

3. And now the People of *England* began to fix their Eyes and Hearts upon a *Proteſtant Succeſſor* abroad; and the King, perceiving the Effect that the Backwardneſs of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* had wrought in the Minds of his *Proteſtant* Subjects, redoubled his Endeavours to get a Parliament at his Devotion: And for that Purpoſe, he ſent down his Emiſſaries into the ſeveral Counties, in order to procure the Election of ſuch Members as were willing to acquieſce in his Deſigns. At the ſame Time

Time he gave out Commiſſions for the Raiſing of new Troops for the Increaſing his Standing Army; in which *Iriſh Papiſts* were particularly diſtinguiſh'd and promoted; and likewiſe he caus'd a larger Fleet to be fitted out with extraordinary Diligence, as foreboding that he might have Occaſion to carry on his Cauſe by Force of Arms. Hence on the 17th of *January* his Majeſty wrote a Letter to the *States* of the *United Provinces*, to demand the ſix *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in their Service: And again on the 2d of *March* he iſſued out a Proclamation, 'Forbidding 'his Natural-born Subjects to Enter or Liſt themſelves in the Service of any 'Foreign Prince or State, either by Sea or Land. 1687/8. Jac. 4. Reſ. 28

The King ſends for his Troops out of Holland.

The *States-General* return'd a civil Anſwer to the King's Letter, but withal excus'd themſelves for not complying with his Majeſty's Deſire. They declared by a Reſolution taken in their Aſſembly, 'That having ex- 'amin'd all the Treaties of Alliance, and all that had paſs'd thereupon, when 'thoſe Regiments were form'd, they cou'd find no Agreement or Capitula- 'tion that cou'd oblige them to grant his Majeſty's Demands, eſpecially in 'that Juncture of Time. They acknowledg'd indeed, That by the Trea- 'ties concluded between *England* and the *States-General*, it was agreed, '*That in caſe that Crown ſhou'd have a War with ſome of her Neigh- 'bours, and ſhou'd have Occaſion for Troops, the* States *ſhou'd be obliged 'to ſend back the ſix Regiments into* England, as they did in the Year 1685, 'at the Time of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion: But that now his *Britannick* Majeſty being in Peace with his Neighbours, and having no Trou- 'bles at Home, they ſaw no Reaſon that cou'd oblige them to ſend back 'thoſe Troops: That beſides, moſt of the Soldiers that ſerv'd in thoſe Re- 'giments, were *Dutch*; and laſtly, That properly ſpeaking, thoſe ſix Re- 'giments did not belong to his *Britannick* Majeſty, being partly made up 'of thoſe Regiments and Companies, which in the Year 1674, were in the 'Service of the *States-General:* In ſum, That thoſe Regiments had been 'rais'd at divers Times with vaſt Expence, either for Liſting-Money, or 'Tranſportation; the late King *Charles* the Second having forbid all Levies 'for foreign Princes and States throughout his Dominions.' To underſtand theſe Reaſons of the *States*, it is neceſſary to remember, That in the Year 1665, all the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Troops, which had been ſent to the Aſſiſtance of that Commonwealth, even in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, were disbanded by the *States* themſelves; ſo that thoſe who were willing to return home, were left at their Liberty; and thoſe who were inclinable to remain in the Service of the *States*, were alſo free to ſtay. Now becauſe there were many, both Officers and Soldiers, who had their particular Reaſons not to return to *England*, two Regiments were form'd out of them, which oblig'd themſelves by Oath to acknowledge no other Sovereign beſides the *States-General*. From whence it appears that the *States* had a Right to diſpoſe not only of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Soldiers in their Service, but alſo of their Officers: But however, to preſerve a good Correſpondence with his *Britannick* Majeſty, they offer'd Paſſes to all the Officers of the ſix Regiments that were willing to return Home, which about Forty of them accepted.

The States *Refuſal and Anſwer.*

The Marquiſs of *Albyville* preſented a Memorial to the *States* to preſs them to comply with his Majeſty's Deſire; but they ſtill perſiſting in their Reſolution, a Proclamation was iſſu'd out, commanding the Return of all the King's Subjects who had taken Arms under, and were then in the Service of the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, either by Sea or Land; tho' upon no other Allegation than that the King thought it for his Service. This Proclamation caus'd a Debate among the *States-General*, the Reſult of which ſhew'd an Unwillingneſs to let the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments return, alledging, beſides their former Arguments, 'That there

A ſecond Tryal.

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'was nothing ſo agreeable to Nature, as that he who is born free ſhou'd 'have the Right and Liberty to ſettle himſelf whereſoever he ſhall think it 'moſt advantagious for him; and that it is in his Power to be naturaliz'd 'and become a Subject to them under whoſe Sovereignty he ſubmits his 'Perſon; and that any Government receiving ſuch, does thereby acquire 'over him the ſame Right it has over its own proper and natural Subjects.' Whereupon the Marquiſs of *Albyville*, by expreſs Order from his Maſter, deliver'd in a ſecond Memorial to the *States*, peremptorily demanding the Diſmiſſion of the ſaid Troops; 'For that pretended natural Liberty cou'd 'not ſubſiſt, after that Dominion and Obedience had been introduc'd; ſo 'that the Rights of Sovereignty and Subjection were now only to be con-'ſider'd; And that by virtue of theſe Rights, it had been the Common O-'pinion in all Times, that no natural Subject can withdraw himſelf from 'the Obedience he owes to his lawful Prince;' and therefore he inſiſted upon his Demand, as a Right the King wou'd never deſert. But it ap-pear'd that few or none of theſe Men were willing to return; which juſti-fy'd the Reſolutions of the *States-General*, and render'd the Inſtances of King *James*'s Envoy, ineffectual.

But to little Effect.

Attempts againſt Tyrconnel.

4. While the *Romaniſts* were induſtriouſly contriving to eſtabliſh their Religion, there aroſe ſome Jealouſies and Diſputes amongſt them, which went near to break all their former Meaſures, and to render their whole Party ridiculous. Concerning which, we find no Book ſo clear and parti-cular, as *The Hiſtory of King* William *the Third*; therefore we ſhall make bold with that Author upon this Occaſion. The Earl of *Tyrconnel*, who had carry'd Things ſo high in his Government, began at laſt to diſcover, that *Sheridon*, Principal Secretary of State in *Ireland*, and one of the Com-miſſioners of the Cuſtoms, ſold Employments of all ſorts, Eccleſiaſtical, Ci-vil and Military; and that whenever he met with an Opportunity of ma-king an advantagious Bargain for a Place in the Cuſtom-houſe, he wou'd pretend, That 'twas upon the Lord Lieutenant's Recommendation that ſuch a Perſon was employ'd. This by degrees ſo much encreas'd upon the reſt of the Commiſſioners, that *Dickiſon*, who was one of them, writ over to the Lords of the Treaſury, 'That they were ſo clogg'd with *Iriſh* Officers, 'recommended by the Lord-Deputy, that he was afraid the Revenue wou'd 'ſink by ill Management.' Upon this, *Tyrconnel* receiv'd Orders not to re-commend a Man, nor any ways to intermeddle in the Revenue. The Commiſſioners alſo iſſu'd forth their Orders, That all Perſons who had pe-tition'd for Places in the Cuſtoms or Revenue, ſhou'd return to their re-ſpective Abodes, for there wou'd be no Employments diſpos'd of.

Firſt by Sheridon,

This Buſtle and Enquiry created various Quarrels between *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon*; and from this Time forwards, the latter bent his Thoughts upon the Ruine of the former. His firſt Stratagem to undermine him, was to prepoſſeſs the *Romiſh* Clergy againſt him; to accompliſh which, he contra-cted an intimate Acquaintance with his Chaplain, who mark'd out what he had obſerv'd of *Tyrconnel*'s Contempt of the *Maſs* and Religion. Of this, *Sheridon*, a bigotted *Papiſt*, gave an Account to Father *Petre*, whoſe Niece he had marry'd; by which Means he gain'd an Intereſt not only with that Favourite *Jeſuit*; but likewiſe with all the *Iriſh* Clergy, eſpecially with the Titular Primate of *Armagh*, who had no Affection for *Tyrconnel*; and both together, with the forementiond Prieſt, form'd Articles of Impeachment a-gainſt the Lord Lieutenant. All this cou'd not be tranſacted with that Se-creſie, but that *Tyrconnel* had ſome Intelligence of it; therefore, to coun-termine his Enemies, he made uſe of a third Prieſt, a Confident of his own; by whoſe Means he intercepted a Pacquet which *Sheridon* was ſending over to the Court of *England*, with his Accuſation againſt himſelf. *Rice* and *Neagle*,

Neagle, his two grand Counſellors, advis'd him to write to the Lord *Sunderland*, which he did, ſetting forth *Sheridon*'s Briberies, and other ſiniſter Practices, without taking Notice of his Contrivance againſt himſelf. After which, he ſent for *Sheridon* into his Cloſet, and in the Preſence of ſeveral Perſons, demanded of him, *Whether he had written any Thing againſt him to* London? *Sheridon* confidently anſwer'd, *He had not*; *but that he had heard that his Excellency had writ againſt him*; which ſo enrag'd the Deputy, a Man of ungovernable Paſſions, that he call'd him *Traytor*, *Cheat*, and other abuſive Names; and pulling out *Sheridon*'s Letter, ask'd him, *If that was not his Hand?* This for the preſent put him into great Diſorder; but after ſome Recollection, he began to juſtify himſelf, and to enter into a Capitulation with his Excellency; at which *Tyrconnel* riſing in Exceſs of Fury to kick him, *Sheridon* was turn'd out. *Tyrconnel* and his Party held a long Conſultation how to proceed in this difficult Affair. They did not ſo much dread *Sheridon*'s Intereſt, or Accuſation, as they did this Opportunity of awakening his Excellencies Enemies at Court. After various Debates, it was agreed that a proper Perſon ſhou'd manage *Sheridon* in private, and ſo accommodate the Matter, as to ſtifle any farther Noiſe of it, to which *Sheridon* was ready enough to hearken. But at the ſame Time both the Lord Deputy and he ſtrove who ſhou'd firſt enſnare his envious Competitor: *Tyrconnel* to execute his Revenge upon the Titular Primate, for joining with *Sheridon*, reviv'd the Quarrel that the *Iriſh* Clergy had with the Primate, eſpecially the Titular Archbiſhop of *Caſhel*, which happen'd in this manner. Upon an Aſſembly of the Titular *Popiſh* Biſhops of *Ireland*, great Debates aroſe concerning the Priority of their Juriſdictions, in reference to which, the Primate uſurp'd over them all, not diſtinguiſhing the Archbiſhop of *Caſhell*, who reſenting it as an Indignity, inflam'd the Difference to ſuch a Height, as caus'd the Aſſembly to break up abruptly, and in great Diſcontent. This Quarrel had been dormant for ſome Time, nor did it now continue long upon the Stage; for *Tyrconnel* receiv'd a ſecret Reprimand from Father *Petre* for this raſh Action, *as tending to expoſe and ruine the Catholick Party*.

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In the mean time, *Sheridon*, to purſue his Deſign againſt *Tyrconnel*, ſolicited an Order from the King for his coming over, which having obtain'd, and being arriv'd at *London*, he ſoon found by the cold Reception he had from the Earl of *Sunderland*, that there was no Expectation of removing *Tyrconnel*, for he was fortify'd with the *French* Intereſt, and was in a manner Deputy to King *Lewis*, rather than King *James*; it being ſaid at *Paris*, when News came there of *Tyrconnel*'s being ſtruck out, *That there was none in* England *that durſt remove him*. *Sheridon* wanted not thoſe who were Well-wiſhers to his Deſign againſt the Deputy, as the Lords *Caſtlemain*, *Powis*, and ſome others; but they durſt not truſt him with their Sentiments, but ſent ſome of their private Confidents, to animate him with general Promiſes, without mentioning any Name. He had not continu'd three Days in *London*, when he was follow'd by the Lord *Dongan*, Son to the Earl of *Lymerick*, who brought Letters to the Lord *Sunderland* and others, ſetting forth *Sheridon* to great Diſadvantage; which Negotiation had that Succeſs, that even Father *Petre*, Unckle to his Wife, wou'd admit him no longer to his Preſence: And ſoon after, being return'd to *Ireland*, by Sentence of the chief Judges he was diſmiſs'd from all his Employments; which was thought a juſt Retribution to a Man, who out of pure Intereſt, had deſerted the Church of *England*.

Sheridon's Fall.

Tyrconnel having eſcap'd this Blow, met with another from *Rome* it ſelf; which required the Aſſiſtance of his beſt Friends to ward and divert: The Earl of *Caſtlemain* had for ſome time been return'd from his Embaſſy to the Pope, but was advanc'd to no Preferment, which he complain'd of to his

New Attempts againſt Tyrconnel.

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his Holineſs, and was ſeconded by Father *Petre*. Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters, the Pope, who had now ſome Hopes of *England*, writ over to his *Nuntio* to addreſs to the King in *Caſtlemain*'s Behalf; nor wou'd his Holineſs's Recommendation have prov'd ineffectual, had there been a Vacancy. But to ſupply that, Father *Petre* took Occaſion to ſtrike at Chancellor *Jeffreys*, for tampering in the Buſineſs of *Magdalen* College: In order to which, he acquainted the King, 'That the beſt Courſe to accompliſh his 'pious Deſign of eſtabliſhing the Catholick Religion, was to let his Prime 'Miniſters underſtand, That no Pretence of Service done ſhou'd protect 'them, if they fail'd in the minuteſt Circumſtance relating to the *Catholick* '*Cauſe*.' This Argument was ſo conſtantly and vigorouſly purſu'd, that towards the End of *December* it was brought into the *Cabinet*, and it was reſolv'd that *Jeffreys* ſhou'd be remov'd, and that three of the Lords of the Treaſury ſhou'd be made Lords Commiſſioners of the Broad-Seal, and that *Caſtlemain* ſhou'd be Lord Treaſurer. This Reſolve continu'd not ten Days, before the Scene ſuddenly chang'd, and *Jeffreys* appear'd more fix'd than ever. The true Cauſe of this was never known; only it was obſerv'd that the Queen and Lord Preſident adhered to him. This gave freſh Cauſe of Diſguſt to *Caſtlemain*, and to the *Romiſh Church*-Party; for now it began to appear that Affairs mov'd more by the Court of *France*, than of that of *Rome*: To ſuch inſuperable Difficulties was the unfortunate King *James* expos'd by his Eaſineſs and Bigottry: His Zeal and Affection led him to adhere to *Rome*, but his Succeſs and Security depended upon *France*, now the great Diſturber and Oppoſer of that Court.

By Caſtlemain *and others.*

The *Church*-Cabal, in the mean time, embrac'd the Opportunity of the Quarrel between *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon*, to recommend *Caſtlemain* as a fit Perſon for the Government of *Ireland*; repreſenting in lively Colours, 'How injurious thoſe ſcandalous Impeachments of two ſuch Men had been 'to the *Catholick Cauſe*; and how much they had retarded its Progreſs:' Farther urging, 'That *Tyrconnel* had proceeded by too ſlow a Motion, and that 'he had effected nothing but the turning out of a few Soldiers, and frightning 'away the induſtrious *Engliſh*, who might by Indulgence and Encouragement be allur'd to turn Converts; and that *Caſtlemain* was a Man of great 'Parts, and of an inſinuating Carriage, for the accompliſhing ſuch a Work, 'as the *Reducing of Hereticks*.' All which was ſoon ſent to *Tyrconnel*, and by his Penſioner in *London* communicated to *Paris*. To prevent the impending Storm, the Lord Deputy and his two grand Polititians, *Rice* and *Neagle*, ſit up Day and Night, and conſulted what Apology they ſhou'd make for their ſmall Proficiency in Proſelyting Men to their Religion; and what future Method they ſhou'd take to endear *Proteſtants* to the Eſpouſal of the *Romiſh* Cauſe and Intereſt. They conſider'd, while the *Engliſh* were Maſters of their Lands, they fear'd not the Government; but if that they were touch'd in their Eſtates, they wou'd commit Treaſon, or turn *Catholicks*: And therefore, upon mature Deliberation, *Rice* and *Neagle* were ordor'd to draw up the Subſtance of an Act, whereby the Lands in the whole Kingdom were, in a manner, given to the Power of the King; and although the *Catholicks* were to have but half of their Eſtates, yet the other Part was to be under ſuch *Qualifications*, as that the King might diſpoſe of it to ſuch as he found to be obedient Sons. This, if the King wou'd have purſu'd, they cou'd have had a Parliament when they pleas'd, fitted for their Purpoſe; all Corporations being already put into *Popiſh* Hands, and all the Sheriffs of the Counties being *Papiſts*, who cou'd have made what Returns they pleas'd. And this Conſult being brought to Maturity, it was concluded, that *Rice* ſhou'd go over into *England* as Plenipotentiary in negotiating this Affair; and Chief Juſtice *Nugent* was to accompany him, tho' it was not thought fit to intruſt him with the ſecret Intrigue.

The

The *Iriſh* Embaſſadors, as they were call'd in *England*, being come over, *Rice* made his firſt Court to the Lord *Sunderland*; and was ſo active and induſtrious in advancing this new Deſign, that Father *Petre* was influenc'd to join in it, tho' at firſt he cou'd not be prevail'd upon to hear it: For he was abſolutely biaſs'd by *Caſtlemain*'s Intereſt; and being no Polititian, but of a vain imperious Temper, was wont to contemn every thing that was not of his Humour: However, this Project being to convert or confound the Hereticks, he at laſt embrac'd it; and ſo it was concluded, that he and *Sunderland* ſhou'd wait on the King with it. But notwithſtanding Father *Petre*'s Adherence to this laudable Deſign, he ſtill continu'd in *Caſtlemain*'s Intereſt, and his former Inclinations to remove *Tyrconnel:* And it was believ'd, that that happy Difference among the ſeveral *Romiſh* Factions, was the prime Occaſion of diverting this fatal Blow deſign'd for *Ireland.* However, the Buſineſs was in the Cloſet fully diſcours'd to the King by *Sunderland* and *Petre*; and his Majeſty was ſoon enclin'd to the thing: But the great Difficulty was how to paſs it in the Council; for he was ſenſible that ſuch as were againſt *Tyrconnel*'s Continuance in the Government of *Ireland*, wou'd be more violent againſt his being there at the Head of a Parliament, being a Man whom the Council had in contempt. Father *Petre* thought he cou'd eaſily remove that Impediment, by introducing the Pope's Recommendation of *Caſtlemain*; but that was cancell'd by the Protection the *French* King afforded to *Tyrconnel.* Amidſt ſuch Difficulties it was hard to form a Reſolution; but however it was agreed, 'That the two 'Judges ſhou'd be publickly introduc'd to the King with their Project for 'calling a Parliament in *Ireland*, and to repreſent to his Majeſty the deplo-'rable Condition of his *Catholick* Subjects, occaſion'd by the Injuſtice and 'Oppreſſion of the *Act of Settlement.*' All this was done accordingly; and they brought the Project to *White-Hall*, where the King receiv'd it in Writing, and told them, *He wou'd adviſe with his Council about it.*

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Diviſions in Court about it.

The firſt Council-Day his Majeſty brought this Project to the Board, and in few Words acquainted thoſe preſent with the Contents and Importance of it, and by whom it was preſented to him. No Man ſpoke a Word, either for or againſt the thing, but deſired it might be read; which being done, the Lord *Bellaſis*, in a Heat of Paſſion, bitterly inveigh'd againſt it, ſaying, *That if ſuch Deſigns as theſe were encourag'd, the* Catholicks *of* England *had beſt in time look out for ſome other Countrey, and not ſtay to be a mad Sacrifice to* Iriſh *Rebels.* The Lord *Powis*, according to the beſt of his Underſtanding, ſeconded it; and in ſhort it was ſo run down, that none of the chief Promoters of it durſt attempt to ſpeak in its Vindication, but only deſired, that thoſe Gentlemen that brought over the Papers might be heard. *Bellaſis* was for Committing them, or commanding their immediate Return; but it was at laſt thought reaſonable to give them a particular Hearing. Theſe Embaſſadors appearing according to Appointment, *Rice* made a Speech full of Subtlety and Artifice, and anſwer'd the Objections that had been made by the Lords *Bellaſis* and *Powis*; but when *Nugent* came to ſpeak, he unexpectedly unravell'd all that *Rice* had plauſibly put together; and *Bellaſis* ſoon found out the Defect of his *Iriſh Underſtanding*, as he call'd it, abuſing him beyond the Reſpect due to the Place where the King was, calling him downright *Fool* and *Knave*; and *Powis* did the ſame. They were not long in tearing this fine Project in pieces; which when they had done, *Bellaſis* bid them *make haſte to the Fool their Maſter, and bid him, the next Meſſage he ſent, to employ wiſer Men, and upon a more honeſt Errand. Powis* bid them tell him, *That the King had better uſe to make of his* Catholick *Subjects in* England, *than to ſacrifice them for a Reprizal to the* Proteſtants *of* Ireland, *in lieu of their Eſtates.* The King remain'd ſilent, and without any Reſolve or Order, broke up

1687/8. Jac. 3. Ref. 28

Tyrconnel *fix'd.*

up the Council; and the Embaſſadors appear'd no more upon the Stage, but departed with great Precipitation and Confuſion. And this Miſcarriage gave freſh Occaſion to *Caſtlemain*'s Friends to raiſe Objections againſt *Tyrconnel*; alledging, 'That by his Means the Revenue in *Ireland* was incredibly ſunk, 'and that in another Year, there wou'd not be Money enough in the King-'dom to pay the Army; and that this laſt Project of his wou'd exaſperate 'and frighten away the Remainder of the *Engliſh*, who being the dealing 'and induſtrious Part of the Nation, wou'd put a fatal Period to the Trade 'of that Iſland.' But all theſe juſt and reaſonable Allegations, laid before the King by the moſt conſidering Perſons, were all to no effect: For tho' his Majeſty kept it ſecret from moſt of his Council, yet there was great Reaſon to believe that he had promis'd the *French* King the Diſpoſal of that Government and Kingdom. But to return to *England*.

1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

The King's ſecond Declaration *for Liberty of Conſcience.*

III. 1. The *Romiſh* Religion being now triumphant, and the Breaches into the *Engliſh* Conſtitution born with all Submiſſion, King *James*, intoxicated with the fulſom Addreſſes, and hurry'd on by his own ill Fate, proceeded to an Attempt that help'd to bring all things to a *Criſis*. This was the reviving and improving his *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*; which Declaration being not eſteem'd advantagious enough to the *Romaniſts*, it was thought fit to iſſue out another in a higher Strain, in which they were chiefly included. This was publiſh'd upon the 27th Day of *April*, and is as follows: 'James *Rex*. Our Conduct has been ſuch in all Times, as ought 'to have perſuaded the World, that We are Firm and Conſtant to Our Re-'ſolutions: Yet that eaſy People may not be abus'd by the Malice of crafty 'wicked Men, We think fit for to Declare, That Our Intentions are not 'chang'd ſince the 4th of *April* 1687, when We iſſu'd out Our *Declaration* 'for Liberty of Conſcience in the following Terms.' [*Here the Declaration was recited verbatim, and then it follows.*] 'Ever ſince We granted 'this *Indulgence*, We have made it Our principal Care to ſee it preſerv'd 'without Diſtinction, as We are encourag'd to do daily by Multitudes of '*Addreſſes*, and many other Aſſurances We receive from Our Subjects of all 'Perſuaſions, as Teſtimonies of their Satisfaction and Duty; the Effects of 'which We doubt not but the next Parliament will ſhew; and that it will 'not be in vain, That We have reſolv'd to uſe Our utmoſt Endeavours to 'eſtabliſh *Liberty of Conſcience*, on ſuch juſt and equal Foundations, as 'will render it Unalterable, and ſecure to all People the free Exerciſe of 'their Religion for ever; by which future Ages may reap the Benefit of 'what is ſo undoubtedly for the general Good of the whole Kingdom. It is 'ſuch a Security We deſire, without the Burthen and Conſtraint of *Oaths* 'and *Teſts*, which have been unhappily made by ſome Governments, but 'cou'd never ſupport any: Nor cou'd Men be advanc'd by ſuch Means to 'Offices and Employments, which ought to be the Reward of Services, Fi-'delity and Merit. We muſt conclude, That not only good Chriſtians will 'join in this, but whoever is concern'd for the Wealth and Power of the 'Nation. It wou'd, perhaps, prejudice ſome of our Neighbours, who 'might loſe part of thoſe vaſt Advantages they now enjoy, if *Liberty of* '*Conſcience* were ſettled in theſe Kingdoms, which are above all others moſt 'capable of Improvements, and of Commanding the Trade of the World. 'In purſuance of this great Work, We have been forc'd to make many 'Changes both of Civil and Military Officers throughout Our Dominions, 'not thinking any ought to be employ'd in Our Service, who will not 'contribute towards the Eſtabliſhing the Peace and Greatneſs of their Coun-'trey, which We moſt earneſtly deſire, as unbiaſs'd Men may ſee by the 'whole Conduct of Our Government, and by the Condition of Our Fleet, 'and of Our Armies, which with good Management ſhall conſtantly be the

Gazettes. *Boyer. Jones.* Biſhop's Tryal. Complete Hiſtory. &c.

'ſame, and greater, if the Safety or Honour of the Nation require it. We 1688.
'recommend theſe Conſiderations to all Our Subjects, and that they will
'reflect on their preſent Eaſe and Happineſs, how for above three Years Jac. 4.
'that it has pleas'd God to permit Us to Reign over theſe Kingdoms, We
'have not appear'd to be that Prince, Our Enemies wou'd make the World Reſ. 29
'afraid of; Our chief Aim having been not to be the Oppreſſor but the Fa-
'ther of Our People; of which We can give no better Evidence, than by
'conjuring them to lay aſide private Animoſities, as well as groundleſs Jea-
'louſies, and to chuſe ſuch Members of Parliament, as may do their Parts
'to finiſh what We have begun for the Advantage of the Monarchy, over
'which Almighty God has plac'd Us; being reſolv'd to call a Parliament
'that ſhall meet in *November* next at fartheſt.

Order'd to be read in all Churches.

This Declaration being iſſu'd out, the King was not contented to have it publiſh'd in the uſual Manner, but he was reſolv'd to have it ſolemnly read in all the Churches in *England*, excuſing it in all Maſs-Houſes and Meeting-Houſes. The Biſhops and Clergy were of all others averſe to the Subject Matter of this *Declaration*, as knowing the Illegality, and foreſeeing the fatal Deſign of it; and therefore the Court ſeem'd the more willing to mortify theſe powerful Enemies, and make them become acceſſary to their own Ruin, either by their Compliance or their Refuſal; and *even to eat their own Dung*, as the haughty Father *Petre* ſhamefully threatned; and therefore this Order of Council was made and publiſh'd at the Court at *White-Hall*, on the 4th of *May*: 'It is this Day order'd by his Majeſty 'in Council, That his Majeſty's late Gracious *Declaration*, bearing Date 'the 27th of *April* laſt, be read at the uſual Time of Divine Service, upon 'the 20th and 27th of this Month, in all Churches and Chapels within the Ci-'ties of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and ten Miles thereabouts: And upon the '3d and 10th of *June* next, in all other Churches and Chapels throughout 'this Kingdom. And it is hereby farther order'd, That the Right Reverend 'the Biſhops, cauſe the ſaid *Declaration* to be ſent and diſtributed through-'out the ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſes, to be read accordingly.

Several Biſhops meet and debate about it.

It is eaſy to conceive how much the Biſhops and whole Clergy of *England* were affected and ſurpriz'd at this imperious Order, which they had Reaſon to take as the greateſt Hardſhip and Snare that cou'd be laid for them. They had no ſooner receiv'd it, but many of them aſſembled at the Archbiſhop's Palace at *Lambeth*, to conſult how they ought to behave themſelves upon ſuch a nice and arduous Occaſion. And having firſt implor'd the Divine Aſſiſtance by Extraordinary Prayers, after mature Deliberation, it was agreed, in the firſt Place, 'That the *Matter* of the Declara-'tion was altogether Illegal, the Foot on which it ſtood, being a Power 'not only to Diſpenſe in contingent and particular Caſes, which, if the 'Lawgivers cou'd have foreſeen, they wou'd have provided a Diſpenſation 'for them; but it was to Diſpenſe with all Sorts of Laws, in Caſes contra-'ry to the very Deſign and End of making them: That this was not pro-'perly a *Diſpenſing*, but a *Diſannulling Power*, highly prejudicial to the 'King Himſelf, becauſe it took away that Faith and Truſt which the Peo-'ple repoſe in him when a Law is made, which they look upon as their 'Security: That 'twas true, each Biſhop or Miniſter was not a capable 'Judge in ſuch Caſes; but however he was Judge for his own private Con-'ſcience, againſt which I muſt not act: That this Caſe was publickly ad-'judg'd in Parliament, in 1672: That the general Forbearance of Addreſſes, 'grounded upon the Illegality of that *Diſpenſing Power*, ſhew'd this to 'have been the Judgment of the greateſt Part of the Clergy and others: 'That the Declaration of the preſent Judges, went no farther than the par-'ticular Military Caſe of Sir *Edward Hales*, which, in whatſoever Words 'it was expreſs'd, yet never came legally to the Cognizance of the Sub-'ject:

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'ject: That an unlawful Matter was not to be publiſh'd, if he who publiſh'd 'it, thought the Matter unlawful; for it cannot come to him, being Ille-'gal, by any Legal Authority; for the King can do no Illegal Thing; and 'if his Officers do it, they do it not by the King's Authority; and there-'fore the Refuſing of it is no Diſobedience, being no Illegal Refuſal: That 'if, then, the Biſhops publiſh'd the *Declaration*, they did it voluntarily as 'their own Act, and conſequently publiſh'd an Illegal Thing, without Le-'gal Authority, and were puniſhable for it. That many and great were the 'ill Conſequences of Reading the *Declaration*; *Firſt*, That many wou'd 'juſtly judge the Clergy either Cowards or Hypocritical Time-ſervers, in 'Publiſhing what they thought Illegal, and Illegally ſent to them: *Secondly*, That many who had Votes for Parliament-Men, wou'd take this for the 'Conſent of the Publiſhers, and be ſtrengthen'd in the chooſing ſuch Men, 'as ſhou'd be Friends not only to the *Indulgence*, but to the Foundation of 'it, the *Diſpenſing Power: Thirdly*, That the World would have Reaſon 'to take the Publication for an *Approbation*; becauſe there cou'd be no o-'ther Intention in ordering it to be Publiſh'd, but to make the Clergy *Par-'ties* to it; for it was as much Known before it was Read, as it wou'd be 'after the Reading of it; and therefore the making it known was not 'the only Thing intended: And *Fourthly*, That after this they muſt ex-'pect farther Things to be publiſh'd by them, at which they muſt make a 'Stand; and their making a Stand when they had loſt their Reputation, 'wou'd be of no Force: That therefore in Prudence as well as Conſcience, 'they ought not to publiſh a *Declaration*, which they knew to be againſt 'Law, and which in its Nature and Deſign was levell'd againſt their own 'Intereſt, and that of their Religion.

In this Debate, ſome objected, 'That their Refuſal wou'd be interpreted 'by the *Papiſts*, as a Failure in the great Principles of Loyalty, to which 'the Church of *England* made Pretence:' Others ſaid, 'That *Diſſenters* 'wou'd conſtrue it, as a Declaration againſt all Tenderneſs to them;' and Others again, 'That Suſpenſion or Deprivation of the Refuſers might follow, 'whereby the People of their Church might be left as Sheep without a 'Shepherd.' To the firſt Objection it was anſwer'd, 'That their Non-'Addreſſing had been reflected on in Books as well as Diſcourſes, but had 'no Effect to blaſt their Loyalty, tho' the Clergy refus'd to Addreſs even 'in a Branch that made for themſelves, becauſe of that one Foundation on 'which that Cauſe ſtood, with the reſt of the *Diſpenſing Power:* That 'Loyalty being Obedience according to Law, they were the Loyal Men 'who acted not contrary thereto: That the beſt Friends to the Crown are 'thoſe who ſupport the Law; and that they ſtill maintain'd the Principle 'of Suffering without any Unchriſtian Oppoſition.' To the Second, they ſaid, 'That the *Diſſenters* had never ſuch Aſſurances from Church-Men 'of their Inclination to Tenderneſs to them as they then receiv'd; That 'they cou'd not but ſee, that this Refuſal was not to hinder any Favours 'towards them, by this *Indulgence*, but the *Diſpenſing Power*; which, 'if it took place, they cou'd not but diſcern, that a new *Magna Charta* 'for *Liberty of Conſcience* wou'd be of no Validity to them, for a new '*Declaration* might diſpenſe with it at Pleaſure: And that the Wiſeſt and 'Beſt of them wou'd look upon their Refuſal as a Teſtimony of their Sin-'cerity to the *Proteſtant Religion*, and not of any Diſaffection to Them.' To the laſt Objection it was anſwer'd, 'That the Church and their Religi-'on wou'd ſuffer leſs by the Conſciouſneſs of their ſuſpended Prelates or 'Miniſters, than it wou'd by their Illegal Compliance in ſo great and fun-'damental a Point: That they had better Thoughts of the King's Clemen-'cy and Juſtice, when he ſhou'd be inform'd by Men of Conſcience a-'gainſt the Counſels of Men of Intereſt; for how cou'd the King, at the

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'very time he proclaim'd entire *Liberty of Conſcience* to all, even thoſe
'who formerly were look'd upon as his Enemies, do an open Violence
'to the Conſciences of thoſe who had ever been acknowledg'd to be his
'Friends. And in ſum, That they ought to perform their Duty, and leave
'the Event to the Mercy of God; and *That a certain Evil was not to be*
'*done to avoid a contingent One.*

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They Screen their Clergy.

Upon this grand Conſultation, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops conſidering a great Storm was falling upon the whole Clergy of *England*, if they ſhou'd be proſecuted for refuſing the *Declaration*; and being unwilling to lay them under ſo hard a Temptation, as to ſave themſelves from Ruin by a ſinful Compliance, choſe rather to take the Blame and Puniſhment upon themſelves, in refuſing to ſend the *Declaration* to their Clergy. An Heroick Act worthy of the Character of Biſhops of the Church of *England*, who now reſolv'd to be Confeſſors, as their Predeceſſors had been Martyrs, for the *Proteſtant Religion*. And therefore before they parted they drew up an humble Petition, agreed to and ſubſcrib'd by all the Prelates then preſent, namely, Dr. *Sancroft*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; Dr. *Kenn*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; Dr. *Turner*, Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Lake*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; Dr. *White*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, in this Form: *To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty; The humble Petition of* William, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and divers of the Suffragan Biſhops of that Province, now preſent with Him, in behalf of Themſelves, and others of their abſent Brethren, and of the Inferior Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſes, Humbly ſheweth,* 'That the great Averſeneſs they find in Them-
'ſelves to the Diſtributing and Publiſhing in all their Churches your Maje-
'ſty's late *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, proceeds neither from
'any want of Duty and Obedience to your Majeſty (our Holy Mother the
'Church of *England*, being both in her Principles and her conſtant Pra-
'ctice unqueſtionably Loyal, and having to her great Honour been more
'than once publickly acknowledg'd to be ſo, by your Gracious Majeſty;)
'nor yet from any want of Tenderneſs to *Diſſenters*, in Relation to whom
'we are willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhall be thought fit, when
'the Matter ſhall be conſider'd and ſettled in Parliament and Convocati-
'on: But among many other Conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe
'that *Declaration* is founded upon ſuch a *Diſpenſing Power*, as hath
'been often declared Illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the Years
'1662, and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majeſty's Reign; and is a
'Matter of ſo great Moment and Conſequence to the whole Nation, both
'in Church and State, that your *Petitioners* cannot in Prudence, Honour
'or Conſcience, ſo far make themſelves *Parties* to it, as the Diſtribution of
'it all over the Nation, and the Solemn Publication of it once and again,
'even in God's Houſe and in the Time of his Divine Service, muſt a-
'mount to in common and reaſonable Conſtruction. Your *Petitioners*
'therefore moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, That you
'will be pleas'd not to inſiſt upon their Diſtributing and Reading your Ma-
'jeſty's ſaid *Declaration*; *and your* Petitioners, *as in Duty bound, ſhall*
'*ever Pray*, &c.

And Petition the King againſt it.

On the ſame *Evening*, the 18th of *May*, and the *Friday* before the *Declaration* was firſt to have been read, ſix of theſe Prelates went over directly to *White-Hall*; and being introduc'd by the Earl of *Sunderland*, deliver'd their Petition into his Majeſty's Hands; none but themſelves and their Metropolitan being privy to it. Upon the reading of it, the King ſtartled, and ſhew'd himſelf to be very much incens'd, and made this Anſwer in a very angry Tone: *I have heard of this before, but did not believe it: I did not expect this from the Church of* England, *eſpecially from*

The King's Anſwer to their Petition.

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ſome of you. If I change my Mind, you ſhall hear from me, if not, I expect my Command ſhall be obey'd. The Biſhops with all Reverence reply'd, *We reſign our ſelves to the Will of God*; and then immediately retir'd. The King's threatening Anſwer, tho' it ſtruck ſome Terror into the Minds of thoſe Reverend Prelates, yet it was not ſufficient to make them forget their Duty: They remain'd firm and unſhaken; and there were two or three Biſhops, who were mute in this Reign, and one or two more, Commiſſioners, that caus'd the Declaration to be publiſh'd: Nay, it was obſerv'd, that in ſome Churches, where the Miniſters, either through Fear or Miſtake, comply'd with the Orders of their Superiors, the greateſt Part of the Congregation diſappear'd as ſoon as they began to read the *Declaration*. In *London* it was only read in four or five Churches; and of thoſe that comply'd we have the Names of only three, *viz. Hall*, *Elliot* and *Thompſon*.

Reflections upon the Declaration.

At the ſame time a Letter was drawn up by a great Hand, privately printed, and directed to all the Clergy in the Nation, being fill'd with excellent Arguments to diſſuade them from Reading the *Declaration:* Out of which we ſhall inſert the following Paſſage, as repreſenting the preſent Caſe of the Clergy. 'This is the difficulty of our Caſe; we ſhall be cen-'ſur'd on both Sides, but with this Difference: We ſhall fall a little ſooner 'by not Reading the *Declaration*, if our Gracious Prince reſent this as 'an Act of an obſtinate and peeviſh, or factious Diſobedience, as our Ene-'mies will be ſure to repreſent it to him; we ſhall as certainly fall, and 'not long after, if we do Read it, and then we ſhall fall unpity'd and de-'ſpis'd, and it may be with the Curſes of the Nation, whom we have 'ruin'd by our Compliance; and this is the Way never to riſe more: And 'may we ſuffer all that can be ſuffer'd in this World, rather than contri-'bute to the final Ruin of the beſt Church in the World.' Never was a Sheet of Paper more induſtriouſly and effectually diſpers'd throughout the Kingdom; many Thouſands being ſent from unknown Hands, by Poſts, Carriers, and other Ways; which ſerv'd to confirm ſuch as were wavering, and to ſhame out ſuch as were willing to oblige the Court at the Expence of the Church, and Clergy of *England*.

2. The Oppoſition of the Biſhops, as it was call'd, rais'd a remarkable Spirit throughout the Kingdom; The Church of *England* was alarm'd, and upon the Ferment; The *Diſſenters* ſtood gazing at a diſtance, and the Court appear'd both Uneaſy and Unreſolv'd what Courſe to ſteer in ſuch a critical Juncture. Some expected that the King wou'd now ſhew an unlimited Power, and deprive thoſe Prelates of their Dignities, by his ſole *Diſpenſing Authority*; Others, that he wou'd be contented to deliver them to his Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and cauſe them to be ſuſpended: And others again imagin'd that he wou'd refer the Matter to the enſuing Parliament which he had promis'd to call. But the *Popiſh* Party had other Methods in view. And therefore the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the ſix Biſhops were ſummon'd before the Council, where they appear'd on the 8th of *June*; and being ask'd *Whether they own'd the Petition?* They immediately anſwer'd, *They humbly hop'd, as they ſtood there as Criminals, his Majeſty wou'd not take advantage againſt them, for they were always ready to obey his juſt Commands.* Upon which they were order'd to withdraw; and being call'd a ſecond Time, they made the ſame Anſwer to the former Queſtion: But Chancellor *Jeffreys* preſſing them to own the Paper, at the third coming in, the Archbiſhop confeſs'd, *That it was written with his own Hand, and that the reſt had ſign'd it*; adding withal, *That they had done nothing but what they were ready to juſtify.* The Lord Chancellor, a little ſurpriz'd at their Conſtancy, endea-

The Biſhops ſummon'd to appear before the King.

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vour'd to make them ſenſible of the ill Conſequences of their Diſobedience, which tended to diminiſh the King's Authority, and to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and at laſt ask'd them, *Whether they wou'd give their Recognizances to appear before the Court of* King's-Bench, *to anſwer this high Miſdemeanour?* This they all refus'd, inſiſting on the *Privilege of their Peerage, which they were reſolv'd to maintain, as well as the Rights of the Church*; *being equally bound by their Callings to oppoſe all Innovations both in Government and Religion.* This brave Anſwer threw the whole Council into Aſtoniſhment; and *Jeffreys* threatned to ſend them to the *Tower*, and to proſecute them to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, unleſs they immediately recanted, and withdrew their Petition. They unanimouſly anſwer'd, *That they were ready to go whitherſoever his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſend them*; *That they hop'd the King of Kings wou'd be their Protector and their Judge*; *That they fear'd nothing from Men*; *and that having acted according to Law, and their own Conſciences, no Puniſhments ſhou'd ever be able to ſhake their Reſolutions.* 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

Finding them thus immoveable, a Warrant was drawn and ſubſcrib'd by Chancellor *Jeffreys*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Arundel*, the Marquiſs of *Powis*, the Earls of *Mulgrave*, *Huntingdon*, *Peterborough*, *Craven*, *Murray*, *Middleton*, *Melfort* and *Caſtlemain*, the Lords *Dartmouth*, *Godolphin* and *Dover*, Sir *John Earnly*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, and Sir *Nicholas Butler*, to commit them Priſoners to the *Tower*; the Reaſon given in the Warrant being *For Contriving, Making and Publiſhing a Seditious Libel againſt His Majeſty, and His Government:* And Mr. Attorney and Solicitor-General were order'd to proſecute them for the ſame the next *Term.* 'Tis ſaid ſome of the Judges there preſent refus'd to ſet their Hands to that Warrant; but however, it was immediately put in Execution; and thoſe venerable Prelates were led to the Place of Confinement, with that compos'd Serenity in their Looks, that only reſults from a Calmneſs of Mind, and a Conſciouſneſs of their Duty. This Primitive Deportment attracted the Admiration of the moſt Hard-Hearted, and melted into Tears thoſe of a ſofter Nature; and the whole City was ſenſibly touch'd with a Mixture of Tenderneſs and Eſteem. *They are ſent to the* Tower.

Now leſt the People ſhou'd be too ſtrongly affected with ſo moving a Spectacle, they were ſent to the *Tower* by Water, in the moſt private Manner. But this Precaution was in ſome Meaſure uſeleſs; for the People, fixed with Love and Zeal, flock'd in great Multitudes to the River-Side, with loud Acclamations extoll'd the Biſhop's Conſtancy, and upon their Knees crav'd their Benedictions. The Court apprehending a Tumult, order'd ſome Companies of Soldiers to be up in Arms; but the People were now under too deep a Conſternation, to uſe any thing but Sighs and Tears to vent their Reſentments. For a while they ſeem'd ſtruck with a deadly Silence; nor is it in the Power of Words to expreſs the particular ſort of Affection, which the *Engliſh* Nation ſhew'd upon this Occaſion to their Spiritual Leaders. Not only the People, but Perſons of Quality, and even the Soldiers, ſecretly murmur'd at this Violence, and did not ſtick to ſay, *That their Duty to the King was not ſufficient to ſtifle their juſt Concern for the Reverend Divines, who we ſo unworthily us'd, only becauſe they wou'd not betray their Conſciences, and the Truſt repos'd in them.* Thus inſtead of falling into the Hands of a rude, ſevere Guard, they were no ſooner landed at the *Tower*, but moſt of the Officers and Soldiers fell on their Knees to beg their Bleſſing: And thus, as an Author obſerves, a Place, before polluted by the Reſidence of ſo many Traiterous Criminals, was in a manner ſanctify'd by the Preſence of their Tutelar Angels of the Church of *Enggland*, and of the Liberties of the Nation. Their Lordſhips were ſuffer'd to go immediately to the Chapel, to Evening Prayer, where it is obſerv'd, the *Their Reception there.*

Second

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Second Leſſon was by the Courſe of the Church, extremely well adapted to their Condition; being the vi^th Chapter of the 2^d to the *Corinthians*; *Giving no Offence in any Thing, that the Miniſtry be not blamed; but in all things approving our ſelves as the Miniſters of God, in much Patience, in Afflictions, in Neceſſities, in Diſtreſſes, in Stripes, in Impriſonments*, &c. The King being inform'd of all the Demonſtrations of Tenderneſs and Reſpect that were paid to the Biſhops in Diſgrace, and fearing the fatal Conſequences, cauſed the Guard of the *Tower* to be doubled.

The Birth of the Prince of Wales.

3. In the midſt of this ſorrowful and calamitous Seaſon, a Matter of great Joy happen'd to the *Roman Catholicks* and Court-Favourites, and that was the News of the Queen's being deliver'd of a Son, on *Trinity-Sunday*, the 10^th of *June*, between the Hours of Nine and Ten in the Morning. Now it was, when her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Anne* was retired from Court, as it was ſaid, upon the Account of an Indignity offer'd her by the Queen, and the Biſhops ſecured in the *Tower*, that the *Jeſuits* Prophecy concerning the Birth of a Prince *Wales* was at laſt accompliſh'd. It had been a long Time uncertain, Whether *Windſor*, *Hampton-Court*, or *White-Hall* was the Place where the Queen deſign'd to lye in: But on a ſudden, we are told, that her Majeſty gave Orders for the fitting up of an Appartment for that Purpoſe in St. *James*'s Houſe; and ſent many repeated Commands, That it muſt be finiſh'd by *Saturday*-Night. Accordingly her Majeſty on the 9^th of *June* was carry'd in a Chair to St. *James*'s, after ſhe had play'd at Cards at *White-Hall* till Eleven a Clock at Night: And the next Morning, People were not a little ſurpriz'd, to hear that ſhe was brought to Bed of a Prince. What was more ſurprizing was, That the News was told with as much Confidence before the Delivery as after it; as if it was a Secret committed to ſome People who knew not how to keep any. The Author of the *Complete Hiſtory* tells us, 'That an eminent Citizen 'now living, Sir *S. E.* is ready to atteſt it upon Oath, That he was call'd 'up early that Morning to come to an *Iriſh* Agent of the King's, and while 'he was with him, a Meſſenger came to him from the Court, in very great 'Haſte and Joy, and told him in a great Rapture, *That they had got a* '*Prince of* Wales; which was ſome Hours before the Time that was after-'wards given out.' In ſhort, adds he, the former Suſpicions concerning her Majeſty's big Belly, were now ſtrengthned by the Circumſtances of her Delivery, at a Time when moſt Proteſtant Ladies were at Church, the Biſhops impriſon'd, the Princeſs *Anne* at the *Bath*, and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador never call'd to be a Witneſs in Behalf of the Princeſs of *Orange*.

A Proclamation about it.

On the ſame Day, the King not only order'd the Lord Mayor to cauſe Bone-Fires, and other publick Rejoicings to be made, but publiſh'd a Proclamation, 'That it having pleas'd Almighty God, of his great and conti-'nu'd Mercy to his Majeſty and his Kingdoms, to bleſs Him and his Royal 'Conſort the Queen with a Son, and theſe his Kingdoms and Dominions 'with a Prince; his Majeſty thought fit to appoint a Time of *Publick* '*Thankſgiving* for ſo great a Bleſſing, on *Sunday June* the 17^th within the 'Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and on *July* the 1^ſt in all other Places. 'And for this Purpoſe his Majeſty had ſignify'd his Royal Pleaſure to *Tho-'mas* Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to Prepare a Form of Religious Service 'and Publick Thankſgiving ſuitable to this Occaſion.' Theſe Days were ſolemniz'd with extraordinary Rejoicings by the *Popiſh* Party; but the *Proteſtants* were for the moſt part ſilent and reſerv'd, as doubting the Fact and dreading the Conſequence. His Majeſty, to expreſs his Satisfaction, was pleas'd, by the Queen's Bed-Side, ſoon after her Delivery, to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon Dr. *William Walgrave*, her Majeſty's Phyſician, for his Skill and particular Services to her Majeſty: And the King, farther

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to ſhew his Exultation, beſtow'd great Preſents upon ſeveral of his Miniſters, and gave conſiderable Charities to the Poor, both Natives and Foreigners. And laſtly, the Birth of a Royal Son, which the *Papiſts* themſelves call'd *Miraculous*, produc'd a new Set of Loyal Addreſſes, tho' not ſo fulſom as the former; for now the Fervour was much abated, and no *Papiſt* cou'd expreſs his Joy for the Prince of *Wales*, but a *Proteſtant* was ready to return him this Anſwer, *The Biſhops are in the* Tower. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

As to this famous Birth, which has caus'd ſuch infinite Arguments, Opinions and Conjectures, it may be expected, that ſomething more particular ſhou'd be ſaid in this Hiſtory. The moſt fix'd Rule in hard and intricate Caſes, is never to ſwim beyond ones Depth: However, we may fairly and ſummarily repreſent the principal Allegations we find on both ſides. On the one ſide it was alledg'd, over and above the King's ſuppos'd Incapacity, 'That 'the Queen had been long without Children, and now had never a conſtant 'Reckoning: That ſhe was brought to Bed after a ſudden Removing of 'her Lodgings, and at a Time when moſt *Proteſtant* Ladies were either in 'Bed or at Church, as if ſhe had deſigned to avoid Witneſſes: That nei'ther the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, nor 'the *Dutch* Embaſſador, were preſent at her Majeſties Labour, tho' they 'were the three Perſons who ought principally to have been there: That 'during the Labour, the Bed her Majeſty lay in, was not left ſo open as it 'ſhou'd have been: That while her Majeſty went with Child, ſhe never 'ſatisfy'd the Princeſs *Anne*, and many *Proteſtant* Ladies about her, of her 'Bigneſs, either by letting them feel her Belly, or ſee her Breaſts; neither 'did ſhe ſhew the Princeſs any of her Milk after her Lying in: And more'over, there was a Warming-Pan brought into the Room on pretence of 'warming the Queen's Bed, which was altogether unneceſſary, the Weather 'being extreme hot, and the Room heated beſides by a vaſt Crowd of Peo'ple, on purpoſe, as it was reported, to make the Juggle undiſcern'd in the 'other. In ſum, it was alledg'd, That tho' the King, Queen and Courti'ers ſufficiently knew before the Delivery that the Nation ſuſpected an Im'poſture, they did not uſe thoſe Precautions as they might and ought to 'have done in ſuch a Caſe; and inſtead of putting it beyond all Poſſibility 'of Doubt, they left ſo many Marks of Suſpicion as caus'd infinite Doubts 'and Diſputes: Inſomuch that ſome honeſt *Roman Catholicks* own'd them'ſelves, *That ſo important an Affair had been manag'd with great Supine'neſs and Imprudence, during all the Time it was depending.* *The different Opinions about his Birth.*

On the other Side it was anſwer'd, 'That nothing was more common 'than Intermiſſions in Child-bearing, and even for Women that have had 'ſeveral Children, to miſtake in their Reckoning; and for thoſe who do 'not miſtake, to be often brought to Bed, ſometimes one, ſometimes two 'Months before the uſual Time, without any Prejudice to the Child: That 'the Queen was known to have ever had as eaſy and as quick a Labour as 'any Woman in the Kingdom; to which her Tallneſs not a little contribu'ted, and which was the Reaſon that a great many Perſons, who were ſent 'for, did not come in Time to ſee her deliver'd: That the Preſence of the 'Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *Dutch* Ambaſſador, was not abſolutely 'neceſſary, and that the Princeſs *Anne*'s being at the *Bath* was a voluntary Action of her own; that the Court expected ſhe ſhou'd have aſſiſted 'at the Queen's Labour, which might have been ſufficient to convince her: 'And as for the Queen's Milk, which was never ſhewn her, it was no new thing 'to ſee Women loſe it within three or four Days after they are brought to 'Bed.' As to the Warming-Pan, it was reply'd, 'That a Labour often be'gins with a Quaking and Trembling like an Ague-Fit, for which ſome Per'ſons warm their Bed in the hotteſt Weather; and beſides, that it had been 'impoſſible to put a new-born Child, with the After-Burden, in the narrow

'Compaſs

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'Compaſs of a Warming-Pan, without ſtifling it.' All the other Objections were anſwer'd by ſaying, 'That the imperious Spirit of the Queen, and 'the inſulting Triumphs of the *Romiſh* Cabal, made the Court look upon 'all Precautions as mean and beneath them, which afterwards they were 'convinc'd wou'd have been but prudential Condeſcenſions.' Then great Streſs was laid upon the Incredibility of the Impoſture; 'That a King and 'a Queen ſhou'd conſpire to put ſuch a Cheat upon themſelves as well as 'the Nation, was unnatural and ſhocking beyond all Example.' To ſay no more of theſe Allegations, we are aſſur'd that the moſt perfect Account of this Matter is in a Manuſcript written by the late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and quoted by Dr. *Burnet*, which, it is to be hop'd, will ſhortly ſee the Light. We ſhall only obſerve, that, notwithſtanding all Arguments to the contrary, the Belief of the Impoſture ſo ſpread in a ſhort Time, that among *Proteſtants* it became almoſt Univerſal. And this Belief, tho' for the moſt part crudely and ſtupidly entertain'd, ſeems to have been the juſt Judgment of Heaven for ſo many Violations and Breaches of ſolemn and publick Faith. There is a natural Puniſhment attends thoſe who are given often to deceive, which is not to be believ'd when they deliver the moſt important Truths.

The Concluſion.

IV. A *Popiſh* Succeſſor being born, the Hopes and Proceedings of the *Romaniſts* ſoon appear'd at the Height; and all Things ſeem'd now to conſpire to accompliſh the Ruine of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt. Only there was ſtill a Parliament wanting to ratify and approve all the illegal Steps that had been made, and more particularly to abrogate the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*. To procure ſuch a Parliament, new Endeavours were us'd, and no Threats, as well as Promiſes, were neglected to try the Inclinations of the People: *Cloſeting* was reaſſum'd, and came again into Faſhion; and the King himſelf was at the Pains to ſound every Man's Mind, how far he might depend upon his Concurrence. If they did not readily promiſe to ſerve the King *in his own Way*, the diſtinguiſhing Word at that Time, there was uſually ſome Brand of Diſgrace put upon them. But it has been juſtly made a Queſtion, Whether the Parliament which the King was thus labouring to model, wou'd have anſwer'd his Expectation, had they come to ſit; for Mens Eyes began daily to open, and the warm Principles of *Engliſh* Liberty to rekindle in the Nation's Breaſt, notwithſtanding ſome Tranſactions had endanger'd the extinguiſhing of them. And tho' the *Diſſenters*, who were likely to be choſen into Parliament upon the new Model of Corporations, wou'd probably have made Terms for themſelves, and have mortify'd the Church of *England*, whoſe Stripes, tho' leſs, were freſher in Remembrance than their own; yet being as averſe to *Popery* as the Church cou'd be, it is not to be imagin'd that they wou'd, upon mature Deliberation, have unhing'd the Conſtitution of *England*, to enable the *Papiſts* to overturn the Eſtabliſh'd National Church, in whoſe Ruines both they and the Church-Men muſt have inevitably periſh'd.

Welwood. Gazettes. Tryals. Wake. Calamy. Sprat.

New Endeavours for making of a Parliament,

Therefore King *James* had more than one Method in his View how to accompliſh his Deſigns: For what a Parliament in all probability, wou'd not do, he ſeem'd reſolv'd that an Army ſhou'd; and therefore Care was taken to model his Troops as much to that End, as the Shortneſs of the Time wou'd allow. *Ireland* was found to be the inexhauſtible Source whence *England* was to be ſupply'd with a *Romiſh* Army; and an *Iriſh Papiſt* was the moſt welcome Gueſt at *Whitehall*. They came over in Shoals to take Poſſeſſion of the *Promis'd Land*; and ſeem'd already to have ſwallow'd up with their Hopes, the beſt Eſtates of the *Hereticks* in *England*. Over and above compleat Regiments of them, there was ſcarce a Troop or Company wherein ſome of them were not plac'd by expreſs Order from the Court. This gave ſo great a Diſguſt to the *Engliſh* Officers and others, that they began

And for modelling the Army.

began to vent Ballads and Lampoons upon the *Iriſh*; and all the ridiculous Stories and Blunders that had been told of others, were now reviv'd and charg'd upon thoſe of that Nation; and in ſhort, it prov'd one of the moſt immediate and viſible Steps towards the King's Downfal. But in the mean time, that the Nation might be made acquainted with his Majeſty's Deſign in augmenting his Forces, an Addreſs, ſuppos'd to be penn'd by a *Jeſuit*, was procured from the City of *Carliſle*, particularly, 'To thank his Maje-'ſty for his *Royal Army*, which really was the Honour and Safety of the 'Nation; let the *Teckelites* think and ſay what they wou'd.' And upon this Occaſion the Addreſſers aſſured his Majeſty, 'That when in his great 'Wiſdom he ſhou'd think fit to call a Parliament, they wou'd chuſe ſuch 'Members as wou'd certainly concur with his Majeſty in taking off the *Pe-'nal Laws* and *Teſt*, and not hazard the Election of any Perſon, who had 'any ways declar'd in Favour of thoſe *Canibal* Laws. Surely, ſay they, 'theſe Men that oppoſe your Majeſty in ſo gracious a Work, do not con-'ſider what a Sovereign Prince, by his Royal Power, can do. A Work 'which Heaven ſmiles upon, and will Reward with no leſs a Bleſſing than 'a Prince of *Wales*.

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Addreſſes.

The Prieſts being now at the Height, were not wanting in putting all their crafty Methods in Practice, in order to eſtabliſh their Religion; and among the reſt, they reviv'd old Stratagems us'd in the Times of Ignorance; and ſent terrible threatning Letters to Perſons of Quality, and others, if they did not very ſhortly reconcile themſelves to the Mother Church of *Rome*. And to ſhew the Spirit of the Perſons and the Times, we ſhall inſert a Letter that never was yet printed, from a *Romiſh* Prieſt in *Lincolnſhire* to a Gentleman of the ſame County, who had gone ſome Lengths with that Party, and done them ſingular Services when they were under Difficulties in the late Reign. The Letter, verbally from the Original, runs thus: '*Sir*, That you have been eminent for your Loyalty in the worſt 'of Times, no Body can doubt; but now it is expected, that you ſhou'd 'give ſome farther Teſtimony of your Affection: That which was reaſon-'able a Year ago, is now become neceſſary; and it cannot be ſuppos'd, 'that you who have gone thus far along with us, ſhou'd faint before the 'End of the Race; but one Stage more carrys us to the deſired Haven, 'where we ſhall be rewarded for all our Pains and Dangers. This is the 'Time, let every good *Catholick* declare himſelf; let us therefore do it 'greedily, and boldly, to the Terror of our Enemies, and Salvation of our 'ſelves and Friends. Thoſe who ſhou'd oppoſe us, are baffled through their 'Diviſions; they are become ſtupid Animals, only fit for Burthens, mere '*Machiavel* Puppits; we ſtanding unſeen have made them play our Game, 'when they knew not what they did: We have decoy'd them into a Snare, 'and we may now come from behind the Curtain to affright them farther. 'Now, *Sir*, I wou'd adviſe you, for your own ſake, to declare your ſelf 'for the Mother Church of *Rome:* You have behav'd your ſelf as a true 'and faithful Son; do not then through Inadvertency, loſe the Reward 'that is laid up for you. She is reſolv'd to entertain no Baſtards, nor *to 'give her Childrens Bread to Dogs*, as *Hereticks* have been always ac-'counted: They can deſerve nothing from Her by their greateſt Services. 'She now is willing to own all for her *Children*, that are deſirous to em-'brace her for a *Mother*; let me tell you in ſhort, it is better to do it 'willingly, than by Compulſion; and ſhe is reſolv'd to make a *thorough 'Reformation*, to *cut out the Core*, that it corrupt not again. I ſpeak not 'this, that I think you want any Perſuaſion to induce you to reveal your 'ſelf, but only to give you a near Proſpect of Affairs; and that a Man that 'hath been ſo uſeful to Us, as you have been, may not want the Reſpect 'that is due to his Merit. Come, before you are call'd! Many conſider-

A remarkable Letter from a Romiſh *Prieſt.*

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'able Persons do daily declare themselves; you cannot but hear of it: I 'believe in three or four Months, they will come over to us in such Crowds, 'that they scarce will deserve Thanks. We are strong enough already to 'use *Force*; but we are willing to distinguish between those that come over 'for *Love*, and those that come over through *Fear*: That you may con- 'sider of at your Leasure; and I hope it will be of use to you. And so 'wishing you Health and Welfare, I remain

Your affectionate Friend C. S.

The Seven Bishops TRYAL.

2. In the Height of these melancholy Times, on the 15th of *June* came on the Tryal of the seven Bishops in the *Tower*; a Tryal perhaps the most important that ever was known before in *Westminster-Hall*; not only seven Prelates contending for the Rights of the best form'd Church, but seven Peers standing up for the Liberties of the best constituted Kingdom. The Court of *King's-Bench* being sate, his Majesty's Attorney-General mov'd for a *Habeas Corpus*, directed to Sir *Edward Hales*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to bring up his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the six Bishops, which was granted; and the Venerable Prisoners were accordingly brought by Water. At their Landing, they were receiv'd by many Divines and Persons of Quality, and by a numerous Concourse of People, who with repeated Acclamations resounded their Wishes for their Deliverance. On the Bench sate Sir *Robert Wright*, Lord Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice *Holloway*, two of the King's Creatures, Mr. Justice *Powel*, a Protestant of unquestion'd Integrity, and Mr. Justice *Allybone*, a profess'd Papist. The Counsel for the King were Sir *Thomas Powis*, Attorney-General, Sir *William Williams*, Sollicitor-General, Sir *Bartholomew Shore*, Recorder of *London*, Serjeant *Trinder*, a Papist, &c. And for the Bishops, the Chief in the Nation, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Pollixfen*, Sir *George Treby*, Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Levinz*, and Mr. *Somers*; who all generously pleaded and exerted themselves without any Reward, scorning to take a Fee in so great and noble a Cause. Nor was the Auditory unanswerable to the Importance of the Trial; for besides several Thousands of both Sexes, the Court was grac'd with the Presence of the Marquisses of *Hallifax* and *Worcester*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Bedford*, *Dorset*, *Bullingbrook*, *Manchester*, *Burlington*, *Carlisle*, *Danby*, *Radnor*, and *Nottingham*; Viscount *Fauconberge*, and the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, *Paget*, *Chandoys*, *Vaughan* and *Carbery*.

The Return and Warrant being read, by which it appear'd, That the Prisoners were committed for *Contriving*, *Writing*, *Framing*, and *Publishing a seditious Libel* against his Majesty and the Government, the King's Attorney-General mov'd that the *Information* might also be read to them, and that they might plead to it according to the Course of the Court. Which Motion was oppos'd by the Bishops Counsel; objecting First, 'That the Pri- *Arguments about their Commitment.* 'soners were committed by the Lord Chancellor, and some other Persons of 'the Privy-Council, without expressing in the Warrant, *That it was by 'Order of the Privy-Council*; and therefore the Commitment was illegal, 'and the Prisoners were not legally in the Court. And Secondly, The 'Fact for which they were committed was such, as they ought not to 'have been imprison'd for; because a Peer ought not to be committed in 'the first Instance for a Misdemeanor.' Sir *Thomas Powis* answer'd, That 'the Bishops being in Court as Prisoners, the Matter of their Commitment 'was not to be examin'd before the Accusation was read; for when a Man 'was present in Court, let him come how he will, he was not to have any 'longer Time than that Instant to appear to, and be charg'd with the Infor- 'mation.' This Position was soon learnedly confuted by Mr. *Finch*, and the

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Attorney-General in effect deny'd that he had advanc'd it; but Sir *Robert Sawyer* having own'd, 'That a Peer might be in Priſon for Treaſon, Felony, 'Breach of the Peace:' The King's Council in a declamatory manner inſiſted, 'That there cou'd not be a greater Breach of the Peace, than for a 'Man to come to the King's Face, and publiſh a Libel againſt him; that 'there was nothing that did ſo tread upon the Heels of a Capital Offence; 'and that two or three Degrees more might carry it to High-Treaſon.' Upon theſe Diſputes, Mr. Juſtice *Powell* declared, 'That it was a Matter of 'the greateſt Conſequence, ſince all the High and Noble Peers of *England* 'were concern'd in it, as to their Privilege: That their Predeceſſors in that 'Court heretofore wou'd not determine the Privileges of the Peers, but left 'them to themſelves, to make what Judgment they pleas'd of them: That 'in an Affair of that Weight and Nature, the Court ought to take Time to 'conſider of it, and look into Precedents; and that for his part, he wou'd 'not deliver his Opinion, before he had conſulted all the Books that cou'd 'give him any Light into the Caſe.' But nevertheleſs, the Lord Chief Juſtice agreed with Judge *Allybone* and Judge *Holloway*, 'That the Fact 'charg'd in the Warrant, was ſuch a Miſdemeanor as was a Breach of the 'Peace, and therefore that the *Information* ought to be read, and the Biſhops muſt plead to it. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

After the Reading the *Information*, the Biſhops Council deſired in their Behalf, That they might have an *Imparlance* till the next Term, to conſider what they had to plead to; alledging, 'That there might be many De-'fences that a Man might have to make to an Accuſation of that Nature, 'which it is impoſſible for him to know at the firſt Hearing of an *Infor-'mation* read, and yet which wou'd be neceſſary for him to make uſe of, 'or at leaſt it wou'd be impoſſible for him to do it in ſuch a Manner as the 'Law allows and requires: That till of later Time this Practice, which the 'King's Council call'd, *The Courſe of the Court*, was never us'd, nor was 'any Man required to plead immediately; That this *Courſe* was brought in 'by the ſeveral Plots that had been of late, and the Heats of Parties about 'them: That the Zeal of one Time may introduce that by Surprize, which 'when Things are cool, and at another Time, will appear to be plain In-'juſtice; and in ſhort, That nothing was more miſchievous, or more de-'ſtructive to the Rights and Privileges of the Subjects.' Judge *Powell* confeſs'd, That what the Defendants deſired, was very reaſonable; and 'That if the ancient Courſe of the Court had been to grant an *Imparlance*, 'and a Copy of the *Information* before the Priſoners pleaded, the Lords 'the Biſhops ought to have the Benefit of that ancient Courſe.' The Sollicitor-General urg'd, 'That it was not ſufficient to make Declarations againſt 'the Unreaſonableneſs of the Practice, for it was but what the Biſhop's Council 'had done themſelves, and inſiſted upon it for Law; That all thoſe Men who 'upon *Informations* had been compell'd to plead, had had Injury done them, 'or elſe the Biſhops wou'd have no Injury by the Court's taking the ſame 'Courſe: That it was not more unreaſonable, than the Practice in the Caſe 'of Treaſon and Felony, where Perſons are compell'd to plead inſtantly: 'That as to what Mr. *Finch* had ſaid, *That this was a novel Invention, 'and a Trick to rob a Man of his juſt Defence*, ſure he forgot who he was 'that taught 'em; and if it was a Trick, they had learnt it from thoſe that 'trick'd before them: That he wonder'd the Biſhops Council ſhou'd inveigh 'againſt the *Heat of the Times*, when a great part of that Heat he knew 'who were the Inflamers of: That he believ'd that the Biſhops had an In-'clination to be clear'd, and ſuppos'd it was only their Counſel that deſir'd 'to delay it.' Therefore he preſs'd that the Matter might be put upon a fair Iſſue, and that Sir *Samuel Aſtrey*, Clerk of the Crown, might be examin'd about the Courſe of the Court. Sir *Samuel* being ask'd the Que- *An Imparlance deſired for them.*

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Question, answer'd, 'That of late Years, if a Man appear'd upon a Recognizance, or was a Person in Custody, he ought to plead at the first Instance; but that he had known that it was in the Discretion of the Court to grant what Time they pleas'd.' Nevertheless the Lord Chief Justice declared, 'That the Bishops ought to plead to the *Information*.

But refus'd Their Plea.

Hereupon the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* offer'd a Plea in Writing, in Behalf of himself and his Brethren the other Defendants; alledging, "That "they were Peers of the Kingdom of *England*, and Lords of Parliament, "and ought not to be compell'd to answer instantly for the Misdemeanor "mention'd in the *Information*; but that they ought to be required to ap- "pear by due Process of Law, and upon their Appearance, to have a Copy "of the said *Information*, and reasonable Time given them to *imparle* "thereupon." The King's Council labour'd hard to have this Plea rejected, alledging, 'That when the Opinion of the Judges had been deliver'd, 'then to put in a Plea to the Jurisdiction of the Court, was such an Irregularity, and such an unworthy Way of Proceeding, as wou'd not be endured 'in an ordinary Case.' After a long Debate, Judge *Powell* said 'He was 'for receiving the Plea, and considering of it:' But the rest of the Judges declar'd, 'That the Plea being frivolous, and containing no more than 'what had already been over-rul'd, the Court might reject it, and that the 'Bishops must plead over.' Accordingly they pleaded *Not Guilty*; whereupon the King's Council pray'd the Clerk might join Issue on the Behalf of the King, and desired the Defendants to take Notice 'That they design'd to

They are Bailed.

'try this Cause on that Day Fortnight;' adding, 'That they were Bailable 'if they pleas'd.' Sir *Robert Sawyer* desir'd that their own Recognizance might be taken, which was readily granted; and accordingly the Lord Chief Justice order'd the Clerk to take a Recognizance of the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* in Two Hundred Pounds, and of the rest of the Bishops in a Hundred Pounds each.

The Joy of the People.

Upon the Bishops being thus set at Liberty, the overflowing Joy of the People was answerable to the extraordinary Concern they express'd at their Confinement. Vast Numbers flock'd to *Westminster-Hall* to see them; and the Crowds were so great, that their Lordships were obliged to get to their Barge by private Stairs: And even then they were not wholly free from the Huzzaing Throng; several Persons running into the very Water to beg their Benedictions. When the Day was ended, the publick Rejoicings still continued, the whole Night being spent in making Bonefires, and Drinking to the *Seven Heroick Prelates*, with all the Demonstrations of unlimited Satisfaction. Within two Days after was the Thanksgiving for the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*; and tho' the Conduits in the City were made to run with Wine for several Hours together, and extraordinary Bonefires, &c. were appointed, yet the Joy of the People appear'd no ways comparable to that upon the Account of the Enlargement of the Bishops.

The second Day's Tryal, and great Appearance.

3. The 29th of *June*, the Feast of St. *Peter*, was a Day of the greatest Expectations, and produc'd a new Concourse of Gentlemen and others out of the Countrey, and almost double the Number of the Nobility in *Westminster-Hall*, as the Marquisses of *Hallifax* and *Worcester*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Dorset*, *Bullingbrook*, *Manchester*, *Rivers*, *Stamford*, *Carnarvon*, *Chesterfield*, *Scarsdale*, *Clarendon*, *Danby*, *Sussex*, *Radnor*, *Nottingham* and *Abingdon*, Viscount *Fauconberge*, and the Lords *Newport*, *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, *Paget*, *Chandoys*, *Vaughan*, *Carbery*, *Lumley*, *Carteret* and *Ossulston*. The Jury in this Trial ought not to be forgot, who were, Sir *Roger Langley*, Baronet, Foreman, Sir *William Hill*, Knight; *Roger Jennings*, *Thomas Harriot*, *Jeoffrey Nightingale*, *William Withers*, *William Avery*, *Thomas Austin*, *Nicolas*

Nicolas Grice, *Michael Arnold*, *Thomas Done*, and *Richard Shoreditch*, Eſquires. 1688.

The *Information* being read and open'd to the Jury, the Attorney General, to molify the Proſecution it ſelf, and to pacify the People, who cou'd not forbear ſhewing their Reſentments, tho' in the Face of the Court, obſerv'd, 'First, That the Biſhops were not proſecuted as *Biſhops*, much leſs 'for any Point or Matter of Religion, but as *Subjects* of this Kingdom, and 'only for a *Temporal Crime*, as thoſe who had injured and affronted the 'King to his very Face. In the next place, They were not proſecuted for 'Omitting to do any thing, but as they were *Actors* for Cenſuring of his 'Majeſty and his Government, and for giving their Opinions in Matters 'wholly relating to Law and Government. That there is not any one 'thing, which the Law is more jealous of, than all Accuſations and Arraignments of the Government: That no Man is allow'd to accuſe even 'the moſt inferior Magiſtrate of any Misbehaviour in his Office, unleſs it 'be in a legal Courſe, tho' the Fact be true; That leaſt of all may any Man 'Cenſure the King, for it tends to poſſeſs the People that the Government 'is ill adminiſtred; the Conſequence of which is, to ſet them upon deſiring 'a Reformation, and what that tended to, and wou'd end in, they had all 'had, and too dear bought, Experience of: That Men were to take their 'proper Remedies for redreſſing of any Grievance they lay under, and that 'the Laws had ſufficiently provided for that: That his Majeſty, of his great 'Clemency and Goodneſs, and out of a Deſire that all his Subjects ſhou'd 'live eaſy under him, did iſſue forth his *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, which without all Queſtion was welcome to all his People that 'ſtood in need of it; and thoſe that did not, cou'd not but ſay the thing in 'the Nature of it was very juſt and gracious: That to take away the Surmiſes of the People, that the King was not in earneſt, and wou'd not, or 'cou'd not make good his Promiſes, he was pleas'd to renew them to his 'Subjects. Nay, that this might be known to all his People, even to the 'Meaneſt, who, it may be, were not willing or able to buy the *Declaration*; and that the King himſelf might be under higher Obligations, if it 'were poſſible, than his own *Word*, he was deſirous it ſhou'd be repeated 'in the Churches, and read in that ſacred Place, that all his People might 'hear what he had promis'd; and he himſelf might be under the ſolemn 'Tye and Obligation to keep his *Word*, by remembring that his Promiſes 'had, by his own Command, been publiſh'd, in the Time of Divine Service, in the Houſe of God: That the Jury ſhou'd find, when that which 'the Priſoners call'd a *Petition* ſhou'd be read to them, that all the Thanks 'his Majeſty had for his Favour and Goodneſs to his People, were only 'hard Words, and a heavy Accuſation, ſuch as a private Perſon wou'd be 'little able to bear: That his Majeſty, who was always a Prince of as great 'Clemency as ever the Kingdom had, and who was repreſented for all that, 'as a Prince of the greateſt *Cruelty* before his Acceſſion to the Crown, by 'his Enemies, was now accus'd by his Friends for the Effect of his *Mercy*; And that his Majeſty reſented the Uſage ſo far, that he had order'd; 'and thought fit to have a publick Vindication of his Honour, in this Matter by this Tryal.

The Attorney General opens the Tryal.

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After a long Time ſpent in proving the Petition to be fram'd by the Biſhops, the Nature of the Publication, and on arguing ſome Niceties of the Law, they came at laſt to the Merits of the Cauſe: And here Sir *Robert Sawyer* firſt ſtood up, and diſplay'd his Abilities in the Defence and Vindication of the Great Men at the Bar. He alledg'd, 'First, That the Petition in que- 'ſtion was preſented to his Majeſty in moſt private and humble Manner: That 'there was nothing in it which contain'd any thing of Sedition, or any one 'Word that tended to diminiſh the King's Authority, but only a Paper to 'be

Sir Robert Sawyer's *Speech in Defence of the Biſhops.*

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'be reliev'd againſt an Order of Council, which the Defendents conceiv'd 'they were aggriev'd by: That it was an Excuſe barely for their Non-com-'pliance with the King's Order, becauſe the *Diſpenſing Power*, upon which 'it was founded, had been ſeveral times in Parliament declar'd to be againſt 'Law: That it can be no Queſtion, but that any Subject that is command-'ed by the King to do a thing which he conceives to be againſt Law, and 'againſt his Conſcience, may apply himſelf to the King, and tell him the 'Reaſon why he does not concur with his Majeſty in ſuch a Command. 'That the King's Counſel did inſiſt upon: That in this Caſe the Biſhops 'were not ſued as Biſhops, nor proſecuted for their Religon; but truly he 'knew not what they were ſued for elſe, the *Information* being againſt them 'as Biſhops, and no otherwiſe, and for an Act they conceiv'd they lawfully 'might do with relation to their Eccleſiaſtical Polity: That they were not '*Buſy-Bodies*, or ſuch as meddled with Matters that did not relate to them, 'but that which was properly within their Sphere and Juriſdiction: That 'to load this Petition with ſuch horrid black Epithets, *That it was done* '*Libellouſly, Maliciouſly and Scandalouſly, and to oppoſe the King and Go-*'*vernment*, was a very hard Caſe; and that the Lords Biſhops cou'd not 'but conceive a great deal of Trouble, that they ſhou'd lie under ſo heinous 'a Charge, where there was ſo little Proof to make it out: That their Pub-'liſhing of the King's *Declaration* was attended with Conſequences of the 'greateſt Moment; for if it had any Effect in Law, and theſe Laws were 'ſuſpended by virtue of this *Declaration*, then certainly it was of the moſt 'diſmal Conſequence; and it behov'd the Biſhops, as Fathers of the Church, 'humbly to repreſent it to the King; That by that *Declaration*, not only 'the Laws of our Reformation, but all the Laws for the Preſervation 'of the *Chriſtian* Religion in general were ſuſpended, and became of no 'Force, and all other Religions permitted: And thus all our Laws for keep-'ing the Sabbath, and which diſtinguiſh us from *Heathens*, wou'd be ſu-'ſpended too: That when a Law is ſuſpended, the Obligation thereof is 'taken away: So that the *Declaration* diſcharg'd at once all Miniſters 'and Clergy-Men from performing their Duty in Reading the Service of the 'Church, and their Hearers from attending upon that Service; and what a 'Miſchief that wou'd be to the Church, which was under the Care of the 'Defendents, every one might eaſily apprehend. That this pretended Power 'of Suſpending Laws had often been declar'd Illegal by the Parliament, as 'appears particularly in the time of *Richard* the Second, concerning the Sta-'tute of *Proviſors*; for where there were particular Diſpenſations for that 'Statute, the King was enabled to do it by Act of Parliament, and cou'd 'not do it without; and by the Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons in 'the Years 1661, 1672, and 1685. That in delivering this Petition the Bi-'ſhops had done nothing but their Duty, and meddled with their own Af-'fairs, which appear'd from the general Care that is repos'd in them by the 'Laws of the Land; urging farther, That they are frequently ſtyl'd in Law-'Books, *The King's Spiritual Judges*; That they are entruſted with the Care 'of Souls, and the Superintendency over all the Clergy; and beſides, That 'there is a ſpecial Care put upon them, by the expreſs Words of an *Act of* '*Parliament* made in the Firſt of *Elizabeth*, which makes them ſpecial 'Guardians of the Law of *Uniformity*; *In God's Name earneſtly Requi-'ring and Charging all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, that they do endea-'vour themſelves, to the utmoſt of their Knowledge, that the true and 'due Execution thereof might be had from their Dioceſes, as they will 'anſwer before God for ſuch Evils and Plagues, wherewith Almighty 'God may juſtly puniſh his People for neglecting this good and wholſom 'Law:* So that the Biſhops, upon pain of bringing upon themſelves the 'Imprecation of this Act of Parliament, were oblig'd to ſee it executed;

'and

'and that when any thing came under their Knowledge, eſpecially if they 1688.
'were to be Actors in it, that had ſuch a Tendency to deſtroy the very
'Foundations of the Church, as the Suſpenſion of the Laws relating to the Jac. 4.
'Church muſt do, it concern'd them that had no other Remedy, to addreſs Reſ. 29
'the King, by Petition, about it.

Sir *Robert Sawyer* was ſeconded by the eloquent Mr. *Finch*, who farther urg'd, 'That tho' the Biſhops had deliver'd the Paper mention'd in the *In-* Mr. Finch's Speech.
'*formation*, yet unleſs they had deliver'd a *Falſe*, *Malicious*, *Seditious* and
'*Scandalous* Libel; unleſs they had publiſh'd it to ſtir up Sedition in the
'Kingdom; and unleſs they had contriv'd this by Conſpiracy, to diminiſh
'the King's Prerogative and Authority, and that Power that was ſaid to
'be in the King, the Lords were not guilty of the Accuſation. As to the
'Paper, if it were a Libel, *&c.* it muſt be ſo either for the Matter of it, or
'for the Perſons that deliver'd it, or for the Manner of their preſenting
'it; but neither for the Matter, nor for the Perſons, nor for the Manner
'of preſenting it, was there any Endeavour to diminiſh the King's Royal
'Prerogative, nor to ſtir up Sedition, nor Reflection upon the King's True
'Royal and Kingly Authority. That the King's *Declaration* was founded
'upon a Power of Diſpenſing, which undertook to ſuſpend all Laws Ec-
'cleſiaſtical, as if the King had ſuch a Power: That a Power to abrogate
'Laws, was as much a Part of the Legiſlature, as a Power to make Laws:
'That according to the Conſtitution of the Government in *England*, the
'Legiſlative Power was in the King, Lords and Commons; but then if that
'*Declaration* was founded upon a Part of Legiſlature, which muſt be by
'all Men acknowledg'd not to reſide in the King alone, it cou'd not be a
'legal and true Power or Prerogative: That in the Year 1662, where
'there was but the leaſt Umbrage given of ſuch a Diſpenſing Power, altho'
'the King had declar'd in his Speech to the Parliament, *That he wiſh'd*
'*he had ſuch a Power*, which his *Declaration* before ſeem'd to aſſume,
'the Parliament was ſo jealous of this, that they immediately made their
'Application to his Majeſty, by an Addreſs, againſt the Declaration; al-
'ledging, amongſt other Reaſons, *That the King cou'd not Diſpenſe with*
'*thoſe Laws without an Act of Parliament:* That there was another At-
'tempt in 1672; and then, after his Majeſty had in his Speech mention'd
'his Declaration to them, the Parliament, particularly the Houſe of Com-
'mons, preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, ſetting forth, That this cou'd
'not be done by Law, without an Act of Parliament; and his Majeſty
'concurr'd with them ſo far in that Opinion, that he caus'd it to be made
'known to the Houſe of Lords, by the Lord Chancellor, That his Ma-
'jeſty had broken the Seal, and cancell'd the *Declaration*, with this far-
'ther Declaration, *That it ſhou'd never be drawn into Example or Con-*
'*ſequence.*

Mr. *Finch* was ſucceeded by the two notable Lawyers Mr. *Pollixfen* and Serjeant *Pemberton:* The firſt inſiſted, 'That the King's *Declaration* was The Speeches of Mr. Pollixfen and Serjeant Pemberton.
'not agreeable to the Laws of the Land, becauſe it did at one Blow ſet a-
'ſide all the Laws we have in *England*, for they were almoſt all Penal Laws,
'not only before the Reformation, but ſince: That the Will of the King
'is what the Law is; and if the King's Will be not conſonant to Law, it is
'not obliging: That the Caſes of Diſpenſations were all ſo many ſtrong
'Authorities againſt a general or particular Abrogation; for why ſhou'd any
'Man go about to argue, That the King may diſpenſe with this or that
'particular Law, if at once he can diſpenſe with all the Laws by an undoubt-
'ed Prerogative?' Serjeant *Pemberton* alledg'd on the ſame ſide, 'That
'ſuch a Diſpenſing Power with Laws and Statutes, ſtrikes at the Foundati-
'ons of all the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the King's Subjects:
'That the Penal Laws are the great Bulwark of the Reformed Religion,

'and

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'and the only human Fence of the Church of *England*; That they were 'made upon a Foreſight of the Miſchief that had, and might come, by falſe 'Religions into this Kingdom; and that they intended to defend the Nati- 'on againſt them, and to keep them out, particularly the *Romiſh* Religion, 'which is the *very worſt of all Religions*, and no way tolerable among 'us; whereas if this *Declaration* took effect, that Religion wou'd ſtand up- 'on equal Terms with the Eſtabliſh'd Religion.

And of Mr. Somers.

After ſome of theſe Arguments were repeated and diverſify'd, the Pleadings for the Biſhops were cloſ'd by the accurate Mr. *Somers*, who began with the great Caſe of *Thomas* and *Sorrel* in the *Exchequer*-Chamber upon the Validity of a *Diſpenſation*, urging, 'That there it was the Opinion of eve- 'ry one of the Judges, that there never cou'd be an Abrogation, or a Suſ- 'penſion, which is a Temporary Abrogation of an Act of Parliament, but 'by the Legiſlative Power; that indeed it was diſputed, how far the King 'might diſpenſe with the Penalties of ſuch a particular Law, as to parti- 'cular Perſons; but that it was agreed by all, *That the King had no Power 'to ſuſpend any Law.* That by the Law of all civiliz'd Nations, if the 'Prince does require ſomething to be done, which the Perſon who is to 'do it, takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his Duty, *Reſcri- 'bere Principi*, which is all the Biſhops had done here, and that in the 'moſt humble manner. That as to the Matters of Fact alledg'd in the 'ſaid Petition, there cou'd be no Deſign to diminiſh the Prerogative, be- 'cauſe the King has no ſuch Prerogative; that the Petition cou'd not be 'Seditious, becauſe it was preſented to the King in private and alone; nor 'Falſe, becauſe the Matter of it was true, nor Malicious, for the Occaſi- 'on was not ſought, the Thing was preſs'd upon them; nor, in ſhort, a 'Libel, becauſe the Intent was Innocent, and they kept within the Bounds 'ſet by Act of Parliament, that gives the Subject leave to apply to his 'Prince by Petition when he is aggriev'd.

The Reply of the King's Council.

To all theſe weighty Arguments, the Counſel for the King reply'd to this Effect; 'That our Religion teaches us, not to preſerve our Religion or 'our Lives by any illegal Courſes: That Evidences produc'd by the De- 'fendants againſt the King's *Diſpenſing Power* were only Tranſactions in 'Parliament; and that no one cou'd affirm that any thing can be a *De- 'claration of Parliament*, unleſs he that is the principal Part concurs, 'who is the King; for if one ſpeaks of the *Court of Parliament* in a Legal 'Senſe, he much ſpeak of the whole Body, King, Lords and Commons; 'and that a *Declaration* in Parliament, muſt be by the whole Body, and 'that is properly an Act of Parliament. That there was no greater Proof 'of the Influence of the Biſhop's Petition than the Crowd of that Day, 'and the Harangues that had been made: That the taking this Liberty to 'canvaſs and diſpute the King's Power and Authority, and to cenſure 'his Actions, poſſeſs'd the People with ſtrange Opinions, and rais'd Diſ- 'contents and Jealouſies, as if the free Courſe of Law were reſtrain'd, and 'arbitrary Will and Pleaſure ſet up inſtead of it: That it was a Queſtion 'whether the Biſhops, out of Parliament, can preſent any Petition to the 'King, That if they were commanded to do any Thing againſt their Conſci- 'ences, they ſhou'd have acquieſc'd till the Meeting of the Parliament: 'That the King is Supream over all of us, and has a particular Supremacy 'over the Biſhops, as Supream Ordinary, Governor and Moderator of the 'Church, and as ſuch may Diſpenſe with all the Eccleſiaſtical Statutes: 'That it was adjudg'd in the Caſe of Sir *Edward Hales*, That the King 'had a Power to Diſpenſe with the Penal Laws; and that the Defendants 'by queſtioning the King's Power, and referring themſelves to the *De- 'clarations* in Parliament, had done that which of late Days had been al- 'ways look'd upon as an ill Thing, as *if the King's Authority was under*

'*the*

'*the Suffrages of Parliament.*' Here it is remarkable that Sir *William Williams*, the Head of the *Whig*-Party, and Speaker of the two laſt Parliaments in King's *Charles*'s Reign, who was ſo full of Fears of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, when there was ſo little Occaſion, being now Sollicitor General, carry'd the Proſecution higher than the reſt of the King's Counſel, againſt thoſe who made this noble Stand againſt both; for which he was ſometimes hiſs'd in the Court, and at laſt of all, quite out of *Weſtminſter-Hall*. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

The Counſel having done ſpeaking on both Sides, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Wright* ſumm'd up the Evidence and told the Jury, 'That ſometimes the 'Diſpenſing Power had been allow'd, as in *Richard*'s the Second's Time, 'and ſometimes deny'd; but that it was a Queſtion out of the preſent 'Caſe.' Then he gave them Directions, 'That if they believ'd the Peti- 'tion to be the ſame, that was preſented by the Biſhops to the King, then 'the Publication was ſufficiently prov'd. Next, that any Thing which 'tended to diſturb the Government, or make a ſtir among the People, was 'certainly within the Caſe of *Libellis famoſis*, and his Opinion in ſhort 'was, That the Biſhop's Petition was a *Libel*.' Mr. Juſtice *Holloway* declar'd, 'That the End and Intention of any Action was to be conſider'd; 'That the Biſhops were charg'd with delivering a Petition, which accord- 'ing to their Defence was done with all Humility and Decency imagina- 'ble; and that as they were Men of good Lives, the delivering of a Pe- 'tition was no Fault, *it being the Right of every Subject to Petition:* 'Therefore if the Jury were ſatisfy'd they did it with no ill Intention, but 'only to ſhew the Reaſons of their Diſobedience to the King's Command, 'he cou'd not think it to be a *Libel*.' Mr. Juſtice *Powell* more plainly declar'd, 'That he cou'd diſcern no Sedition, or any other Crime fix'd 'upon the Reverend Fathers, the Lords Biſhops, ſince there was nothing 'offer'd by the King's Counſel to render the Petition Falſe, Malicious or 'Seditious. He admoniſh'd the Jury to conſider, That the Contents of 'the Petition were, That the Biſhops apprehended the *Declaration was* '*Illegal, being founded upon a Diſpenſing Power claim'd by the King*; 'but for his Part he did not remember in any Caſe in all the Law, *That* '*there was any ſuch Power in the King*; and if there be no ſuch Power 'in the King, the Petition cou'd not be a *Libel*.' He concluded with tell- ing them, 'That he cou'd ſee no Difference between the King's Power to 'Diſpenſe with Laws Eccleſiaſtical, and his Power to Diſpenſe with any o- 'the Laws whatſoever; That if this were once allow'd of, there wou'd 'be no need of Parliaments, and all the Legiſlature wou'd be in the King; 'and he left the Iſſue to God and their Conſciences.' Mr. Juſtice *Ally-bone*, who ſpoke laſt, laid down theſe two Poſitions; 'Firſt, that no Man 'can take upon him to write againſt the actual Exerciſe of the Govern- 'ment, unleſs he has Leave from the Government, but he makes a *Libel*, 'be what he writes true or falſe. Secondly, That no private Man can take 'upon him to write concerning the Government at all; and that when he 'intrudes himſelf into other Mens Buſineſs, that does not concern his par- 'ticular Intereſt, he is a *Libeller*. Theſe Poſitions he back'd by a Reſo- 'lution of the Judges in King *James* the Firſt's Time, That to frame a 'Petition to the King to put the Penal Laws in Execution, was next Door 'to Treaſon;' which prov'd to be a groſs Miſquotation, inſtead of a *Petition againſt the Penal Laws*, and for which being taken up by Judge *Powell* and Serjeant *Pemberton*, little heed was given to any thing he ſaid afterwards. So the Jury withdrew, and ſate up all Night to conſider of the Verdict.

The Opinion of Chief Juſtice Wright.

Judge Holloway,

Judge Powell,

And Judge Allybone.

Never was *Weſtminſter-Hall* ſo throng'd and crouded, as it was the next Morning, to hear the Event of this important Tryal, and never did that

The Biſhops acquitted.

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The People transported.

ſpacious Place reſound with louder Shouts and Acclamations, than when the Word NOT GUILTY was pronounc'd by the Jury. The liſt'ning Throng catch'd the Word from the Fore-Man, and ſo often repeated it, that Sollicitor *Williams* was ſo offended, that he earneſtly mov'd that ſuch as ſhouted in the Court might be committed. Whereupon a Gentleman of *Grays Inn* was laid hold on, but ſoon after diſcharg'd, with this ſhort Reproof from the Chief Juſtice; *Sir, I am as glad as you can be that my Lords the Biſhops are acquitted; but your manner of Rejoicing here is indecent; you might Rejoice in your Chamber, or elſewhere, and not here.* Nor did this Place, nor the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* terminate the Shouts that were rais'd upon the Biſhops acquittal, but they flew like Lightning to the Camp at *Hounſlow-Heath*, where the whole Body of the Soldiers echo'd them ſo loud, that it ſtartled the King, who was that Day entertain'd in the Earl of *Feverſham*'s Tent; inſomuch that his Majeſty ſent him out to know what was the Matter? The Earl came back and told the King, *It was nothing but the Soldiers ſhouted upon the News of the Biſhops being acquitted.* The King reply'd, much diſcompos'd, *And do you call that Nothing? But ſo much the worſe for them.* Whatever his Majeſty meant by theſe laſt Words, the People cou'd not contain; for notwithſtanding ſevere Prohibitions, innumerable Bonfires, Illuminations, *&c.* were made in *London*, the two Univerſities, and all great Places, and more particularly in the City of *Norwich*, where the Raptures and Tranſports were beyond all Expreſſion. All which gave a ſenſible Regret to the King, who threatned to deliver the Biſhops up to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; and to ſhew his Indignation, he immediately turn'd out the two Judges *Holloway* and *Powell*, and put in Sir *Robert Baldock*, one of his Council in this Tryal, in the room of the latter; and was proceeding in farther Acts of ſeverity, till Neceſſity in no long time oblig'd him to make a Stand.

The King provok'd.

For the News of the Biſhops Acquittal was not the only Mortification the King receiv'd at *Hounſlow-Heath:* From the general Bent of the People he found it was exceeding difficult, if not impoſſible for him to effect his Deſigns without open Forces; and therefore to try how far he might depend upon his Army, he endeavour'd to make them ſubſcribe a Writing, whereby they ſhou'd ingage themſelves to contribute, as far as in them lay, towards the Repeal of the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws*. To bring this to bear, it was thought fit to propoſe the thing to all the Regiments One by One; not doubting but that if two or three ſubmitted, the reſt wou'd follow their Example. Accordingly the Major of the Lord *Litchfield*'s Regiment was order'd to open his Majeſty's Deſire to that Battalion, and Command all ſuch as wou'd not inſtantly comply with it, *to lay down their Arms:* But he was not a little ſurpriz'd when he found, that except two Captains, and ſome *Popiſh* Soldiers, the whole Regiment obey'd the latter Part of his Command. The King himſelf remain'd Speechleſs for a while; and having recover'd his Aſtoniſhment, commanded them *to take up their Arms again*, adding with a diſcontented ſullen-Look, *That for the future he wou'd not do them the Honour to ask their Advice.* Hereupon his Majeſty found that he muſt new-model his Army before he cou'd rely upon them, and therefore upon the firſt Occaſion, he caſhier'd ſeveral Proteſtant Officers and Soldiers, and fill'd them up with as many *Papiſts* either *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* as he cou'd procure. But this Regulation was ſo far from a Security, that it created new Diſcontents and Dangers. For afterwards when ſeveral *Iriſh* were put into the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment, it was warmly oppos'd by Lieutenant-Colonel *Beaumont* and other Officers. The former remonſtrated to the Duke, 'That he was deſir'd by thoſe Gentlemen to inform his 'Grace, That they did not think it conſiſtent with their Honours to have 'Foreigners impos'd upon them, without being complain'd of, that their 'Companies

And mortify'd in his Camp.

'Companies were weak, or Orders had been ſent to recruit them; not 'doubting, but if ſuch Orders had been given, that what firſt, in very ill 'times, rais'd them Hundreds, cou'd eaſily now have made them according 'to the King's Complement. Therefore they humbly petition'd that they 'might have leave to fill up their Companies with ſuch Men of this Na-'tion, as they ſhou'd judge moſt ſuitable for the King's Service, and to 'ſupport their Honours; or otherwiſe, that they might be permitted with 'all imaginable Duty and Reſpect, to lay down their Commiſſions.' An Account of this, and ſome other diſcouraging Matters, being tranſmitted to his Majeſty at *Windſor*, he immediately order'd Lieutenant-Colonel *Beaumont*, Captain *Paſton*, and four other Captains, to be taken into Cuſtody; and a Court Martial was appointed to try them as Mutineers, which might have coſt them their Lives: But ſome News from abroad alter'd the Sentence, and they were only caſhier'd. Nor were the Sea-Forces more favourable to *Popery*; for the King having caus'd *Maſs* to be ſaid on Board his Men of War, there happen'd ſo great a Diſorder and Mutiny in the Fleet, that the Officers cou'd hardly ſave the Prieſts from being thrown over Board. 1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29 *And Fleet.*

4. The Proſecution of the Biſhops, and ſome other Proceedings, had made a conſiderable Impreſſion upon the Diſſenters: For tho' for the moſt part they were made uſe of towards the overturning of the Church, eſpecially after the King's firſt Declaration of Indulgence; yet by Degrees it appear'd that the more Moderate Sort were ſo fully ſatisfy'd with that Stand which the *London* Divines had made againſt *Popery*, and the unanſwerable Treatiſes they had writ againſt it, that they ſhew'd an unuſual Readineſs to come in to them. This, and the Dangers of *Popery*, put the good Archbiſhop and others upon conſidering of proper Methods to promote this Inclination, and to gain them over without doing any Prejudice to themſelves. Accordingly a Scheme was laid out to improve, and inforce the Diſcipline of the Church; to review and enlarge the preſent Liturgy, by correcting of ſome things, and by adding of others; and, if it ſhou'd be thought fit by Authority in Convocation and Parliament, by leaving ſome few Ceremonies, confeſs'd to be Indifferent in their Natures, as Indifferent in their Uſage, ſo as not to be neceſſarily obſerv'd by thoſe who made a Scruple of them; till they ſhou'd be able to overcome either their Weakneſſes, or Prejudices, and be willing to comply with them. The Scheme being laid out, the ſeveral Parts of it were committed, with the Approbation and Direction of the Archbiſhop, to a conſiderable Number of eminent Divines of the City. His Grace took one Part to Himſelf; another was committed to Dr. *Patrick*, others to Dr. *Sharp*, *&c.* Moreover the Archbiſhop, ſending certain *Articles* to the Clergy through his whole Province, dated *July* the 16th, in the xith *Article* has theſe remarkable Words; 'That they alſo walk in Wiſdom 'towards them who are not of our Communion: And if there be in their 'Pariſhes any ſuch, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them 'in the Spirit of Meekneſs, ſeeking by all good Ways and Means to gain 'and win them over to our Communion. More eſpecially that they have 'a very tender Regard to our Brethren, the *Proteſtant Diſſenters:* That 'upon Occaſion offer'd, they viſit them at their Houſes, and receive them 'kindly at their own; and treat them fairly wherever they meet them; 'perſuading them, if it may be, to a full Compliance with our Church; or 'at leaſt, that whereunto we have already attain'd, we may all walk by the 'ſame Rule, and mind the ſame Thing. And in Order thereto, that they 'take all Opportunities of aſſuring and convincing them, *That the Biſhops 'of this Church are really and ſincerely irreconcileable Enemies to the 'Errors, Superſtitions, Idolatries, and Tyrannies of the Church of* Rome; *Deſigns to gain the Diſſenters to the Church of* England.

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'*and that the very unkind Jealouſies which ſome have had of us to the* '*contrary were altogether groundleſs.* And in the laſt Place, that they 'warmly and moſt affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fer-'vent Prayer to the God of Peace, for an Univerſal Bleſſed Union of all '*Reformed Churches* both at Home and Abroad, againſt our Common 'Enemies, *&c.*'

While the Archbiſhop and other pious Divines were promoting the Good of the Church and Publick, ſome few Biſhops were moving in another Road, who inſtead of following the Example of their Perſecuted Brethren, had publiſh'd and read the *Declaration*, even after the Acquittal of thoſe Heroes. Nay the Biſhop of *Durham* carry'd the Buſineſs ſo far, that upon that Account he ſuſpended thirty Miniſters of his Dioceſe, and amongſt them one of his own Chaplains. And in the County of *Cheſter*, nine Curates, Rectors and others, were not contented to read the *Declaration*, but preſented likewiſe an Addreſs, wherein they tell his Majeſty, 'That if the Matter 'of the *Declaration* were not according to their Wiſhes, yet the Publiſh-'ing of it was according to their Duty, ſince it was iſſu'd out from the ex-'preſs Prerogative of his Supremacy over them; and they were required 'by what is Statute-Law, the *Rubrick* of their *Liturgy*, to publiſh what 'was enjoin'd by the King or their Biſhop, (whoſe Caſe therein was re-'markable) as much as what is preſcrib'd in the Rules of this Book; ſo that 'they cou'd not but with Trouble of Mind hear of the Proceedings of the 'Seven Biſhops, who, tho' they tenderly promis'd the *Diſſenters* Some-'thing, yet refus'd to do their Part about the *Declaration*, leſt they ſhould 'be *Parties* to it, which Reaſon the Addreſſers eſteem inſufficient. There-'fore they, in all Submiſſion, become earneſt, tho' too mean Interceſſors 'to his Majeſty in Behalf of the Church of *England*, That the Faults of 'Theſe and Others may not be laid to her Charge, in whoſe Communion 'there were many, and they hop'd there wou'd be more, who concurr'd 'in Promoting the Purpoſes of his mild Government; and ſo conclude 'with begging Leave to make their Congratulations for the happy Birth of 'the young Prince in his *Hereditary Succeſſive Kingdom.*' Now becauſe it was by the Inſtigation of their Biſhop that the Clergy of *Cheſter* had made this ſtrange Step, we are told that one of the Colleges of *Oxford* refus'd to admit the Son of that Prelate to a Fellowſhip that had been given him; and about the ſame Time that famous Univerſity refus'd alſo to give the Degree of Doctor to Mr. *Gifford*, whom the King had nominated to fill the vacant See of that City.

A ſtrange Addreſs from Cheſter *Dioceſe.*

The laſt Act of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.

Still the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners proceeded to act with all Vigour, and by an Order made the 12th of *July*, 'Commanded all Chancellors, 'Arch-Deacons, Commiſſaries and Officials, to enquire in what Churches 'and Chapels his Majeſty's *Declaration* was read, and to tranſmit an Ac-'count thereof upon the 16th Day of *Auguſt* next.' But the Clergy finding this Court to be little better than a *Popiſh Inquiſition*, the greateſt Part of thoſe to whom the Order was directed, never took any notice of it. The Commiſſioners being met on the ſaid Day, were not a little puzzled how to proceed in this Matter: But after a long Conſultation, they were contented to repeat the ſame Order, 'Requiring all Perſons, having Eccle-'ſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to tranſmit to them upon the 15th of *November* next, 'an Account of the Enquiry they are hereby commanded to make in their 'Viſitations, together with the Names of the Parſons, Rectors, Vicars and 'Curates, that had either obey'd or diſobey'd his Majeſty's Command.'

The Biſhop of Rocheſter *leaves them.*

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who had been thought too obnoxious and compliant, finding the Deſign of the Commiſſion it ſelf, now look'd upon it as inconſiſtent with his Profeſſion and Character to act any longer in it. Others wou'd have it, that the Whiſpers of an Invaſion and a Change open'd the

the Eyes of that Prelate; but whatever it was, he wrote a Letter to his Colleagues, wherein he told them, 'That ſince their Lordſhips were re- 1688.
'ſolv'd to proceed againſt thoſe, who had not comply'd with the King's Jac. 4.
'Command in Reading his *Declaration*, it was abſolutely impoſſible for Reſ. 29
'him to ſerve his Majeſty any longer in that Commiſſion.' He proceeds farther, and ſays, 'That tho' I my ſelf did ſubmit in that Particular, yet I 'will never be any ways Inſtrumental in puniſhing thoſe my Brethren who 'did not. For, as I call God to Witneſs, that what I did was merely up- 'on a Principle of Conſcience; ſo I am fully ſatisfy'd, that their Forbear- 'ance was upon the ſame Principle.' The Loſs of this Biſhop was look'd upon as ominous to the Court, and his Letter, which was publiſh'd notwithſtanding the Precautions that were taken to ſuppreſs it, prov'd highly detrimental to the *Popiſh Cabal*; who ſtill drove on with ungovernable Zeal and Fury, to the great Terror of all wiſe and good Men, who had now little to hope for but from Heaven and Abroad.

Hornby. Boyer. Orleans. Bohun. Sprat Hambden.

V. 1. For above two Months after the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, the *Romiſh* Intereſt was at the *Height*, appearing ſtill upon the Increaſe; and it is hard to expreſs the dreadful Apprehenſions the Generality had of an impending Storm; all finding ſuch Breaches into the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, as muſt ſhortly amount to a Diſſolution or a total Subverſion. But in the midſt of this Darkneſs and Night, in the Month of *Auguſt* there began to appear ſome Glimmerings of Light, ſome Dawnings of the Day from the *Eaſt*, which gradually gave Comfort and Refreſhment to the whole Nation. This ſerv'd to diſpel the dark Clouds and threatning Tempeſts, and in Time brought on a ſignal Deliverance, in which the Arm of God ſeem'd more viſible than the Hands and Hearts of Men. The Deliverance was generally thought more eminent and conſpicuous, as being brought about by ſuch a Concurrence of wonderful Circumſtances and Events, and effected and compleated in *England* with hardly any Convulſion or Bloodſhed. But others, who have judg'd of it more by accidental Conſequences than neceſſary Effects, as the vaſt Sums of Money and Seas of Blood that rather follow'd it than were produc'd by it, have accounted it more a Judgment than a Deliverance. We are gratefully ſatisfy'd with the Truth of the Latter, and do believe it not only to have been a Deliverance to the *Britannick* Dominions, but alſo to the principal Parts of *Europe*, who began to feel the Want of a Revolution almoſt as much as *England* it ſelf. *The firſt Steps towards the* REVOLUTION.

To underſtand the Greatneſs of the Revolution, as well as the Boldneſs of the Attempt, it will be proper to take a ſhort View of the State of Affairs in the Neighbouring Countries. To begin with *France*, the vaſt Scheme of making that Kingdom the Seat of Univerſal Monarchy, which had been founded by Cardinal *Richlieu*, and purſu'd by *Mazarine*, was ſo ſucceſsfully proſecuted, that its powerful Arms had for many Years been the Terror of *Europe*, the Progreſs of which cou'd not naturally be ſtemm'd, but by the Aſſiſtance of *England*. It is believ'd that *Cromwell* might eaſily have ſtopp'd this Torrent in the Beginning; but having particular Ends, he open'd the Paſſages to it. King *Charles* the Second ſeem'd willing to have drawn his Sword in the Defence of *Flanders*, but his Hands being more ty'd than, perhaps, his Inclinations, he choſe to ſubmit to a more eaſy and paſſive Way: And King *James*, on ſeveral Conſiderations, refus'd to enter into any Alliance to the Interruption of the Peace that the neighbouring Parts of *Europe* enjoy'd in his Reign. But this Peace being by others more juſtly look'd upon to be precarious, and like to continue no longer than the *French* had an Inclination to break it, they thought an honourable War more eligible; at leaſt it was but Prudence and Policy to enter upon Meaſures for their common Safety in Caſe of a Rupture. *The State of Affairs in* Europe.

The

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The Management of the Prince of Orange.

The Prince of *Orange*, as it formerly appear'd, was always at the Head of the moſt forward of theſe Counſels: To this Hero Eaſe was tedious and inſufferable, and Inactivity like the State of Death; War was his beloved Miſtreſs, and a Camp his chief Scene of Pleaſure. But he had this peculiar Felicity from the Situation of Affairs in his Time, that whatever might be the Effects of a reſtleſs Temper, and an unbounded Ambition, ſeem'd purely the Reſult of Neceſſity and not Choice; and the glorious Pretenſions of Reſtoring the Balance of Power, and the invaded Liberties of oppreſs'd Nations, gave at leaſt a beautiful Varniſh to all his Undertakings. At his firſt Appearance in the World, and under moſt Diſadvantagious Circumſtances, he had bravely put a Check to the rapid Courſe of the Conqueſts of *France*, and with wonderful Courage and Conſtancy carry'd on the War, till it concluded in the Peace of *Nimiguen*. After which he became the chief Inſtrument in forming the League of *Ausburg* againſt *France*, thereby to bring all the Forces of the Confederates upon that Monarch, and keep him in play, in caſe he ſhou'd attempt to croſs his Deſigns, by turning his Arms againſt the *Hollanders*. On the other Hand, he repreſented to the Houſe of *Auſtria* 'the ambitious Deſigns of the *French* King, and how eaſily he might 'make himſelf Univerſal Monarch, if he were ſupported by the Crown of '*England*, which for five hundred Years paſt had held the Balance of *Europe*;' adding, 'That it was not the Advancement of the *Romiſh* Reli-'gion which the King of *France* had in view, but the aggrandizing his en-'croaching Power; ſince at the ſame time that he perſecuted his *Proteſtant* 'Subjects, and favour'd the Growth of *Popery* in *England*, he counte-'nanc'd Count *Tekeli*, and had made a ſecret Alliance with the *Turks*.' The Emperor and the King of *Spain* plainly ſaw the Strength of theſe Reaſons; and the rather, becauſe the Endeavours of their Miniſters to bring King *James* into the *German* League againſt *France* had prov'd ineffectual. Among the reſt, *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, a Perſon that beſt knew the *Engliſh* Genius and Conſtitution, made uſe of the moſt prevailing Arguments to engage him to break with *France*; aſſuring him, 'That nothing wou'd more endear him to his *Proteſtant* Subjects, 'nor more powerfully incline his Parliament to grant Eaſe to the *Roman* '*Catholicks*.' But his Majeſty was already ſo ſtrongly united with *France*, that he anſwer'd the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *That he wou'd faithfully obſerve the Alliances he had made with his Maſter; but that he was oblig'd as religiouſly to entertain the Amity that was between him and the King of* France *his near Relation; that he deſir'd to live in Peace with all his Neighbours, and wou'd endeavour to preſerve it amongſt them.* The Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* ſaw the Tendency of this unſatisfactory Anſwer; and therefore both the Emperor and his Catholick Majeſty were the more diſpos'd to hearken to the Propoſals made them by the Prince of *Orange*, not only againſt King *Lewis*, but againſt the King of *England*, his devoted Ally.

The Power of France *and other Nations.*

But all the Confederacies that cou'd be made were too light without the Weight of *England* in the Scale, and without her Strength, were an unequal Match for the Power of *France*; which Monarchy was then in its moſt flouriſhing Condition, abounding in Riches and Plenty, numerous Gallant Troops and experienc'd Officers, all at the abſolute Command of a Prince as well qualify'd for vaſt Atchievements, as ever ſat upon the Throne. The Empire was a large Body, and appear'd robuſt and nervous, but was very feeble in the Joints, the bulky Limbs being ill compacted by a fundamental Error in its Conſtitution; and the Emperor himſelf was ſtill engag'd in a War with the *Turks*, which tho' ſucceſsfully carry'd on of late Years, had nevertheleſs quite exhauſted his Coffers. *Spain* had for almoſt a Century of Years languiſh'd under a conſumptive Decay, and wanted

Spirits

Spirits to keep up her lingering Vitals, much more to revive and ſupport her diſtant Parts, as ſufficiently appear'd by the late Loſs of *Luxemburgh*. *Holland*, tho' healthy and vigorous, yet was unable to defend her ſelf without better Seconds; ſo that all the former Efforts of the Prince of *Orange* were by Himſelf compar'd to thoſe of a *weak Sculler againſt an Eddy*. Now an impatient Senſe of the Difficulties that Prince had to encounter, and an Ambition of appearing at the Head of a Force ſufficient to curb the growing Power of *France*, and ſnatch the Laurels from that Monarch's Brow, might well raiſe his Appetite even to a Crown, which a ſtrange Concurrence of Circumſtances had conſpired to place upon his Head. The Death of the Elector of *Cologn* happen'd about the Time of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and the Competition about a new Election, manifeſtly tended to a Rupture; Prince *Clement*, Brother to the Elector of *Bavaria*, one of the two Candidates, being ſupported by *Germany*: and the other, the Cardinal of *Furſtemberg*, by the Crown of *France*: This, with the Umbrage taken at the Fortifying of *Traerbach* by the *French*, made the War in effect neceſſary. In this nice Juncture of Affairs the Prince of *Orange* was particularly encourag'd from *England* to form his great Deſigns; and this Juncture made his Propoſals ſo readily embrac'd, as it ſet the *Roman* Court in oppoſition to the Church of *Rome*, made even the *Pope* and the Houſe of *Auſtria* concur in ſecuring the *Proteſtant* Religion in *England*, and induc'd Sovereign Princes to encourage the Overthrow of a Sovereign Brother by the Hands of his own Subjects. 1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

2. *England* of all other Nations was more immediately concern'd to bring about a Revolution, and the Birth of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor, and the Proſecution of the Seven Biſhops had ripen'd Matters, and brought them to ſuch a Height, that all Perſons began to look out for a Deliverance. Several of the Biſhops, ſeriouſly reflecting on the imminent Danger, to which the *Proteſtant* Religion, as well as the whole Nation was expos'd, writ Invitations to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, to ſuccour them in this Emergency. Many Temporal Lords and conſiderable Gentlemen were embark'd in the ſame Deſign, and a ſecret Correſpondence was maintain'd for ſome time between them and the Court of the *Hague*, whither Gentlemen were continually going, and ſome always reſiding there to ſupport and cultivate it, as Mr. *Sidney*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Dr. *Burnet* and others. In *July* one *Joſeph Flight* brought over near fourſcore Letters, to as many of the prime Nobility and Gentry, and carry'd back Anſwers with great Diſpatch and Safety. The Lord *Wharton*, tho' advanc'd in Years, took a Journey through *Holland* to *Germany*; Colonel *Sidney*, Uncle to the Earl of *Sunderland*, went to the *Spaw*, under the Pretence of only Drinking the Waters; and the Lord *Dunblain*, Son to the Earl of *Danby*, a brave bold-ſpirited Sea-Man, who commanded an Independent Frigate, together with Mr. *Johnſon*, and ſome others, croſs'd and re-croſs'd the Seas, to carry ſeveral Diſpatches and Reſolutions. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* having left his Regiment of Horſe, and mortgag'd his Eſtate for forty thouſand Pounds, went over to the Prince, to offer him both his Sword and his Purſe. He was follow'd by Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Herbert* his Couſin, Mr. *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Mordant*, and the Earl of *Wiltſhire*. As to thoſe others in *England* who aſſiſted in this great Work, we are to mention the Earl of *Danby*, who had as great a Share in this as in the Marriage of the Princeſs of *Orange*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Lovelace*, the Lord *Delamere*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, and his Son the Lord *Eland*, the Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, the Lord *Pawlet* his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, Son to the Earl of *Lindſey*, Mr. *Leſter*, Mr. *Hamden*, Mr. *Powle*, *&c.* beſides ſeveral eminent Citizens in *London*. Upon what

The Prince of Orange *invited over by many in* England.

The Perſons concern'd.

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And their Principles.

what Motives and Principles theſe Perſons proceeded ſhall be deliver'd in the Words of the eloquent Biſhop *Sprat*, who in a Letter to the Lord *Dorſet*, ſays, 'I know it was formerly a popular Objection of divers miſguided *Diſſenters* from the Church of *England*, *That our Principles were too Monarchical, and that we carry'd the Doctrine of* Obedience *farther than might be conſiſtent with the Safety of a* Proteſtant *Church, or the Privilege of a free-born People.* But it is now to be hop'd, that the ſtrongeſt Argument of all others, which is Experience from undoubted Matter of Fact, has put this Objection for ever out of Countenance; that ſince it is undeniable, that during the whole Time, when our *Civil* and *Spiritual* Liberties were in ſo much Danger, the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Stop, that was here put to the Arts of *Rome*, and Intrigues of *France*, was by the ſteady Reſolution of the true Sons of the Church of *England*.—— It will be ſufficient to affirm, once for all, That the main Body of thoſe, who made ſo brave a Stand, were all of the Church of *England*; and the Principles on which they ſtood, were all Church of *England* Principles. *My Lord*, It was by theſe Perſons and theſe Principles, that *Popery* was ſtopp'd in its full Career, by theſe it was hinder'd from conquering, and put in a Condition to be ſhortly after conquer'd it ſelf in this Nation.' But to proceed:

Their Application to the States-General.

The deplorable State of Things having awaken'd the Minds of many of the Nobility and Gentry, they reſolv'd to ſhake of a Yoke they cou'd not bear. In order to which, they apply'd themſelves not only to the Prince of *Orange*, but to ſeveral leading Members of the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, repreſenting to them, 'How nearly they were concern'd in what then paſs'd in *England*, which was but one Branch of the Deſigns driven on by the *French* King and his Adherents, for enſlaving all *Europe*, and rooting out what they call'd the *Northern Hereſy*, both Name and Thing.' They ſhew'd them, 'That if they ſuffer'd the Conſpiracy of the common Enemies to go any farther, they wou'd be involv'd in the Ruin of *England*, and muſt ſpeedily fall under the *French* Yoke, of which they had felt the Weight in the Years 1672, and 1673, and had lately heard more of it from thoſe great Numbers of *French Proteſtants* who had taken Refuge in their Countrey. They inſiſted how glorious it wou'd be for them to become the Sanctuary of oppreſs'd Innocence.' They put them in mind of what had heretofore been done for their Republick by the *Engliſh* Nation, 'When they had newly caſt off the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, and were forc'd to implore the Succour of their Neighbours againſt a Power which then carry'd on the ſame Deſigns, and much by the ſame Methods, which had been copy'd from them by the *French* in the latter Times.' They convinc'd them, 'That all Reaſons of Gratitude, Humanity, Policy and Chriſtianity concurr'd, to encline them to comply with their Requeſt, in putting their helping Hand towards the oppoſing a Bank to that Torrent which otherwiſe wou'd overflow all *Chriſtendom*. Neither was the Buſineſs of a Nature to admit Delay; ſince if they ſlipp'd that Opportunity then in their Hands, by the *French* King's ſending his Forces to the *Upper Rhine*, to begin the War upon *Philipsburgh*; if they let paſs that ſeaſonable Occaſion of helping *England*, in all Probability it wou'd be too late to attempt any thing hereafter: The two Kings hoping in a ſhort time to put both the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* out of Capacity of diſputing their Pleaſure.

Proviſions made by them and the Prince of Orange.

All theſe Arguments, and the Inſtances of ſo many conſiderable *Engliſh* Men, prevail'd to that Degree, that the *States-General* reſolv'd to lend them their beſt Troops; and accordingly the Forces were order'd to rendezvous near *Nimeguen*, not far from the Camp of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had march'd his Army thither to act in Conjunction with the Confe-

Confederates, now alarm'd by the *Dauphine*'s Hoſtility in *Germany*. The Prince of *Orange* had juſt before, under the Pretence of the Buſineſs of *Cologn*, aſſiſted at an Interview, and long Conference held at *Minden* in *Weſtphalia*, between the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and the Princes of the Houſe of *Lunenburgh*, wherein Meaſures were concerted both to recover *England*, as well as depreſs *France*. This, and his frequent Journies to the Army near *Nimeguen*, ſoon gave alarm to the Count *D'Avaux* and the Marquiſs *D'Albyville*, Miniſters of *France* and *England* reſiding at the *Hague*; eſpecially when there was an Interview between the Prince and the Marquiſs of *Caſtanaga*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, on the Frontiers, wherein Matters were concerted for the Defence of thoſe Provinces, on the Prince's Abſence. The Prince's Friends gave it out, 'That it was about ſome Affairs depending be-'tween his Highneſs and the Count *de Solre*, concerning certain Lands in 'the Dependency of *Conde*, *France* having undertaken the Defence of that 'Count;' whereas the true Reaſon of that Interview, and all the Prince's extraordinary Motions at that time, was wholly unknown to the World. This was in the Month of *Auguſt*; and tho' the Marquiſs *D'Albyville* went to *London* about that time, ſo ſecret were the Councils of this Prince, that King *James* had no manner of Notice of his Intentions: To diſguiſe which, he happily made uſe of the Rupture between *France* and the Empire, as a Colour for his Military Preparations. And indeed the whole Expedition was manag'd with a Secrecy ſo exact and well guarded, as fully confirm'd the Character which Experience had extorted from the Mouth of his great Enemy, the *French* King, *That in the Cabinet he was the greateſt Man in* Europe. 1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

The Prince having detach'd from his own, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Camp, what Forces he thought neceſſary for his Expedition, which he deſign'd ſhou'd look more like a Reſtorer than a Conqueror; the King of *Sweden* moſt generouſly offer'd to ſupply the *Dutch* with an equal Number of Troops, and perform'd his Promiſe; otherwiſe the *States* durſt hardly have ventur'd ſuch an Army abroad, when they were threatned by a very formidable Enemy at home. At the ſame time that Care was taken to procure a proper and ſufficient Number of Land Forces, Orders were carefully ſent to the ſeveral Cities of *Holland*, to have ſo many Ships of War and ſo many Tranſports in readineſs by a particular Day, which was executed with all poſſible Chearfulneſs and Expedition. Tho' the Enterprize was extraordinary, and of the boldeſt Nature in the World, yet there was ſcarce a Man in *Holland*, excepting *Papiſts*, who was hear'd to murmur at either the Charge or Hazard of it; and Men, Women and Children, lifted up their Prayers to Heaven for the Succeſs of his Highneſs, and the preſent Deliverance of *England*. *The Readineſs of the* Dutch.

3. During theſe great Preparations, which in *England* gave ſome Glimmerings of Hope in the Countrey before they gave anſwerable Apprehenſions to the Court, the Count *D'Avaux*, the *French* Embaſſador at the *Hague*, kept a watchful Eye upon the Motions of the Prince of *Orange*, grew more jealous of theſe uncommon Proceedings, and diſcover'd from ſeveral convincing Circumſtances, that they were intended againſt *England*. He gave timely Notice of it to King *Lewis* his Maſter, from whom King *James* had the firſt certain and poſitive Intelligence; we ſay poſitive, becauſe Mr. *Bevil Skelton*, while he reſided at the *Hague*, had made ſome remote Diſcoveries, and had intercepted a Letter, intimating, That a great Project was ſecretly carry'd on againſt the King of *England*, of which he immediately gave an Account to his Majeſty: But the Court of *England* had been ſo often impos'd upon by ſham Plots, and rous'd with falſe Alarms, *The* French *Embaſſador's Suſpicion of them.*

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and now intoxicated with Succeſs, that no great Notice was taken of Mr. *Skelton*'s Information. However, the *French* King laid more Weight upon Count *D'Avaux*'s Advice, and preſs'd King *James* to take ſuch Notice of it as it deſerv'd, and to put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence againſt the intended Invaſion of his Dominions.

Intelligence receiv'd by Mr. Skelton

Much about the ſame time, Mr. *Skelton*, lately arriv'd at *Paris* in Quality of Envoy Extraordinary from *England*, held Intelligence with a certain Gentleman, who gave him farther Light into this Affair. This Gentleman was one *Bude de Verace*, a Proteſtant of *Geneva*, Grand-Son to the famous Librarian *Budæus*, and formerly a Captain in the Prince of *Orange*'s Guards, who having in a Duel kill'd the Son of one of the States, was oblig'd to fly for his Safety. The Earl of *Clarendon*, whoſe Son the Lord of *Cornbury* had receiv'd great Civilities from *Verace*, while he ſtudy'd at *Geneva*, recommended him to the Prince of *Orange*, by the Interceſſion of Mr. *Skelton*; who not only obtain'd *Verace*'s Pardon, but procur'd him alſo the Place of Gentleman Uſher to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs. *Verace* being thus reſtor'd to the good Opinion of the Prince, he inſinuated himſelf more and more into it, and fell into an Intimacy with Mr. *Bentinck* his Favourite; but being ſuſpected of making ſome Diſcovery of his Maſter's Deſign againſt King *James*, or as others pretend, having reflected upon the *Princeſſes* having no Children, he was turn'd out of his Place. He had not been long at *Geneva*, when upon the News of the great Preparations in *Holland*, he wrote to Mr. *Skelton*, then at *Paris*, 'That he had ſuch Things to com-
'municate to the King of *England*, that were of no leſs Concern than the
'Crown he wore, and the expoſing a Son-in-law he had too much truſted;
'but that he wou'd not diſcover the Secret to any but the King himſelf;
'and that if his Majeſty wou'd let him know his Pleaſure, he wou'd imme-
'diately repair to *England*.' Upon this Advice Mr. *Skelton* wrote five or ſix Letters to the Court of *England*, in the ſame warm and preſſing Style, as thoſe writ to his Maſter by the *French* King. On the other Hand, the Marquiſs of *Albyville*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague*, was not wanting in his Duty; ſo that King *James* had ſufficient Notice given him not to be ſurpriz'd; but it was late before he hearken'd to thoſe Advices, and the following Reaſons are given, why he did not hearken to them ſooner. 'The
'Prince of *Orange* ſtill continu'd ſo dutiful to him, as gave no Occaſion to
'entertain any ſuch Jealouſy: That Prince continu'd paying him the ſame
'Reſpects, and even Complementing him, as others did, upon the Birth of
'the Prince of *Wales*, and caus'd his Name to be added to the reſt of the
'Princes of the Family, to be pray'd for in his Chapel.' Beſides, upon the News of a great Armament in *Holland*, *Van Citters* the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, gave King *James* to underſtand, 'That *France* had more Reaſon to
'be alarm'd at it than *England*.' On the other ſide his Majeſty ſo much depending upon a numerous Army, a ſtrong Fleet, and the Affections of his People, diſregarded the feeble Attempts of the *Hollanders*; at leaſt, it is ſaid, he was taught to diſregard them by his prime Miniſter the Earl of *Sunderland*.

Who in vain gives Notice to King James.

The Earl of Sunderland.

Here Father *Orleans* takes an Occaſion enviouſly to ſum up all that has been ſaid for and againſt that Great Man, whoſe Character and Actions had been ſo dubious to the World: They that accuſe him of Infidelity, ſays he, ground their Charge upon Circumſtances and Facts, and ſay, 'That the
'Earl was an Enemy reconcil'd to King *James* through Policy and Neceſ-
'ſity; That no Man had puſh'd on the *Bill of Excluſion* in the ſeveral
'Parliaments more warmly than he; and that he never ſought after his
'Friendſhip, till he ſaw him Uppermoſt: That he was one who reſolv'd to
'to ſide with the prevailing Party, tho' at the ſame time he manag'd a
'Reſource with thoſe that were under, in caſe of a Change: That while
'he

What has been urg'd againſt him.

'he was in with the *Excluſion* Party, he dextrouſly ingratiated himſelf 1688.
'with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, by whoſe Mediation he was ſoon ad- Jac. 4.
'mitted to King *Charles*'s Favour, and by him reconcil'd to the Duke of Ref. 29
'*York*. That, upon the latter's Acceſſion to the Throne, being become
'prime Miniſter, and almoſt the only one, he had been zealous for him,
'during his Proſperity; but as ſoon as he diſcover'd a Party was forming
'againſt him, he had held a near Correſpondence with his Enemies: That
'his Lady conſtantly writ to the Princeſs of *Orange*, and his Uncle *Henry*
'*Sidney*, one of the Heads of the Party, who was gone over into *Holland*,
'to the Prince: That the Earl in a printed Letter, owning he had embrac'd
'the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, to be more able to ſerve the *Proteſtants*,
'ſhew'd he was not always of the ſame ſide he appear'd to be: That no
'leſs can be ſaid of the Violence he us'd to his Maſter, in perſuading him,
'contrary to his Inclinations, to bring Father *Petre* into the Privy-Coun-
'cil, againſt his own Will, and all the Oppoſition made by the Queen,
'and in ſpight of the Eſſential Laws of his Order, which his Majeſty con-
'ſented to, to oblige this Miniſter: That the ſame Inference may be drawn
'from his Proceedings in the Diſturbance about the Seven Biſhops, whom
'he caus'd to be hard ſet in the Council, and yet ſecretly favour'd: That
'the ſlight Account he made of ſo many Advices brought of the Deſigns
'of the Prince of *Orange* and the *Dutch*, muſt needs ariſe from an unfaith-
'ful Intention, as muſt the Methods he afterwards perſuaded him to fol-
'low, which finally depriv'd his Maſter of the only Means left him to op-
'poſe his Enemies.' On the other ſide, the ſame Author ſays, 'Thoſe who
'are for excuſing him, ſay thus, That it is no infallible Rule, that a re- *And what*
'concil'd Enemy cannot become ſincere; and that a Man may ſave him- *for him.*
'ſelf a Reſource with a Party, without embracing it: That the Earl was
'never convicted of having any Perſonal Underſtanding with his Maſter's
'Enemies, tending to betray him: That his Lady's Correſpondence with
'the Princeſs of *Orange*, tho' ſuſpicious at this Conjuncture, is not a ſuffi-
'cient Reaſon to charge the Husband with ſuch a Crime: That Colonel
'*Sidney*, tho' his near Relation, might have deceiv'd him, as he did others,
'and make him believe that he went to the *Spaw* only for the ſake of the
'Waters: That his owning he chang'd his Religion to ſerve the *Prote-*
'*ſtants*, is rather an Excuſe to them, than a Proof of his being privy to
'their Deſigns; ſince no Man needs make Excuſes to thoſe with whom he
'has already concerted Meaſures: That his introducing Father *Petre* into
'the Council, was only a prudential and allowable Piece of Policy to bring
'upon the *Jeſuit* all the odium of the People, for the irregular Conduct of
'the Court: That the Undertakings of the Prince of *Orange* againſt a King,
'that had a powerful Force both by Sea and Land, ſeem'd ſo Extraordina-
'ry, not to ſay extravagant to every Body, that not knowing how to give
'credit to it, he did not think himſelf oblig'd to lay any Weight on *Skel-*
'*ton*'s Information; and if he had given Credit to them, thoſe very Forces
'he ſaw about his Maſter might juſtly make him reject ſuch Succours from
'*France*, as he thought dangerous, and he cou'd not think neceſſary.'
Thus far Father *Orleans*, who leaves the whole as a Problem to be decided
by the judicious Reader. Beſides theſe, others add in his Favour, 'That
'from the beginning he faithfully ſerv'd King *James*, as became a *Prote-*
'*ſtant* Subject: That tho' he acted in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, yet
'for a good while he defended *Magdalen*-College: That he was againſt
'diſſolving the Parliament: That he ſo openly oppos'd the Proſecution of
'the Biſhops, that he expos'd himſelf to the Fury of the *Popiſh* Party; and
'tho' he feign'd, or rather not diſown'd himſelf to be a *Roman Catholick*
'to prevent his immediate Ruine, yet did he ſtill continue to be the Ob-
'ject of their Hatred: And laſtly, that upon the News of the Prince's co-

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'ming, he advis'd his Majesty to call a Free Parliament, and depend upon 'that.' Accordingly the King, on the 24th of *August*, declar'd in Council, That he intended to call a Parliament, in pursuance of his *Declaration*, to meet on the 27th of *November* next; and directed the Chancellor to issue out Writs on the 5th of *September*.

A new Parliament design'd.

In the mean time the *French* King and the *English* Envoy at his Court, did so earnestly renew their Informations of the certain Designs of the Prince of *Orange* to invade *England*, that the Envoy *Skelton* was at last commanded to send for the forementiond *Verace*, and to return his most Christian Majesty Thanks for his good Offices. Accordingly he writ to *Verace*, who by this time having chang'd his Mind, refus'd to comply with the King's Desires, or so much as to meet *Skelton* at *Chambery*, a City in *Savoy*, not above a Day's Journey from *Geneva*, through which that Envoy was to pass in his Way to *Italy*. However, the *French* King knowing he cou'd not have a better Opportunity to engage King *James* in the strictest Alliance, than the present dangerous Condition of his Affairs, notwithstanding his grand Design was against *Germany*, he immediately dispatch'd Monsieur *Bonrepos* to his *Britannick* Majesty, to offer him thirty Thousand of his Men. The sudden arrival of *Bonrepos*, which was on the 25th of *August*, and his frequent Conferences with the *English* Ministers, in Conjunction with Monsieur *Barillon*, the old *French* Ambassador, gave Jealousy to the *Spanish* Minister *de Ronquillo*; who thereupon frankly told the Lord *Sunderland*, 'That his Business must be either *Publick* or *Pri*-'*vate*; if the latter, he had nothing to say; but if the former, he desir'd to 'be made acquainted with it; or else those whom it might concern, wou'd be 'at liberty to judge what they thought fit about it, and to take their Mea-'sures accordingly.' The Reason of which Expostulation we are told was this: *Ronquillo* being with King *James* two Days before, his Majesty told him, 'That *Bonrepos* had assur'd him that there was a Treaty very near 'concluded between his Master and the Duke of *Brandenburgh*;' whereby the *Spanish* Ambassador reasonably conjectur'd, 'That *France*, the bet-'ter to draw *England*, into an Alliance, had made a Shew of her Trea-'ties with other Princes.' This Conjecture, it seems, prov'd true: A Treaty was actually on foot between *France* and *England*; and it was reported to be so far advanc'd, that it wou'd be impossible to prevent its Conclusion. It was added, 'That the Court of *France*, in order to faci-'litate this Negotiation, had industriously spread the Report of the Prince 'of *Orange*'s Designs, or at least exaggerated the Greatness of the Arma-'ment, that King *James* might not think himself safe without Foreign As-'sistance:' And indeed the Ministers of the House of *Austria* were given to understand, 'That what the King did was only to secure himself against 'the *Hollanders*.' But *Ronquillo* not being satisfy'd with this Declaration, demanded a private Audience, which was granted. He was two full Hours in close Conference with the King; and having assur'd him that the *Dutch* had no Design upon *England*, he represented to him 'The fa-'tal Consequences of entering in any Alliance with *France*, and how ill 'it wou'd sound in the Nation, that while he pretended to call a Free Par-'liament, he shou'd introduce Foreign Troops into his Kingdom.' The King own'd to the *Spanish* Ambassador, 'That the sending of *Bonrepos*, at 'that nice Juncture, was the most unfriendly Turn that the *French* King 'cou'd have done him; That he wish'd it had been in his Power to send 'him back the next Day after his Arrival; but since in Decency he cou'd 'not do that, he wou'd however give him but small Encouragement to 'stay.' And at the same time his Majesty assur'd *Ronquillo*, 'That he 'had much rather entertain a good Correspondence with *Holland*, than be 'thought to have a strict Alliance with *France*.' Thereupon the Ambassa-

The French *King offers his Assistance to King* James.

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'dor took his leave with private Pleaſure and Satisfaction; and *Bonrepos* finding his Maſter's officiouſneſs but coldly receiv'd, ſet out for *France* on the 4th of *September*. 1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

Here Father *Orleans* farther takes notice of the Earl of *Sunderland*, and ſays, 'Conſidering the things rightly, it was a nice Point for a King of '*England* to bring an Army of Strangers into his Dominions, and thoſe '*Roman Catholicks*, and eſpecially *French:* It was enough to blacken the 'Memory of a Prince in the Minds of his People, and an Acknowledgement 'of all the Reports ſpread abroad, *of his having enter'd into an Alliance* '*on purpoſe to ſuppreſs the Religion and Liberties of his Countrey:* Be-'ſides, his Majeſty had more than a ſufficient Number of Forces to with-'ſtand all the Attempts of the *Dutch*, which his Fleet alone was able to 'oppoſe; and when the worſt ſhou'd happen, his Army cou'd ſcarce fail of 'deſtroying them, as being much more numerous, and well-diſciplin'd.' And then this Author tells us, That *Sunderland*, who firſt advis'd the Refuſing of thoſe Succours, ſupported his Opinion with the fore-mention'd Reaſons. But on the other ſide he adds, thoſe of another Mind proceeded upon theſe following Reaſons; 'That the thing was not only to be conſi-'der'd of it ſelf, but in the preſent Circumſtances; that the preſent Buſineſs 'was not barely oppoſing one Army againſt another, but to diſcover whe-'ther the Army that was to oppoſe the Enemy did not conſent with them 'for promoting of their Deſigns; whether the Officers that commanded 'them were any more above Corruption, than thoſe in other Parts of the 'Government, who were ſaid to be debauch'd, and yet not known.' From hence, thoſe who argu'd after this manner, concluded, 'That if unfortu-'nately the Corruption was got into the Army, as well as into other 'Parts, the King, by refuſing the Foreign Succours, which with what Loy-'al Subjects wou'd join him might make a conſiderable Party, wou'd be 'expos'd to all the Power of his Enemies, without any Defence.' Amidſt this Diverſity of Opinions, concludes he, the Suffrage of the Prime Miniſter, the King's Goodneſs to his Subjects, the Honour of the Nation, the Confidence repos'd in the Commanders of his Army, moſt of them Men of ſuch Quality, as were thought above being ſtain'd with Treaſon, or elſe Perſons loaded with his Favours, inclin'd the King to eſpouſe that which the Event has diſapprov'd, and caus'd him to refuſe thoſe Succours he might eaſily have receiv'd; the Fleets might have oppos'd them not being yet fit for Action.

The Earl of Sunderland's *Reaſons for refuſing.*

Contrary Reaſons.

However, things being at this Height, *Albyville* the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague* was order'd to demand of the *States-General*, 'What they meant 'by their great and ſurprizing Warlike Preparations both by Sea and Land, 'at that Time of the Year, when all Operations, eſpecially thoſe at Sea, 'uſe to ceaſe.' To which the *States* made anſwer, 'That they arm'd in 'Imitation of his *Britannick* Majeſty, and might with more Reaſon demand 'an Explanation about the Alliances into which He was lately enter'd.' This bold Anſwer, which at another time might have produc'd a Rupture, was now left without Reply. However as it increas'd the Suſpicions of an Invaſion, ſo all imaginable Methods were taken for a Security againſt it. The chief Ports, and particularly *Hull* and *Portſmouth*, the two Keys of *England*, were put into the Hands of *Roman Catholicks*, and the Garriſons ſo modell'd, that the Majority were of that Religion.

Demands upon the States General.

4. It was with much Concern that *France* heard the Reſolution taken in *England*, and it is not eaſy to expreſs how much that Court took to heart the Danger of a King who had been long belov'd there. Mr. *Skelton* was juſt tired out with People Stopping, Queſtioning, and almoſt Quarrelling with him, becauſe their Advice was not follow'd. They were very urgent

The French *King concerned for King* James.

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urgent with him to find out ſome Expedient to ſerve his Maſter in ſpight of the Miniſters at home; and they went ſo far as to oblige him to propoſe a Method, which wou'd have certainly ſav'd him, had not the Court of *England*, ſtill proceeding in the ſame Way, put a ſtop to it. One Day Monſieur *de Croiſſy* preſſing the Envoy touching that Point, the Latter, after anſwering, *That he had no Orders, and durſt not ask any thing*, added, *That nevertheleſs he believ'd, that if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty wou'd declare to the* States *how much he eſpous'd King* James's *Concerns, and threatned to attack them, in caſe they attempted any thing againſt them, it wou'd certainly put a ſtop to their Deſign, and ſo break all the Prince of* Orange's *Meaſures, without giving the* Engliſh *any Cauſe to complain, that the King had call'd any Strangers into their Countrey. De Croiſſy* approving of the Envoy's Propoſal, he went to acquaint the King Himſelf, who readily embracing all the Methods propos'd for Aſſiſting the King of *England*, ſent Orders accordingly to the Count *d'Avaux*, his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*.

His Ambaſſador's Memorial to the States-General.

On the 9th of *September*, that Miniſter deliver'd in and publiſh'd this Memorial to the *States-General*, Declaring, 'That the ſincere Deſire the King, 'his Maſter, had to maintain the Tranquillity of *Europe*, wou'd not ſuffer his 'Majeſty to ſee the great Preparations for War, both by Sea and Land, made by 'their Lordſhips, without taking the Meaſures, that Prudence, the continual 'Companion of all his Actions, inſpired him with, to prevent the Miſchiefs 'theſe Warlike Preparations wou'd certainly draw after them. And altho' 'the King, being perſuaded of the Wiſdom of their Counſels, and cou'd not 'imagine that a Free State ſhou'd ſo eaſily reſolve to take up Arms, and to 'kindle a War, which at the preſent Juncture cou'd not but be fatal to all '*Chriſtendom*; nevertheleſs his Majeſty cou'd not believe their Lordſhips 'wou'd engage themſelves in ſo great Expence, both at Home and Abroad, 'to entertain in Pay ſo many Foreign Troops, to put to Sea ſo numerous 'a Fleet ſo late in the Year, and to prepare ſo great Magazines, if they had 'not a Deſign form'd, anſwerable to the Greatneſs of the Preparations. That 'all theſe Circumſtances inclin'd the King, his Maſter, to believe with Rea'ſon, That this Arming threatned *England*; therefore his Majeſty had 'commanded him to Declare to them, on his Part, *That the Tyes of* '*Friendſhip and Alliance between Him and the King of* Great Britain, '*wou'd oblige him not only to aſſiſt him, but alſo to look on the firſt* '*Act of Hoſtility that ſhou'd be committed by their Troops, or their Fleet,* '*againſt his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *to be a manifeſt Rupture of the* '*Peace, and a Breach with his Crown.*

This plain Declaration began to open Mens Eyes both at Home and Abroad, and almoſt put the *States* to a Stand; however, they return'd no Anſwer to it, but complain'd to the Marquiſs of *Albyville* of this new Alliance, and likewiſe order'd their Ambaſſador *Van Citters* to complain of the Memorial to the Court of *England*. Whereupon a particular Council was held, where tho' they had a freſh Opportunity of accepting the offer'd Diverſion from *France*, they alter'd not their Methods, and the prime Miniſter *Sunderland* ſtood to his firſt Advice; and in Concluſion it was reſolv'd to diſown the Count *d'Avaux*'s Proceedings. This Reſolution was immediately communicated to *Van Citters* by the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State; and the King's Miniſters at the *Hague*, *Bruſſels* and *Madrid*, were order'd to Declare, 'That the *French* Memorial was preſented without 'his Majeſty's Knowledge or his Apprehenſion.' Over and above, Mr. *Skelton* was ſuddenly recall'd, and immediately committed Priſoner to the *Tower* for his over Officiouſneſs, and Exceeding his Inſtructions. 'And thus, 'ſays Father *Orleans*, the Poſitiveneſs of a Miniſter, if no more be thought 'of it, deliver'd up a mighty King into the Hands of his Enemies, and an

The Earl of Sunderland *caſts the Scale in* England.

'Exceſs

'Exceſs of Confidence repos'd on Subjects more than they deſerv'd, depriv'd 'that Prince of the Succours he might have had elſewhere.' How far this turns to the Diſhonour or Commendation of that prime Miniſter, is left wholly to the Judgment of the *Engliſh* Readers. 1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

King James's Preparations.

5. The King having by this Time receiv'd ſo many concurring Advices from the *Hague*, as amounted to a moral Certainty of the Deſigns of the Prince of *Orange*, he order'd the Fitting out of the Fleet to be carry'd on with double Diligence; Commiſſions were given out for Augmenting the Army; Orders were diſpatch'd to *Tyrconnel* for ſending over whole Regiments out of *Ireland*; and *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador made a Propoſal, very formidable to thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Prince, namely that *France* ſhou'd abandon the Deſign lately taken to beſiege *Philipsburgh*, and carry on the War into *Holland*. This plauſible Overture was approv'd of by four or five of the Council; but others warmly oppos'd it, Alledging, 'That ſuch a Violation of former Treaties with *Holland* wou'd be ſufficient 'to raiſe the Clamours of the whole Nation, and to alienate the Minds of 'all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants from his Majeſty.' This Suggeſtion, of the two, being more plauſible, did not miſs of its Effect: And farther it is to be remember'd, that thoſe who favour'd the Prince's Expedition had been very induſtrious in ſpreading a Report, 'That the *Dutch* Armament was 'only deſign'd to hinder the *French* from Landing in *England*, where, in 'Purſuance of a *Secret Treaty* made with King *James*, they were to ex-'tirpate the *Proteſtant Religion*.

His Proclamation about a new Parliament.

To diſſipate the Fears and Apprehenſions of the People, on the 21ſt of *September* his Majeſty iſſu'd out a Proclamation Importing, 'That having 'already ſignify'd his Pleaſure to call a Parliament, leſt thoſe whoſe Right 'it was to chuſe Members, ſhou'd lie under any Prejudice and Miſtakes, 'through the Artifices of diſaffected Perſons, he thought fit to Declare, 'That it was his Royal Purpoſe to endeavour a Legal Eſtabliſhment of an '*Univerſal Liberty of Conſcience* for all his Subjects; that it was alſo his 'Reſolution Inviolably to preſerve the Church of *England*, by ſuch a Con-'firmation of the ſeveral Acts of *Uniformity*, that they ſhou'd never be 'alter'd any other Ways than by Repealing the ſeveral Clauſes, which in-'flict Penalties upon Perſons not Promoted, or to be Promoted to any Ec-'cleſiaſtical Benefices within the Meaning of the ſaid Act, for Exerciſing 'their Religion contrary to the Purport of the ſaid Acts of *Uniformity*. 'And that for the farther Securing, not only the Church of *England*, but 'the *Proteſtant* Religion in General, he was willing the *Roman Catholicks* 'ſhou'd remain Incapable to be Members of the Houſe of Commons; 'whereby thoſe Fears and Apprehenſions wou'd be remov'd, which many 'Perſons had had, *That the Legiſlative Authority wou'd be engroſs'd by 'them, and turn'd againſt Proteſtants*. After which he exhorted them 'to lay aſide all Animoſities, and ſo to diſpoſe themſelves, as to think of 'ſuch Perſons to repreſent them in Parliament, whoſe Abilities and Tem-'pers render'd them fit for ſo great and good a Work.' This Proclamation was thought ſo ambiguouſly worded as to the Repeal of the *Penal Laws*, the Confirming the Acts of *Uniformity*, and the Excluding the *Roman Catholicks* from the Lower-Houſe only, that it occaſion'd ſeveral Diſputes, and had but little Effect upon the People, who began to caſt their Eyes toward the *Eaſt*.

From whence, upon the Arrival of Intelligence from the Marquiſs *de Albyville*, of the embarking of ſeveral Regiments on Board the *Dutch* Fleet, the Command of the Army was firſt offer'd to the Count *de Roye*, an experienc'd *French* General, and an Exile for his Religion; upon whoſe declining the Office, it was beſtow'd on the Earl of *Feverſham*: But however, in

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in the Case of a Descent, the King design'd to head his Army Himself; and the Queen, with the Prince of *Wales*, were to retire to *Portsmouth*, a well fortify'd Sea Town, of which the Duke of *Berwick* was Governor. The Command of the Fleet, which consisted of Forty Four Men of War, was given to the Lord *Dartmouth*; the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London* were order'd to prevent the spreading of false News, and to keep the City quiet; and two or three Bishops were offer'd Places in the Privy-Council, which they refus'd to accept, by reason of the several *Papists* that sate there. Besides these Precautions at Home, it was resolv'd in Council, that the Marquis *de Albyville* shou'd deliver a farther Memorial, representing to the *States-General*, 'That although his Majesty had believ'd, that what he had 'declar'd to their Ambassador in *England*, and the Orders he had given to 'him upon the same Subject, might have satisfy'd their Lordships, That 'there was no other Treaty between his Majesty and the most Christian 'King, than those that were Publick, and in Print; yet since a great deal 'of Artifice and Industry had been us'd to make the World believe that his 'Majesty was enter'd into other Treaties and Alliances with the most Chri-'stian King, his Majesty, to shew his great Regard he had to the Friend-'ship and Alliances which were between Him and their Lordships, and his 'Desire to continue the same, had commanded him, his Envoy Extraordi-'nary, to assure their Lordships, *That there was no other Treaty between 'Him and* France, *than those that were Publick:* And farther, that as his 'Majesty extreamly desir'd the Preservation of the Peace and Repose of '*Christendom*, so he wou'd be also glad to take such Measures with their 'Lordships as might be most convenient for maintaining the Peace of *Ni-'meguen*, and the Truce of twenty Years concluded in 1684.' Some Members of the Council were against presenting of this Memorial, as exposing the King's Honour to Suspicion; but the Majority were not only for it, but likewise mov'd, That the Lord *Godolphin* and the Bishop of *Winchester* shou'd be sent over to *Holland* to support the Credit of it, which last Motion came to nothing. As for the *States*, they took no Notice of the King's Offers, but suffer'd the Prince of *Orange* to proceed with the Shipping off his Men.

A new Memorial to the States-General.

The King undeceiv'd and in a Consternation.

VI. 1. During these several Motions and Transactions, and notwithstanding the open Preparations, the deluded King was not without some Hopes that the Storm might discharge it self rather in some other Countrey than his own; but on the 23d of *September* his Eyes were fully open'd by the News he receiv'd from the Marquis of *Albyville* at the *Hague*, 'That 'Pensionary *Fagel* had frankly own'd to him the Design of the Prince of '*Orange*; adding, That if the *Dutch* Ambassador in *England* had said any 'thing to the contrary, he had done it out of his own Head, and without 'Orders from the *States*.' At the same Time the Marquis acquainted his Majesty, 'That several *English* Lords and Gentlemen had already cross'd 'the Sea, and lay private in *Holland*, ready to accompany the Prince in his 'Expedition.' Upon the Reading this Letter, the poor King turn'd pale, and for a while remain'd speechless and astonish'd: The airy Castle of Unlimited Power, rais'd by the Magick of Jesuitical Counsels, now vanish'd in a Moment; and the misled Monarch, by the Prince's Approach, freed from his Inchantment, found himself upon the Brink of a Precipice; while all his intoxicating Flatterers stood Thunder-struck at a Distance, without daring to lend him a helping Hand, for fear that both He and They shou'd be involv'd in the greater Ruine. In this Extremity, the sinking Monarch, whom this imminent Danger had render'd clear-sighted, discover'd the chief Support of the *English* Monarchy, the Bishops, and eagerly endeavour'd to lay hold on that which before he had attempted to overthrow. The Bi-

Bohun. Sprat. Boyer. Gazettes. Jones. Collections. Sunderland. Mulgrave. MSS.

He has Recourse to the Bishops.

shop

ſhop of *Ely*, who had loſt the King's good Graces for ſiding with his petitioning Brethren, was now reſtored to his former Favour, and employ'd to manage a Reconcilement between his Majeſty and the reſt of the Prelates that were then in Town. Accordingly, the next Day, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Chicheſter*, *Peterborough*, *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, being ſummon'd, appear'd before his Majeſty, *London* and *Briſtol* were not then come to Town, and the Archbiſhop was ſick, and came alone the next Day after. The King having receiv'd the Biſhops with extraordinary Marks of Favour and Kindneſs, told them, *That he deſired the Aſſiſtance of their Counſels on this preſent Exigency*; aſſuring them, *That He was ready to do whatever they ſhou'd think neceſſary for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Peoples Rights, without derogating from his own Prerogative.* Their Lordſhips anſwer'd the King's Confidence in them by their Expreſſions of their Duty and Loyalty to his Majeſty, and wou'd have given him more particular Proofs of their Zeal for his Service, had not the King told them, *That he was not then at Leiſure*; and therefore *deſired them to conſult together about ſo weighty a Matter:* Whereupon they took their Leaves, and repair'd to *Lambeth*, to draw up ſomething equal to the Difficulty of the Seaſon. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

In the mean Time the King, to prepoſſeſs the Minds of the People againſt the Prince of *Orange*, on the 28th of *September*, he iſſu'd out a *Declaration*, ſetting forth, 'That his Majeſty had receiv'd undoubted Advice, that a great and ſudden Invaſion from *Holland*, with an arm'd Force of Foreigners, wou'd ſpeedily be made in an hoſtile Manner; and although ſome falſe Pretences relating to *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion*, contriv'd and worded with Art and Subtlety, might be given out, it was manifeſt however, That no leſs Matter by this Invaſion was propos'd, *than an abſolute Conqueſt of theſe his Majeſty's Kingdoms, and the utter ſubduing and ſubjecting them, and all his People, to a foreign Power*; which was promoted by ſome of his Majeſty's Subjects, being Perſons of wicked and reſtleſs Spirits, implacable Malice, and deſperate Deſigns; who having no Senſe of the Miſery of former inteſtine Diviſions, nor being mov'd by his Majeſty's reiterated Acts of Mercy, did again endeavour to embroil this Kingdom in Blood and Ruine, to gratify their own Ambition and Malice, propoſing to themſelves a Prey and Booty in ſuch a publick Confuſion. That tho' his Majeſty had Notice, that a foreign Force was preparing againſt him, yet he had always declin'd any foreign Succours, but rather had choſen to rely upon the true and ancient Courage, Faith and Allegiance of his own People, with whom he had often ventur'd his Life for the Honour of his Nation, and in whoſe Defence againſt all his Enemies, he was firmly reſolv'd to live and die: And therefore his Majeſty ſolemnly conjur'd his Subjects to lay aſide all manner of Animoſities, Jealouſies, and Prejudices, and heartily and chearfully to unite together, in the Defence of Him and their native Countrey. That albeit the Deſign had been carry'd on with all imaginable Secrecy, and Endeavours to ſurprize and deceive his Majeſty, yet he had not been wanting on his Part, to make ſuch Proviſion as did become him, and made no doubt of being found in ſo good a Poſture, that his Enemies might have Cauſe to repent their raſh and unjuſt Attempts.' In the Concluſion, his Majeſty declared, 'That he did intend to have met his Parliament in *November* next, and that the *Writs* were iſſu'd forth accordingly, propoſing to Himſelf, amongſt other Things, That he might be able to quiet the Minds of all his People in Matters of *Religion*; but that in regard of this ſtrange Attempt, deſign'd to divert his ſaid gracious Purpoſes, he found it neceſſary to recall his foreſaid *Writs*, &c.

A Proclamation againſt the Prince of Orange's Invaſion.

Beſides this *Declaration*, the King and Court us'd all poſſible Means to

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London *Charter reſtored, and a General Pardon granted.*

regain the Affection and Confidence of the Church of *England*, and began to tread backwards the unfortunate Steps they had made. The Biſhop of *London*'s Suſpenſion was taken off; and Sir *John Chapman*, a Church-man, was nominated to ſucceed Sir *John Eyles*, the preſent Lord-Mayor of *London*, who was an Anabaptiſt. And moreover, hearing that the Biſhops, among other Things, deſign'd to beg the Reſtoration of the Charter of *London*, he anticipated that part of their Petition, and, the Day before their Appearance, ſending for the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of that City to *Whitehall*, he told them, 'That out of his Concern for the Peace and 'Welfare of the City, and as a Mark of the great Confidence he had in 'them at this Time, when the Kingdom was threaten'd with an Invaſion, 'he reſolv'd to reſtore to them their ancient Charter and Privileges, and 'to put them into the ſame Condition they were in at the Time of the 'Judgment pronounced againſt them upon the *Quo Warranto*; that ſo 'they might be better enabled to ſerve him with Duty and Loyalty, which 'they had given the King his Brother and Him ſo many Teſtimonies of; 'and upon which he depended.' And on the ſame Day, *October* 2d, a general Pardon was publiſh'd by Proclamation, out of which were excepted Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir. *Rowland Gwin*, Dr. *Burnet*, Major *Wildman*, *Samuel Johnſon*, *Titus Oates*, *Robert Ferguſon*, and Ten others leſs known. This was of ſingular Advantage to the Miniſters of State; but was not much regarded by the Body of the People, whoſe Eyes, Ears and Hearts were ſo intent upon the Hopes of a Deliverance, that they cou'd hardly look upon a common Fane without offering up their Wiſhes and Prayers for an Eaſterly Wind.

The Biſhops Advice to the King.

2. The 3d of *October* being come, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Winchester*, St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*, Nine in all, waited upon his Majeſty; to whom the Archbiſhop thus addreſs'd himſelf, with admirable Meekneſs, Gravity and Courage: '*May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty*, When I 'had lately the Honour to wait upon you, you were pleas'd briefly to ac-'quaint me with what had paſs'd two Days before, between your Majeſty 'and theſe my Reverend Brethren: By which, and by the Account which 'they themſelves gave me, I perceiv'd, that in Truth there paſs'd nothing, 'but in very general Terms, and Expreſſions of your Majeſty's gracious 'and favourable Inclinations to the Church of *England*, and of our reci-'procal Duty and Loyalty to your Majeſty; both which were ſufficiently 'underſtood and deſired before, and, as one of my Brethren [the Biſhop of '*Bath* and *Wells*] then told me, *wou'd have been in the ſame State, if 'the Biſhops had not ſtirr'd one Foot out of their Dioceſes.* *Sir*, I found 'it griev'd my Lords the Biſhops to have come ſo far, and to have done 'ſo little; and I am aſſur'd they came then prepared to have given your 'Majeſty ſome more particular Inſtances of their Duty and Zeal for your 'Service, had they not apprehended from ſome Words which fell from your 'Majeſty, *That you were not at Leiſure to receive them.* It was for this 'Reaſon that I then beſought your Majeſty to command us once to attend 'you all together, which your Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to allow and 'encourage. We therefore are here now before you, with all Humility to 'beg your Permiſſion, that we may ſuggeſt to your Majeſty ſuch Advices 'as we think proper at this Seaſon, and conducing to your Service, and 'ſo leave them to your Princely Conſideration.

Their particular Propoſals to him.

The King was now no more that overbearing Monarch, who to the petitioning Biſhops and others, had declar'd, *That he expected to be obeyed*: But now, as it were transform'd into another Prince, and taught Condeſcenſion by the impending Danger, he graciouſly permitted the Archbiſhop to proceed,

proceed, which he did in theſe following Advices. 'I. To put the whole 1688.
'Management of his Government, in the ſeveral Counties, into the Hands
'of ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry there, as were legally qualify'd for it. Jac. 4.
'II. To annul his Commiſſion for *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*; and that no ſuch
'Court be erected for the future. III. That no *Diſpenſation* might be Ref. 29
'granted or continu'd, by virtue whereof any Perſon not duly qualify'd by
'Law, had been or might be put into any Place, Office or Preferment, in 1.
'Church or State, or in the Univerſities, or continu'd in the ſame, eſpe- 2.
'cially ſuch as had Cure of Souls annex'd to them; and in particular, That 3.
'he wou'd reſtore the Preſident and Fellows of St. *Mary Magdalen* College
'in *Oxford*. IV. To ſet aſide all *Licenſes* or *Faculties*, by which any 4.
'Perſons of the *Romiſh* Communion might pretend to be enabled to teach
'publick Schools. V. To deſiſt from the Exerciſe of his *Diſpenſing Power*, 5.
'and to permit that Point to be freely and calmly debated, and finally
'ſettled in Parliament. VI. To inhibit the Four foreign Biſhops, who ſtyl'd 6.
'themſelves *Vicars Apoſtolical*, from farther invading the Eccleſiaſtical Ju-
'riſdiction, which by Law was veſted in the Biſhops of the Church of *En-*
'gland. VII. To fill the vacant Biſhopricks, and other Eccleſiaſtical Pro- 7.
'motions, within his Gift, both in *England* and *Ireland*, with Men of
'Learning and Piety; and in particular, (which the Archbiſhop own'd to
'be his peculiar Boldneſs, ſince 'twas done without the Privity of his Bre-
'thren) *forthwith to fill the Archiepiſcopal Chair of* York *(which had ſo*
'long ſtood empty, and upon which a whole Province *depended) with ſome*
'very worthy Perſon; for which he was bold to ſay, his Majeſty had then
'before him a very fair Choice. VIII. To ſuperſede all farther Proſecu- 8.
'tions of *Quo Warranto*'s againſt Corporations, and to reſtore to them their
'ancient Charters and Privileges; as they heard God had put into his Heart
'to do for the City of *London*, which they intended otherwiſe to have
'made one of the principal Requeſts. IX. That *Writs* might be iſſu'd 9.
'out with convenient Speed for the Calling of a Free and Regular Parlia-
'ment, in which the Church of *England* might be ſecured according to the
'*Acts of Uniformity*; Proviſion might be made for a due *Liberty of Con-*
'ſcience, and for ſecuring the Liberties and Properties of all his Subjects;
'and a mutual Confidence might be eſtabliſh'd between his Majeſty and all
'his People. X. Above all, That his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to permit 10.
'his Biſhops to offer ſuch Motives and Arguments, as (they truſted) might,
'by God's Grace, be effectual to perſuade his Majeſty to return to the Com-
'munion of the Church of *England*, into which moſt Holy *Catholick Faith*
'he was Baptized, in which he was Educated, and to which it was their
'daily earneſt Prayer to God, that he might be re-united.' Which laſt
Point we are aſſur'd, That the Archbiſhop afterwards re-inforc'd in a private
Conference with the King, by a Diſcourſe full of convincing Arguments,
and which ſavour'd of all the free Breathings of the Primitive Times of
Chriſtianity. But the *Romiſh* Religion had now taken too deep Root in his
Royal Breaſt.

The backward Steps, and Redreſs of Grievances.

We may eaſily imagine how much the Prieſts were inrag'd at theſe inno-
cent and good Propoſals, by the Reſentment they afterwards expreſs'd, when
their Affairs were in a worſe Condition than at preſent; and tho' they ſound-
ed very harſh in the King's Ear, yet the Neceſſity of his Affairs oblig'd him
to conceal his Diſcontent, and alſo to comply with moſt of them. Biſhop
Sprat obſerves, that they were drawn up at *Lambeth* on the firſt of *October*,
and preſented the third; and the Prince of *Orange's Declaration* was ſign'd
in *Holland* the tenth, new Style, which was juſt at the ſame time; and that
the Matter of them was very near the ſame, except one or two Particu-
lars, too high for Subjects to meddle with; and this at a time when their
Lordſhips were not apprehenſive of the Weakneſs of the King, and the won-

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derful Alterations that follow'd; which ſufficiently manifeſted the Courage, as well as the Honeſty of thoſe Prelates. However, the King immediately went about to redreſs moſt of the Grievances complain'd of, and in two Days the *Commiſſion* for *Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical* was diſſolv'd. The next Day the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, who among the reſt of his Proceedings, ow'd his Preferment to the gaining of the Charter of *London*, was now forc'd to carry it back again from whence it was taken: The Lord Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties were required to inform themſelves of the Abuſes and Irregularities committed in the late *Regulations* of Corporations, in order to redreſs the ſame: The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Viſitor of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, was order'd to ſettle that Society Regularly and Statutably: A Proclamation was alſo iſſu'd out for Reſtoring Corporations to their ancient Charters, Liberties, Rights, and Franchiſes: The Earl of *Darby* was made Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Cheſter* and *Lancaſter*; the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Eſſex*; and the Earl of *Feverſham*, Lord Lieutenant of *Kent*. *Popiſh* Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Recorders, and others Magiſtrates, were diſplac'd, and *Proteſtants* put in their Rooms: So that in the Space of about twelve Days, that formidable Fabrick was in effect, or in a great meaſure demoliſh'd, which the *Romiſh* Cabal had been near Four Years in erecting.

Prayers appointed.

In the mean Time, on the 11th of *October*, was publiſh'd a particular Form of three Prayers, compos'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be us'd in all Churches of the Kingdom, to be added to the uſual Liturgy, *during the Time of publick Apprehenſions from the Danger of Invaſion*. In one of which there were theſe Expreſſions: 'In this Time of Danger ſave 'and protect our moſt gracious King; give thy holy Angels charge over 'him; preſerve his Royal Perſon in Health and Safety; inſpire him with 'Wiſdom and Juſtice in all his Counſels; proſper all his Undertakings, *for* '*thy Honour and Service*, with good Succeſs, *&c.*' Another had theſe Petitions, 'Preſerve that *holy Religion* we profeſs, together with our *Laws* 'and *ancient Government*; and unite us all in unfeigned and univerſal Cha'rity one towards another, and in one and the ſame *holy Worſhip* and *Com*'*munion*.' Theſe were rightly conſtru'd to be as much againſt *Popery*, as they were for his Majeſty's Perſon: However, it ſoon appear'd how little the Nation was to depend upon theſe precipitate and conſtrain'd Conceſſions of the King. For when on the 16th of *October* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had caus'd a Citation to be fix'd upon the Gates of *Magdalen* College, to recall Dr. *Hough*, and the former Fellows of that Society by the 2d of *November* following; an Account coming that very Poſt, 'That the *Dutch* Fleet had 'ſuffer'd very much in a Storm, and that they wou'd be hardly able to put to 'Sea again till the next Spring,' the Biſhop, upon a frivolous Pretence, was recall'd to *London*, and the Reſtoration of the College deferr'd. Yet ſhortly after, when that falſe News was contradicted, and the *Dutch* Fleet reported to be in a ſailing Poſture, the old Affection to the Church of *England* immediately reviv'd, and the Reſtoration of the College was effected on the 24th of the ſaid Month. This Paſſage has been very much remark'd, ſince it loſt the King great Numbers of Friends, who were now more than ever ſenſible of his repeated Breaches of Faith, and inſenſibly fell away from him, at a time when he moſt of all wanted their Aſſiſtance.

The King wavering.

He makes great Preparations againſt the Prince of Orange.

After the King had a little recover'd his firſt Fright, the Conſternation was not ſo great at Court, but that they were in Hopes to render the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns abortive; to which End the Lord *Dartmouth* was diſpatch'd to Sea, with Orders to attend the *Dutch* Fleet off of *Oſtend*; and chiefly to fall upon the Tranſport-Ships, if he ſaw them making their Way towards *England*. The Duke of *Newcaſtle*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Derby*, *Pembroke* and *Aliſbury*; and the Lords *Faulconberge* and *Jermyn*, with ſome

ſome few more of the Nobility, offer'd their Service to his Majeſty. Whereupon the King gave Commiſſions to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, to raiſe a Regiment of Foot; to the Lord *Brandon*, Son to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and to the Marquiſs of *Miremont*, Nephew to the Earl of *Feverſham*, each a Regiment of Horſe; to Colonel *Henry Gage*, and Colonel *Solomon Richards*, two Regiments of Foot; and many independent Troops and Companies to ſeveral others of the Nobility and Gentry: The young Duke of *Ormond* offer'd to ſerve as a Volunteer in the Army, and was to be accompany'd by the Lieutenant Colonels and Captains that had lately been caſhier'd out of the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment: The Train'd Bands of the City of *London*, and the Countrey *Militia*, were order'd to be in Readineſs to march: The Duke of *Gordon*, a *Roman Catholick*, was ſent into *Scotland* to put that Kingdom into a Poſture of Defence: The Duke of *Grafton*, who had aſpir'd to the Command of the Fleet, was made Governor of the *Tower*, *pro tempore*, inſtead of Sir *Edward Hales*, a *Roman Catholick:* Two thouſand five hundred Men arriv'd at *Cheſter* out of *Ireland*, and three thouſand at *Carliſle* out of *Scotland:* Mr. *Skelton*, having been eighteen Days in the *Tower*, was ſet at Liberty, and had a Regiment of Foot given him. So that there ſeem'd to be ſufficient Care taken to reſiſt a much more formidable Enemy. Over and above, a Proclamation was publiſh'd on the 20th of *October*, 'Commanding all Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Sheriffs and 'other Officers, Civil and Military, in the reſpective Counties, Cities, *&c.* 'to cauſe the Coaſts to be carefully watch'd; and upon the firſt Approach 'of the Enemy, to cauſe all Horſes, Oxen and Cattel, which might be fit 'for Burthen or Draught, and not actually imploy'd in the Service and De'fence of his Majeſty and the Countrey, to be driven and remov'd to the 'Space, at leaſt, of twenty Miles, from the Places where the Enemy ſhou'd 'attempt to land.' And beſides all theſe human Precautions, extraordinary Prayers of *Forty Hours* were ſaid in the King's Chapel, where the *Hoſt* was in a particular Manner expos'd. But becauſe the Mob were now rous'd with the News of the Prince's Coming, and began to inſult the *Popiſh* Chapels, the King caus'd them to be ſhut up; and the *Jeſuits* and *Romiſh* Prieſts diſcovering the gathering Storm, began to retire and fly for Shelter into foreign Parts.

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3. In the midſt of theſe Times of Diſtraction, the declining Party was reſolv'd to make the beſt of their *Popiſh* Succeſſor, and us'd all Endeavours to promote the Belief of a real Prince of *Wales:* Accordingly the Infant, which was before Chriſtned into the *Romiſh* Faith, was upon the 15th of *October*, in the Chapel of St. *James*, by Father *Laben*, ſolemnly Nam'd *JAMES, FRANCIS, EDWARD*; the Pope, repreſented by his Nuncio, being God Father, and the Queen Dowager God-Mother. About the ſame time, a new Occaſion was offer'd to incite them to ſupport his tottering Reputation: A Pamphlet was diſtributed in *Holland*; entituled, *A Memorial of the Engliſh Proteſtants, preſented to their Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *&c.* ſuppos'd to be written by Dr. *Burnet*, or rather Major *Wildman*; wherein, after a long Narrative of the Grievances of the Nation, the Author particularly complains of King *James*'s obliging his Subjects to *own a ſuppos'd Child for the Prince of* Wales; adding, *That his Majeſty wou'd never ſuffer the Witneſſes that were preſent at the Queen's Delivery to be heard and examin'd.* This Pamphlet, and other Reports, made ſo great a Noiſe at the Court, that upon the 22d of *October*, his Majeſty held an extraordinary Council; and having ſent for the Queen Dowager, and all ſuch Lords Spiritual and Temporal as were then in Town, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, the Judges, and ſeveral of their Majeſty's learned Council, in a Speech he told them, 'He

The Prince of Wales *chriſten'd.*

An extraordinary Council about him.

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'He had call'd them together upon a very extraordinary Occaſion; but that 'extraordinary Diſeaſes muſt have extraordinary Remedies: That the ma- 'licious Endeavours of his Enemies had ſo poiſon'd the Minds of ſome of 'his Subjects, that by the Reports he had from all Hands, he had reaſon to 'believe, that very many did not think this Son, with which God had 'bleſs'd him, *to be his, but a ſuppos'd Child.* But, he might ſay, That by 'a particular Providence, ſcarce any Prince was ever born where there were 'ſo many Perſons preſent. That he had taken this time to have the Mat- 'ter heard and examin'd there, expecting that the Prince of *Orange*, with 'the firſt *Eaſterly* Wind, wou'd invade this Kingdom: And as he had of- 'ten ventur'd his Life for the Nation before he came to the Crown, ſo he 'thought himſelf more oblig'd ſo to do now he was King, and did intend 'to go in Perſon againſt him, whereby he might be expos'd to Accidents; 'and therefore he thought it neceſſary to have this now done, in order to 'ſatisfy the Minds of his Subjects, and to prevent the Kingdoms being en- 'gag'd in Blood and Confuſion after his Death: That he had deſir'd the 'Queen Dowager to give her ſelf the Trouble to come thither, to declare 'what ſhe knew of the Birth of his Son; and that moſt of the Ladies, Lords, 'and other Perſons who were preſent, were ready to depoſe upon Oath 'the Knowledge of this Matter.

And Depoſitions.

Beſides the Declaration of the Queen Dowager, who only ſaid, *That ſhe was in the Room when the Queen was deliver'd of the Prince of* Wales, the Depoſitions of forty Perſons more were taken in form. Of theſe Witneſſes ſeventeen were *Roman* Catholicks, namely, the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, the Marchioneſs of *Powis*, the Counteſſes of *Peterborough*, *Fingall* and *Lichfield*; the Lady *Bulkely*, the Lady *Waldgrave*, Mrs. *Mary Crane*, Mrs. *Iſabella Waldgrave*, Mrs. *Peligrina Turini* an *Italian*; Mrs. *Anne Cary*, Mrs. *Mary Anne Delabadie* a *French* Woman, dry Nurſe to the Prince; Mrs. *Judith Wilks* the Queen's Midwife; the Lady *Arundel* of *Wardour*; the Earls of *Murray* and *Melfort*, and Sir *William Waldgrave* firſt Phyſician to the Queen. The Proteſtants were twenty three in Number, *viz.* the Counteſſes of *Arran*, *Sunderland*, *Roſcommon* and *Mareſchall*; *Suſanna* Lady *Bellaſis*, the Lady *Iſabella Wentworth*, Mrs. *Catharine Sayer*, Mrs. *Margaret Dawſon*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Bromely*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Pearſe*, the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Mulgrave*, *Craven*, *Feverſham* and *Middleton*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Lieutenant Colonel *Griffin*, Sir *Charles Scarborough*, firſt Phyſician to the King, Sir *Thomas Witherly*, ſecond Phyſician to the King; Dr. *Robert Brady*, one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in Ordinary, and *James St. Amand*, their Majeſty's Apothecary. As to the Depoſitions themſelves, the Subſtance of them was to lay open the Particulars and Circumſtances belonging to a Big-belly'd and Lying-in Woman, and indeed more proper to be treated by Phyſicians and Midwives, than by Annaliſts and Hiſtorians. Only we are juſt to remember, that the greateſt part of them, by reaſon of the Cloſeneſs of the Queen's Bed, and other Accidents, were but little to the Purpoſe, and ſcarcely more than if the Deponents had been in another Room. But ſome few of them were more than Circumſtantial, and as home as cou'd be expected; particularly what was ſworn concerning her Majeſties Milk in her Breaſts, and what was depos'd by the Midwife and the Nurſe, concerning her actual Delivery, and the Prince of *Wales* being the ſame Child.

After theſe Depoſitions were taken, his Majeſty acquainted the Lords, 'That the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* wou'd have been preſent; but that 'ſhe being with Child likewiſe, and having not lately ſtirr'd abroad, cou'd 'not come ſo far without Hazard:' Adding farther, 'That tho' he did not 'queſtion but every Perſon there preſent was ſatisfy'd before in this Matter,

'yet

'yet by what they had heard, they wou'd be better able to ſatisfy others: 1688.
'That, beſides, if He and the Queen cou'd be thought ſo wicked as to
'endeavour to impoſe a Child upon the Nation, they ſaw how impoſſible Jac. 4.
'it wou'd have been; neither cou'd He himſelf be impos'd upon, having
'conſtantly been with the Queen during her being with Child, and the Reſ. 29
'whole time of her Labour. That there was none of them but wou'd
'eaſily believe him, who had ſuffer'd ſo much for *Conſcience* ſake, uncapa-
'ble of ſo great a Villany, to the Prejudice of his own Children; and that
'he thank'd God that thoſe that knew him, knew well, that it was his
'Principle to do as he wou'd be done by, for *That was the Law and the*
'*Prophets*; and he wou'd rather dye a thouſand Deaths, than do the leaſt
'Wrong to any of his Children.' And to conclude all, five Days af-
ter, the *Declaration* made by the King, and Queen Dowager, together *Which are Recorded.*
with the ſeveral *Depoſitions*, were enroll'd in *Chancery*, purſuant to an
Order of Council: And becauſe the Earl of *Huntington*, a *Proteſtant*, and
the Earl of *Peterborough*, a *Romaniſt*, who were able to depoſe to the
Queen's Delivery, had not been examin'd at the Council-Board, they brought
their Depoſitions into Court, which the Lord Chancellor order'd to be read,
and afterwards enroll'd with the reſt. But notwithſtanding the Formality,
and even Solemnity of this Affair, and the careful Diſtribution of theſe *De-*
poſitions, they had little or nothing of the intended Effect upon the People,
who were now ſo prepoſſeſs'd, that they made a thouſand Reflections with
croſs and perverſe Obſervations upon them, and in all their Diſcourſes they
appear'd more provok'd than appeas'd. They ſhew'd ſo little Regard to the
Modeſty of a Woman, or the Majeſty of a Queen, that ſome ſaid, *That ſhe*
ought to have been deliver'd at Charing-Croſs. And their common Anſwer
to the moſt material Part of the Depoſitions, was 'That the Queen's Milk
'was nothing but the Effects of Art and Management, and what was ſaid
'concerning her Delivery was downright Lying and Perjury:' To ſuch a
low Ebb and Condition was the unhappy King's Credit reduc'd by his fre-
quent Breach of Faith, that the Body of his Subjects wou'd neither believe
what he ſaid Himſelf, nor any of thoſe that ſwore for him.

4. The Affair of the Depoſitions was but juſt compleated, when, on *The Earl of* Sunderland's *Diſgrace, and Cauſes of it.*
the 28th of *October*, the Earl of *Sunderland* was ſuddenly remov'd from his
Places of Preſident of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State; which
caus'd great Speculations in the Kingdom. The Occaſion of his Diſgrace,
we are aſſur'd was thus: Mr. *Skelton*, to juſtify his Conduct in *France*,
gave an Account to the King, 'That having receiv'd Information of the
'Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns from Mr. *Bude de Verace*, he had writ ſix or
'ſeven Letters about it to the Earl of *Sunderland*; to which having no
'Anſwer, he had apply'd himſelf to the King of *France*, who thereupon
'diſpatcht Monſieur *Bonrepos* to *England*, and ſent Orders to his Ambaſ-
'ſador at the *Hague* to Expoſtulate with the *States-General* the Reaſons
'of their Warlike Preparations.' Which Account of *Skelton* began to
raiſe Suſpicions againſt the Prime Miniſter; and theſe were ſoon after en-
creas'd by the Depoſition of one *Wickſtead*, formerly a Monk, who being
ſeiz'd for holding Correſpondence with the Enemies, and examin'd before
the Council, charg'd the Earl of *Sunderland* to his very Face, with reveal-
ing his Majeſty's Secrets to the Prince of *Orange*; whereupon *Wickſtead*
was committed to the Cuſtody of a Meſſenger, from whom he made his
Eſcape. This Accuſation from a Perſon of his Character, had made but
little Impreſſion at another Juncture; but agreeing ſo nearly with that of
Mr. *Skelton*, the Earl's paſt Conduct was more nicely and ſeverely can-
vaſs'd; and the King call'd to mind, 'That the very ſame Perſon who had
'for ſome time encourag'd him in his Alliance with *France*, had caus'd

'him

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'him to reject that Assistance, when he stood most in need of it;' which perswaded his Majesty that he was embark'd in another Interest, and therefore he thought fit to remove him from the aforesaid Places. It is farther reported, that to defeat the Earl, the King demanded of him the Original of a certain Treaty, which he answer'd *he had mislaid*, and which the Earl's Enemies said, he had transmitted to the Prince of *Orange*. This the Earl positively deny'd; and as to the Business of *Skelton*'s Letters, 'If he 'gave no Account of them to the King, it was not because he held Intel-'ligence with the Prince of *Orange*, but because he had an invincible Con-'tempt for *Skelton*, who, he was us'd to say, *never wrote but Second-'Hand News*.

His Apology. But the Earl of *Sunderland* has since publish'd a very particular Apology for himself with relation to this and his Conduct in other Affairs; in which Apology he declares to the World, That he did not go those Lengths in King *James*'s Measures as was generally believ'd, for which he was hated by the *Popish* Party; that he was against the *Dispensing Power*, as the most *Chimerical Thing* that was ever thought of; and particularly he was against dissolving the Parliament, and told his Majesty, *That in case he dis-solv'd it, he must must give over all Thoughts of Foreign Affairs, for no other wou'd ever assist him, but on such Terms as wou'd ruin the Monarchy*; in sum, that he gain'd no Advantage when he was in, and Ruin when he was out. To be a little more particular, speaking of the Grievances he had caus'd the King to redress, when he had heard of the Prince's Designs, he says, 'It was then thought I had destroy'd my self by engaging 'against the whole *Roman* Catholick Party to such a Height as had not 'been seen: They dispers'd Libels of me every Day, told the King *That I 'betray'd him, that I ruin'd him by perswading him to make such shame-'ful Condescensions*; but most of all, *by hindering the securing the chief 'of the disaffected Nobility and Gentry*, which was propos'd as a certain 'Way to break all the Prince's Measures; and by *Advising his Majesty to 'call a Free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than any Foreign 'Assistance*.— After these Accusations of High-Treason were brought a-'gainst me, which, with some other Reasons relating to Affairs abroad, 'drew the King's Displeasure upon me, so as to turn me out of all with-'out any Consideration; and yet I thought I escap'd well, expecting no-'thing less than the loss of my Head; nor had it been otherwise, if my 'Disgrace had been deferr'd a Day longer.' Speaking of the intended Assistance from *France*, he says, 'Indeed *French* Ships were offer'd to join 'with our Fleet, and they were refus'd: Since the Noise of the Prince's 'Design, more Ships were offer'd; and it was agreed how they shou'd be 'commanded, if ever desir'd. I oppos'd to Death the accepting of them, 'as well as any Assistance of Men; and can say most truly, That I was 'the principal Means of hindering both, by the help of some Lords with 'whom I consulted every Day, and they with me, to prevent what we 'thought wou'd be of great Prejudice, if not ruinous to the Nation.—— 'My greatest Misfortune has been to be thought the Promoter of those 'Things I oppos'd and detested, while some I cou'd name have been the 'Inventers and Contrivers of what they have had the Art to lay upon o-'thers; and I was often foolishly willing to bear what my Master wou'd 'have done, tho' I us'd all possible Endeavours against it.

And that of the Bishop of Rochester, *and Earl of* Mulgrave. Besides the Earl of *Sunderland*, there were two other great Men who thought fit to publish Apologies, as having been believ'd too complying with King *James*'s Measures, especially with Relation to the *Ecclesiastical Commission*; and these were Dr. *Sprat* Bishop of *Rochester*, and the Earl of *Mulgrave*. The First, in two Letters to the Earl of *Dorset*, with no little Art and Eloquence has varnish'd over those Actions most liable to Exception

ception; but he ſeem'd better to excuſe them by his deſerting the Commiſſion, and joining heartily with his ſuffering Brethren in the moſt difficult Time; and declaring that the brave Stand they made, and their Proceedings upon it, *were all upon Church of* England *Principles*. The Earl of *Mulgrave* with equal Fineneſs has endeavour'd to clear himſelf to the famous Dr. *Tillotſon*, and like the other, inſinuates That his acting in the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, was to prevent greater Miſchief, and keep out worſer Men. However, we think we ought to inſert the following Paragraph in his Letter; 'And ſince I have been forc'd to mention my Good-'Will, at leaſt, if not my Service, to ſuch learned Men of the Clergy who 'I thought deſerv'd it, it may be allow'd me to give this one Inſtance 'more of it: That altho' in preferring Men to all Places of the Houſehold, 'I never us'd to ask Permiſſion firſt, and accordingly was often refus'd for 'the ſake of *Roman* Catholicks and others, who were recommended by 'Perſons more in Favour than my ſelf; yet I was ſo careful in keeping 'that conſiderable Part of the Family unmix'd with mean or unworthy 'Chaplains, whom others I fear'd wou'd have impos'd upon his Majeſty, 'that I conſtantly fill'd up thoſe Vacancies, without giving him the leaſt 'Notice or Trouble about it, and ſupply'd them with the ableſt ap-'prov'd Divines I cou'd poſſibly find, moſt commonly recommended to 'me by the Biſhops who were not of the Court: Which I conceiv'd the 'moſt proper Courſe in a Matter concerning Clergy-Men, with a King of 'a different Perſuaſion from theirs, and intended for his real Service, be-'lieving it had been better for him, as well as his Kingdom, if the great-'eſt Eccleſiaſtical Dignities had been diſpos'd of by others with as much 'Caution. 1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

There were ſome others who thought themſelves ſo obnoxious, as not to rely upon *Apologies*, and therefore judg'd it more uſeful and ſecure to ſue out their ſeveral Pardons from the King; ſuch were the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and about twenty more. This was upon the 1ſt of *November*, when all guilty Perſons moſt of all fear'd an impending Storm; while all the reſt, the Generality of the Nation, had their Eyes and Ears, their Hands and Hearts lifted up towards *Holland*, in Expectation of a great and mighty Change. All former Injuries between the two Nations were forgot, and the *Engliſh* expected ſo much Good, and fear'd ſo little Hurt from the *Dutch*, that the witty Lord *Dorſet* ſaid, *That if they came at this Seaſon, it may be call'd the merry Invaſion.* *Particular Pardons.*

Bohun. Burnet. Gazettes. Sprat. Burchett. Whitrie. Boyer. &c.

VII. 1. While King *James* was labouring under great Difficulties and Diſtractions, providing for his Security, and endeavouring to remove the Fears and Jealouſies of his *Proteſtant* Subjects, the Prince of *Orange* was embarking his Troops with extraordinary Diligence; and to juſtify his Undertaking to the whole World, he publiſh'd a ſolemn *Declaration*, Dated *October* the 10th New Style, divided into twenty ſix *Articles*, but reducible to theſe Three Principal Heads: 'The *Firſt* contain'd a particular 'Enumeration of the Grievances of the *Engliſh* Nation, eſpecially the King's 'arrogating to himſelf a *Diſpenſing Power:* His advancing *Papiſts* to Ci-'vil, Eccleſiaſtical and Military Employments, and allowing them to ſit in 'the Privy-Council: His ſetting up an Illegal *Commiſſion* for *Eccleſiaſtical* '*Affairs*, in which there was One of his Miniſters of State, who made 'publick Profeſſion of the *Popiſh* Religion, and who at the time of his firſt 'Profeſſing it, declar'd, *That for a great while before, he had believ'd* '*that to be the only true Religion*; and by which not only the Biſhop of '*London* was ſuſpended, but the Preſident and Fellows of *Magdalen-Col-*'*lege* arbitrarily turn'd out of their Free-Holds, contrary to that expreſs *The Prince of* Orange's *Preparations and* DECLARATION. I.

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'Proviſion in *Magna Charta*, *That no Man ſhall loſe Life or Goods but* 'by the Law of the Land: His allowing *Popiſh* Monaſteries and Colleges 'of *Jeſuits* to be created: His turning out of Publick Employments all 'ſuch as wou'd not concur with him in the Repeal of the *Teſt* and *Penal* 'Laws: His Invading the Privileges, and Seizing on the Charters of moſt 'Corporations, and placing *Popiſh* Magiſtrates in ſome of them: His Sub-'jecting the Courts of Judicatory to his Arbitrary and Deſpotick Power, 'and putting the Adminiſtration of Juſtice into the Hands of *Papiſts*: His 'not only arming the *Papiſts*, in Contempt of the Laws, but likewiſe rai-'ſing them up to the greateſt Military Truſt, both by Sea and Land, Stran-'gers as well as Natives, and *Iriſh* as well as *Engliſh*, that he might be in 'a Capacity to enſlave the Nation: His putting the whole Government of '*Ireland* into the Hands of *Papiſts*: His Aſſuming an *Abſolute* and *Ar-'bitrary Power* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; from which it was apparent 'what was to be look'd for in *England*.

II. *Secondly*, his Highneſs alledg'd, 'That thoſe great and inſufferable Op-'preſſions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the Appre-'henſions of the ſad Conſequences that muſt certainly follow upon it, had 'made the Subjects to look after ſuch Remedies as are allow'd of in all 'Nations, and in the moſt *Abſolute* Monarchies, all which had been with-'out Effect; his Majeſty's Evil Counſellors having endeavour'd to make 'all Men apprehend the Loſs of their Lives, Liberties, Honours and Eſtates, 'if they ſhou'd go about to preſerve themſelves from this Oppreſſion by '*Petitions* and *Repreſentations*; an Inſtance of which was the Proſecution 'of the Seven Biſhops: That a Peer of the Realm [the Lord *Lovelace*] 'was treated as a Criminal, only becauſe he ſaid, *That the Subjects were* '*not bound to obey the Orders of a Popiſh Juſtice of Peace*; tho' it is e-'vident, that they being by Law render'd incapable of all ſuch Truſts, no 'Regard is due to their Orders: That both He and his Conſort the Prin-'ceſs, had endeavour'd to ſignify, with Terms full of Reſpect to the King, 'the juſt and deep Regret, which all theſe Proceedings had given them, 'and declared what their Thoughts were, touching the Repealing of the '*Teſts* and *Penal Laws*; but that theſe Evil Counſellors had put ſuch ill 'Conſtructions on their good Intentions, that they had endeavour'd to a-'lienate the King more and more from them. That the laſt and great Re-'medy for all theſe Evils, was the *Calling of a Parliament*, which cou'd 'not yet be compaſs'd, nor cou'd be eaſily brought about; for thoſe Men 'apprehending, That a *Lawful Parliament* wou'd bring them to Account 'for all their open Violations of Law, and for their Conſpiracies againſt 'the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects, they 'had endeavour'd under the ſpecious Pretence of *Liberty of Conſcience*, 'firſt to ſow Diviſions between thoſe of the Church of *England* and *'Diſ-'ſenters*, with Deſign to engage *Proteſtants*, who are equally concern'd 'to preſerve themſelves from *Popiſh* Oppreſſion, into mutual Quarrellings; 'that ſo by theſe, ſome Advantages might be given to them to bring about 'their Deſigns; and that both in the Elections of Members of Parliament, 'and afterward in the Parliament it ſelf: That they had alſo made ſuch *Re-'gulations* as they thought fit and neceſſary, for ſecuring all the Members 'that were to be choſen by the Corporations; by which Means, they hop'd 'to avoid the Puniſhment they deſerv'd, tho' it was apparent, that all 'Acts made by *Popiſh* Magiſtrates were null and void of themſelves: So 'that no *Parliament* cou'd be *Lawful*, for which the *Elections* and *Re-'turns* were made by *Popiſh* Magiſtrates, Sheriffs and Mayors of Towns; 'and therefore as long as the Magiſtracy was in ſuch Hands, it was not 'poſſible to have a *Free Parliament* Legally Call'd, and Choſen. That 'there were great and violent Preſumptions, inducing his Highneſs to believe,

'that

'That thoſe evil Counſellors, in order to the gaining the more Time for 1688.
'the effecting of their ill Deſigns, had publiſh'd, *That the Queen had*
'*brought forth a Son*; tho' there had appear'd, both during the Queen's Jac. 4.
'pretended Bigneſs, and in the Manner wherein the Birth was manag'd, Ref. 29
'ſo many juſt and viſible Grounds of Suſpicion, that not only He himſelf,
'but all the good Subjects of the Kingdom, did vehemently ſuſpect, *That*
'*the pretended Prince of* Wales *was not born of the Queen:* And tho'
'many both doubted of the Queen's Bigneſs, and of the Birth of the Child,
'yet there was not any one Thing done to ſatisfy them, or put an End to
'their Doubts. That ſince his Conſort the Princeſs, and likewiſe He him-
'ſelf, had ſo great an Intereſt in this Matter, and ſuch a Right, as all the
'World knew, to the Succeſſion of the Crown; ſince all the *Engliſh* did
'in the Year 1672, when *Holland* was invaded with a moſt unjuſt War, uſe
'their utmoſt Endeavours to put an End to that War, and that in Oppoſi-
'tion to thoſe who were then in the Government; ſince the *Engliſh* Na-
'tion had ever teſtify'd a moſt particular Affection and Eſteem, both to his
'Highneſs's deareſt Conſort and to Himſelf, he cou'd not excuſe himſelf
'from eſpouſing that Intereſt, in a Matter of ſuch high Conſequence, and
'from contributing all that in him lay for the maintaining both of the *Pro-*
'*teſtant Religion*, and the Laws and Liberties of theſe Kingdoms: To the
'doing of which, his Highneſs *was moſt earneſtly ſolicited by a great*
'*many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen, and*
'*other Subjects of all Ranks.*

In the laſt Place, his Highneſs Declared, 'That for the foremention'd III.
'Reaſons, he has thought fit to go over to *England*, and to carry with
'him a Force ſufficient to defend him from the Violence of thoſe Evil
'Counſellors: That his Expedition was intended for no other Deſign, but
'to have a *Free* and *Lawful Parliament* Aſſembled as ſoon as it was poſ-
'ſible; and that in Order to this, all the late *Charters*, by which the Ele-
'ction of Burgeſſes were limited contrary to the ancient Cuſtom, ſhou'd be
'conſider'd as Null and of no Force. That to this Parliament *He wou'd refer*
'*the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of* Wales, *and* of all
'Things relating thereto, and *to the Right of Succeſſion:* That he wou'd
'concur in every Thing that might procure the Peace and Happineſs of the
'Nation, under a juſt and legal Government: That he wou'd keep the
'Forces under his Command, under all the Strictneſs of Martial Diſcipline,
'and promis'd that he wou'd ſend back all thoſe Foreign Forces as ſoon as
'the State of the Nation wou'd admit of it: That therefore he invited and
'required all Perſons whatſoever to come and aſſiſt him, in order to the
'executing his Deſigns againſt all ſuch as ſhall endeavour to oppoſe him.
'That he wou'd likewiſe take Care that a Parliament ſhou'd be call'd in
'*Scotland*, for reſtoring the Ancient Conſtitution of that Kingdom, and for
'bringing the Matters of Religion to ſuch a Settlement, that the People
'might live eaſie and happy. That he wou'd alſo ſtudy to bring the King-
'dom of *Ireland* to ſuch a State, that the *Settlement* there might be reli-
'giouſly obſerv'd, and that the *Proteſtant* and *Britiſh* Intereſt there might
'be ſecured.' He concludes all in theſe Words, 'And We will endeavour
'by all poſſible Means, to procure ſuch an *Eſtabliſhment* throughout all
'the Three Kingdoms, that they may all live in a happy Union and Cor-
'reſpondence together; and that the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Peace*,
'*Honour* and *Happineſs* of theſe Nations may be eſtabliſh'd upon laſting
'Foundations.

This *Declaration* was printed and ready to be ſent over to *England*, to- *His Addition to his Declaration.*
gether with another to the ſame Effect for *Scotland*; when his Highneſs being inform'd that King *James*, by granting moſt of the Biſhops Demands, had taken Meaſures to render it ineffectual, fourteen Days after he caus'd the

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following Addition to be made to it: 'After we had prepared and printed 'our *Declaration*, we have underſtood, That the Subverters of the Reli- 'gion and Laws of theſe Kingdoms; hearing of our Preparations to aſ- 'ſiſt the People againſt them, have begun to retract ſome of their *Arbi- 'trary* and *Deſpotick Power* that they had aſſum'd, and to vacate ſome 'of their unjuſt *Judgments* and *Decrees:* The Senſe of their Guilt, and 'the Diſtruſt of their Force, have induc'd them to offer to the City of '*London* ſome ſeeming Relief from their great Oppreſſions; hoping thereby 'to quiet the People, and to divert them from demanding a Re-eſtabliſh- 'ment of their *Religion* and *Laws* under the Shelter of our Arms: They 'did alſo give out, *That we do intend to Conquer and Enſlave the Na- 'tion*; and therefore it is we have thought fit to add a few Words to our 'Declaration.

'We are confident, that no Perſons can have ſuch hard Thoughts of us, 'as to imagine we have any other Deſign in this our *Undertaking*, than to 'procure a Settlement of the *Religion*, and of the *Liberties* and *Proper- 'ties* of the Subjects upon ſo ſure a Foundation, that there may be no 'Danger of the Nation's relapſing into the like Miſeries at any Time here- 'after. And as the Forces we have brought along with us are utterly diſ- 'proportion'd to that wicked Deſign of *Conquering the Nation*, if we were 'capable of intending it; ſo the great Numbers of the principal Nobility 'and Gentry, that are Men of eminent Quality and Eſtates, and Perſons 'of known Integrity and Zeal, both for the Religion and Government of '*England*; many of them being alſo diſtinguiſh'd by their conſtant Fidelity 'to the Crown, who do both accompany us in this *Expedition*, and have 'earneſtly ſolicited us to it, will cover us from all ſuch malicious Inſinuations: 'For it is not to be imagin'd, that either thoſe who invited us, or thoſe 'who are already come to aſſiſt us, can join in a wicked Attempt of *Con- 'queſt*, to make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Eſtates and 'Intereſts. We are alſo confident, that all Men ſee how little Weight there 'is to be laid on all *Promiſes* and *Engagements* that can be now made, 'ſince there has been ſo little Regard had in the Time paſt to the moſt SO- 'LEMN PROMISES. And as that *imperfect Redreſs* that is now 'offer'd, is a plain Confeſſion of thoſe *Violences* of the Government, that 'we have ſet forth; ſo the *Defectiveneſs* of it is no leſs apparent: For 'they lay down nothing which they may not take up at Pleaſure; and 'they reſerve entire, and not ſo much as mention their Claims and Pretences 'to an *Arbitary* and *Deſpotick Power*, which has been the *Root* of all 'their Oppreſſion, and the total *Subverſion* of the Government. And it 'is plain, that there can be no Redreſs, no Remedy offer'd, but in Parlia- 'ment, by a *Declaration of the Rights of the Subjects* that have been in- 'vaded, and not by any pretended *Acts of Grace*, to which the Extremity 'of their Affairs have driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought 'fit to Declare, That we will refer all to a *Free Aſſembly* of this Nation in 'a *lawful Parliament*.

The Reſolution of the States *of* Holland.

Beſides this famous *Declaration*, now ſo eagerly entertain'd, about the ſame time was publiſh'd, *The Reſolution of the* States-General, *containing the Reaſons that had oblig'd them to aſſiſt his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange *with Ships, Men and Ammunition, in his intended Expedition into* England: Whereon, beſides the repeated Invitations his Highneſs had receiv'd from the *Engliſh* Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, they alledg'd, 'That 'the King of *France* had upon ſeveral Occaſions ſhew'd himſelf diſſatisfy'd 'with their *State*; which gave them Cauſe to fear and apprehend, That 'in Caſe the King of *Great-Britain* ſhou'd happen to compaſs his Deſigns 'within his Kingdom, and obtain an *Abſolute Power* over his People, that 'then both Kings, out of Intereſt of State, and Hatred and Zeal againſt the

'*Proteſtant*

'*Proteſtant* Religion, wou'd endeavour to bring their *State* to Confuſion, 'and if poſſible, totally to ſubject it.' Of this they had a particular Pro- 1688. ſpect, according the Biſhop of *Sarum*'s Account, who tells us, 'That the Jac. 4. Earl of *Caſtlemain*, King *James*'s Ambaſſador at *Rome*, had preſs'd the Pope, and the Patron Cardinal *Cibo*, to admit his Maſter to mediate a Re- Ref. 29 conciliation between the Courts of *Rome* and *Verſailles*; and ſaid, *When that was brought about, the two Kings wou'd effectually ſerve the Cauſe of the Church, and begin with the Deſtruction of* Holland. This the Pope thought fit to tell to the Head of the Imperial Party at *Rome*; who wrote it to the Emperor; and the Emperor wrote the ſame to the Prince of *Orange*.

2. The Prince of *Orange* being now ready for his great Expedition, on the 16th of *October* he went into the Aſſembly of the *States-General* to take a ſolemn Leave of them, and deliver'd himſelf to this Effect: 'That he 'was infinitely oblig'd to them, and was ſorry he had no Opportunity to 'ſhew his Inclination, Love and Affection to Them, as they had done to 'Him: That he had hitherto been encourag'd and ſupported by their Aſ- 'ſiſtance, which they had ſo abundantly contributed to him, both by Counſel 'and otherwiſe, That it was needleſs for him to recapitulate the Reaſons 'which induc'd him to leave his Native Countrey: That he hop'd and 'pray'd, *That God wou'd endue him with Wiſdom, Foreſight and Cou- 'rage, and not withdraw his Arm from him in Time of need:* That he 'call'd God to witneſs he did not undertake ſuch an arduous Affair, but for 'his Glory: That his only Aim was for the Honour of God, the Welfare 'of their Countrey, and of the Chriſtian Religion; and that therefore he 'hop'd God wou'd beſtow his Bleſſing on it; and if by the Bleſſing of God 'he ſhou'd attain his Ends, to ſet the *States* at greater Liberty, and free 'them from the Fear of their Neighbours, and the haughty Tyranny of 'thoſe who wou'd enſlave them: That he had left the Care of the Army 'to Prince *Waldeck*, and earneſtly deſir'd the *States* to aſſiſt him, and to 'be unanimous amongſt themſelves.' Here he ſeem'd to ſtop; and after ſome Pauſe, he paſſionately recommended one Thing more to them; 'That as he did not know how God might diſpoſe of him ſince he had 'put on his Sword, and knew not when he ſhou'd put it off; But in caſe 'God ſhou'd permit that to befal him, which had happen'd to many others, 'and that he ſhou'd loſe his Life in this Expedition, they wou'd then take 'the Princeſs his Wife under their Protection, who was as well affected 'to that Countrey and the *Proteſtant* Religion, as he himſelf was; and 'he was ſatisfy'd She cou'd no where find ſuch a ſecure Place as under the 'Wings of the *States*. That he had but one Thing more to deſire, which 'was, That they wou'd always remember him in their publick and private 'Prayers, as in his own he ſhou'd have the ſame Regard for them.' With which the Tears flow'd from his Eyes, the whole Aſſembly melted into a generous Sorrow; and Penſionary *Fagel* having return'd a moſt moving Speech to him, they parted as much with the Tenderneſs of Lovers, as the Affection of Friends. *The Prince takes his leave of the* States, *with a Speech.*

All Things being in Readineſs, on the 19th of *October*, the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of about Fifty Men of War, Twenty Five Frigates, as many Fire-ſhips, with near Four Hundred Victuallers, and other Veſſels for the Tranſportation of above Four Thouſand Horſe, and Ten Thouſand Foot, ſet ſail from the *Flatts* near the *Briel*, with a South-Weſterly Wind. The Prince himſelf embark'd on a Frigate of about Thirty Guns, and with him Count *Naſſaw*, General of the Horſe; Count *de Solmes*, Colonel of the Foot-Guards, Count *de Stirum*, Monſieur *Bentinck*, Monſieur *Overquerque*, and Monſieur *Zuyleſteyn*. In the other Ships were many of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* *He puts to Sea.*

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land and *Scotland*, who had already declar'd for the Prince; of which the Chief were the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, Viſcount *Mordant*, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Wiltſhire*, the Lord *Pawlet*, the Lord *Elan*, Son to the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, and the Lord *Dunblaine*, Son to the Earl of *Danby*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Henry Herbert*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Major *Wildman*, Dr. *Burnet*, Mr. *Harbord*, Mr. *Ferguſon*, and many others. And among Foreigners, were the famous Mareſchal *Schomberg*, with his Son Count *Charles Schomberg*; Monſieur *Caillemote*, Son to the Marquiſs *de Rovigni*, and Two or Three Hundred *French* Officers, who had left their Countrey for their Religion, and had now a Share in this Proteſtant Expedition. Admiral *Herbert* led the Van of the Fleet, Vice-Admiral *Evertzen* brought up the Rear, and the Prince plac'd Himſelf in the main Body, carrying a Flag with *Engliſh* Colours, and their Highneſſes Arms, ſurrounded with this *Motto*, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND; and underneath the *Motto* of the Houſe of *Naſſaw*, JE MAINTIENDRAI. i. e. *I will maintain.*

But driven back by a Storm.

This numerous Fleet were all under Sail, when the Wind coming more Weſterly, there aroſe a dreadful Storm in the Night, which continu'd with ſo much Fury for Two Days, that they with great Difficulty return'd into *Helvoet-Sluice*, and ſome other Ports; and tho' with conſiderable Damage, yet without the Loſs of one Veſſel of Note, and but of one Man. Which Diſaſter prov'd a mighty Pleaſure to the *Popiſh* Party, who cou'd not conceal their inſulting Joy, but boaſted, *That God Almighty had now recompens'd them for the Loſs of the* Spaniſh Armada, *which a Hundred Years ago was deſtin'd to conquer the* Engliſh *Hereticks.* And great Care was taken to aggravate the Loſs in the *Engliſh Gazette*, namely, 'That Four 'Hundred Horſe had been thrown over-board, and ſeveral dead Men, One 'of their Men of War ſtranded, and another diſabled:' And then again, 'That the Damage ſuſtain'd by the *Dutch* Fleet did appear to be much 'greater than was at firſt reported: That there were Fifteen Hundred 'Horſes dead and unſerviceable; the Prince of *Orange* had loſt moſt of 'his own, and the Mareſchal *Schomberg* the beſt of his Horſes; his Son, 'Count *Charles*, was in great Danger, the Ship he was in having rent her 'Main-Maſt: A Captain of Horſe in the Sieur *Bentinck*'s Regiment was miſ-'ſing, with his whole Troop; and Two Captains of the Foot-Guards were 'likewiſe miſſing, with their Companies, *&c.*' The ſame aggravating Reports were induſtriouſly ſpread in *Holland*, but with a different Deſign; which was to make the Court of *England* more remiſs in their Preparations: The *Harlem* and *Amſterdam Gazettes* were order'd to give a diſmal Relation of the 'Great Damage the *Dutch* Fleet, and the Army on Board them, 'had ſuſtain'd: Nine of the Men of War loſt, beſides others of leſs Value; 'a Thouſand Horſes caſt over-broad; Dr. *Burnet*, and ſeveral *Engliſh* 'Gentlemen drown'd; what an ill Opinion the *States-General* had of the '*Expedition*; and that it was next to an Impoſſibility, that the Prince 'cou'd be in a Condition to purſue his Deſign till the next Spring.' This for a ſhort Time, had ſuch an Effect upon the *Engliſh* Court, that the King cou'd not help diſcovering his Mind ſo far as to begin to recal ſome of his late Acts of Grace, and unhappily to ſhew that they were more the Reſult of Neceſſity than Inclination.

3. It was in this critical Juncture that Captain *Langham*, who belong'd to one of the *Engliſh* Regiments in *Holland*, and juſt arriv'd from thence, was ſeiz'd upon Suſpicion, and in his Portmanteau were a Parcel of the Prince of *Orange*'s *Declarations*, which were the firſt that were brought over into *England*. When that Expreſſion came to be read to the King, *That the Prince was moſt earneſtly invited over by divers of the Lords, both*

both Spiritual *and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and others*, his Majeſty was in great Perplexity, and in haſte ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and two or three more, that happen'd to be then in Town, and demanded of them, *Whether the Contents of the Prince's Declaration, relating to their Inviting him over, were true?* The Biſhops were cautious in their Anſwer, and in general, promis'd their faithful Allegiance to his Majeſty; whereupon the King immediately required them to juſtify themſelves to the World, as to their Part in that Invitation; and accordingly he fix'd a ſhort Day, whereon he oblig'd them to preſent a Paper under their own Hands, ſignifying their *Abhorrence* of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Invaſion. He farther let them know, 'That 'his good Succeſs depended upon their ready Compliance with his Com-'mand; and that a *Declaration* was then in the Preſs againſt the Prince of 'Orange, and was only deferr'd to have their *Paper of Abhorrence* inſerted 'into it. 1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

When the Day of Tryal came there were great Throngs at Court, expecting the Iſſue of that Meeting; and the Biſhops ſaw both the Friends and the Enemies of the Church of *England*, equally impatient to know what they wou'd do in that difficult Moment. And there happen'd to be but four of their Number, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Peterborough* and *Rocheſter*, who were preſent upon the Place, to endure that terrible Brunt. As ſoon as they were come into the King's Preſence, his Majeſty with great Eagerneſs call'd for their Paper. But with all Submiſſion, 'They begg'd to be excus'd from Writing any thing of that Nature, and 'from making a particular Defence to a general Accuſation, leſt they ſhou'd 'give the firſt Precedent of that kind againſt the Privilege of Peers: Be-'ſides, that their Profeſſion being to promote Peace, they thought it be-'long'd not to them to declare War, eſpecially againſt a Prince ſo nearly al-'ly'd to the Crown.' Whereupon the King ſtill more inſiſted, argu'd and expoſtulated with their Lordſhips; inſomuch, that they never ſaw him more vehement in his Speech, and tranſported in his Expreſſions, than at that time. However, they ſtill made good their humble Refuſal, in as dutiful Terms as was poſſible; and among many Arguments, urg'd, 'That as they 'were join'd with their Brethren, the other Lords Spiritual, and with the 'Lords Temporal, and with the Gentry of *England*, in the Accuſation; ſo 'they beſeech'd him, that they might not be ſeparated from them in their 'Juſtification.' Concluding all with an earneſt Requeſt to his Majeſty, 'That he wou'd be pleas'd to condeſcend to the calling a *Free Parliament*, 'wherein only he cou'd underſtand what was the general Senſe and true In-'tereſt of the whole Kingdom.' At laſt, when neither the King wou'd hearken to their zealous Motion for a Parliament, nor the Biſhops cou'd be prevail'd on to ſubſcribe an *Abhorrence* of the Prince's Deſign, his Majeſty parted with great Indignation. And thereupon the Jeſuited Party at Court were ſo openly enrag'd againſt them, that, as they were credibly inform'd, one of the Chief of them adviſ'd in a Heat, *They ſhou'd all be impriſon'd, and the Truth ſhou'd be extorted from them by Violence.*

A particular Obſervation.

Biſhop *Sprat*, from whom we had this Account, obſerves, That the Biſhops of *Scotland*, on the contrary, were drawn into a *Declaration*, abhorring the Invaſion of the Prince of *Orange*, and renouncing the Principles on which it was founded; which prov'd ſuch a Snare to them, that they cou'd not in Honour act in Parliament after the Revolution, but deſerted the Service of their Church and Countrey, and left the Management of both entirely to the *Presbyterians*, who then made uſe of the Opportunity, and eſtabliſh'd themſelves by Law; purely by the Abſence of the Biſhops from Parliament. 'So that, ſays he, as the *Engliſh* Biſhops refu-'ſing to ſtand by the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, ſav'd Epiſcopacy in 'England;

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'*England*; ſo the *Scotch* Biſhops adhering to that Doctrine, deſtroy'd Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*.

A Proclamation againſt the Prince of Orange.

3. To keep the Prince's *Declaration* from the Knowledge of the People, on the 2d of *November*, a Proclamation was iſſu'd out, 'Warning and 'Admoniſhing all his Majeſty's Subjects, that they did not publiſh, diſperſe, repeat, or hand about the ſaid treaſonable *Declaration*, upon Peril 'of being proſecuted according to the utmoſt Severity of the Law.' But the Court finding that this Inhibition was of little Effect, but rather ſerv'd to encreaſe Men's Curioſities, they ſuffer'd the *Declaration* to be printed, with a Preface, with ſome ſpecious Animadverſions upon it. About the ſame Juncture there was alſo printed the following Letter of the Prince of *Orange* to the Officers of the *Engliſh* Army:

The Prince's Letter to the Engliſh *Army.*

'*Gentlemen and Friends*,
'We have given ſo full and ſo true an Account of our Intentions in this Ex-'pedition in our *Declaration*, that as we can add nothing to it, ſo we are 'ſure you can deſire nothing more of us. We are come to Preſerve your '*Religion*, and to Reſtore and Eſtabliſh your *Liberties* and *Properties*; 'and therefore we cannot ſuffer our ſelves to doubt, but that all true *Engliſh* 'Men will come and concur with us in our Deſire, to ſecure theſe Nations 'from *Popery* and *Slavery*. You muſt all plainly ſee, that you are only 'made uſe of as *Inſtruments* to enſlave the Nation, and ruin the *Proteſtant* '*Religion*: And when that's done, you may judge what your ſelves ought 'to expect, both by the Caſhiering all the *Proteſtant* and *Engliſh* Officers 'and Soldiers in *Ireland*, and by the *Iriſh* Soldiers being brought over to 'be put in your Places; and of which you have ſeen ſo freſh an Inſtance, 'that we need not put you in mind of it. You know how many of your 'Fellow Officers have been us'd for their ſtanding firm to the *Proteſtant Re*-'*ligion*, and to the *Laws* of *England*: And you cannot flatter your ſelves 'ſo far as to expect to be better us'd, if thoſe who have broke their Word ſo 'often, ſhou'd by your Means be brought out of thoſe Streights, to which 'they are at preſent reduc'd. We hope likewiſe that you will not ſuffer 'your ſelves to be abus'd by a falſe Notion of *Honour*; but that you will 'in the firſt Place conſider what you owe to Almighty *God* and your *Re*-'*ligion*, and next to your *Countrey*, your *Selves*, and your *Poſterity*; which 'you, as *Men of Honour*, ought to prefer to all private Conſiderations and 'Engagements whatſoever. We do therefore expect that you will conſider 'the *Honour* that is now ſet before you, as Inſtruments of Serving your '*Countrey*, and Securing your *Religion*: And we ſhall ever remember the 'Service you ſhall do us upon this Occaſion; and will promiſe you, that 'we ſhall place ſuch particular Marks of our Favour on every one of you, as 'your Behaviour at this Time ſhall deſerve of us and the Nation; in which 'we ſhall make a great Diſtinction of thoſe that ſhall come ſeaſonably to join 'their Arms with ours: And you ſhall find us to be *your Well-wiſhing and* '*Aſſured Friend*.

This Letter was ſecretly ſpread over the Kingdom, and as much diſpers'd as the *Declaration*, and had a wonderful Effect on the Spirits of the Soldiers; ſo that thoſe that did not immediately comply with it at the Prince's Landing, yet reſolv'd they wou'd never draw their Swords in this Quarrel, till they had a Free Parliament to ſecure the Religion, Laws and Liberties of *England*. Nor had the following Letter, written by Admiral *Herbert* to the *Engliſh* Fleet, leſs Influence upon the Sea-Men.

Admiral Herbert's *Letter to the Fleet.*

'*Gentlemen*, I have 'little to add to what his Highneſs has expreſs'd in general Terms, beſides 'laying before you the dangerous Way you are at preſent in, where Ruin 'or Infamy muſt inevitably attend you, if you don't join with the Prince in 'the *Common Cauſe*, for the Defence of your *Religion* and *Liberties*: For 'ſhou'd it pleaſe God, for the Sins of the *Engliſh* Nation, to ſuffer your

'Arms

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'Arms to prevail, to what can your Victory ſerve you, but to enſlave you deeper, and overthrow the true Religion in which you have liv'd, and your Fathers dy'd? Of which, I beg you, as a Friend, to conſider the Conſequences, and reflect on the Blot and Infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in After-ages; that by your Means the *Proteſtant Religion* was deſtroy'd, and your Countrey depriv'd of its ancient *Liberty:* And if it pleaſes God to bleſs the Prince's Endeavours with Succeſs, as I don't doubt but he will, conſider then what their Condition will be that oppoſe him in this ſo good Deſign, where the greateſt Favour they can hope for, is, their being ſuffer'd to end their Days in Miſery and Want, deteſted and deſpis'd by all good Men. It is therefore, and for many more Reaſons, too long to inſert here; that I, as a true *Engliſh* Man, and your Friend, exhort you to join your Arms to the Prince, for the Defence of the *Common Cauſe*, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Liberties* of your Countrey. It is what I am well aſſur'd the major and beſt Part of the Army, as well as the Nation, will do as ſoon as Convenience offers. Prevent them in ſo good an Action, while it is in your Power, and make it appear, That as the Kingdom has always depended on the Navy for its *Defence*, ſo you will go farther, by making it, as much as in you lies, the *Protection* of our Religion and Liberties; and then you may aſſure your ſelves of all Marks of Favour and Honour ſuitable to the Merits of ſo great and glorious an Action. After this, I ought not to add ſo inconſiderable a thing, as that it will for ever engage me to be in a moſt particular Manner, *Gentlemen, Your Faithful Friend, and Humble Servant.*

Inſtructions to the Lord Dartmouth.

The Fleet, to which this Letter was directed, were then at the *Buoy of the Nore*, under the Command of the Lord *Dartmouth*, who having fitted it out with all Expedition, receiv'd theſe Inſtructions from the King: 'Whereas we have receiv'd undoubted Advice, That a great and ſudden Invaſion from *Holland*, with an armed Force of Foreigners and Strangers, will be made ſpeedily in an Hoſtile Manner upon this our Kingdom; Our Will and Pleaſure is, That all neceſſary Orders being by you iſſu'd for the haſtning our Ships and Veſſels, now fitting forth out of the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, together with thoſe already at Sea under Command of Sir *Roger Strickland*, Vice-Admiral of our ſaid Fleet, at the intended Rendezvous at the *Buoy of the Nore*; you do with all Diligence repair on Board our Ship *Reſolution*, Captain *William Davis* Commander, or ſuch other of our Ships as you ſhall now, or at any time hereafter, think fit to bear our *Flag*, as Admiral, taking upon you the Charge and Conduct of our ſaid Fleet, *&c.* Which Fleet, and every Part thereof, we (out of our entire Reliance upon your approved Loyalty, Valour, Circumſpection and Experience) do hereby Authorize and Impower you to lead; and by our *Orders* to direct and diſpoſe of at all ſuch Times, and in all Emergencies, as you in *your Diſcretion* ſhall judge moſt conducing to our Honour, and the Security of our Dominions; and particularly in the preventing the Approach of any Fleet or Number of Ships of War from *Holland* upon any of our Coaſts, or their making any Deſcent upon the ſame. Towards your more effectual Execution whereof, We do hereby farther Impower and Require you, to endeavour by all Hoſtile Means to ſink, burn, take, and otherways deſtroy and diſable the ſaid Fleet, and Ships thereof, when and whereſoever you ſhall meet with, or otherwiſe think fit to look out for and attack the ſame, *&c.*

This Fleet conſiſted of ſixty one Veſſels of War, of which thirty eight were of the Line of Battel; which in human Probability, upon a Battel, wou'd have worſted the Prince of *Orange*'s Men of War, or at leaſt defeated his Tranſports, and ſo ruin'd the Grand Deſign. Lying at Anchor at the

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The Fleet not ſtaunch to the King, yet formidable to the Dutch.

Gunfleet, and ready, in all Reſpects, to put out to Sea, the Lord *Dartmouth* the Admiral, call'd a Council of War, and by a great Majority it was reſolv'd to continue there, in order to intercept the *Dutch* Fleet: But there were ſome, particularly Sir *William Jennings*, the Commander of a Third Rate Veſſel, who thought it more adviſeable to ſtand over to the Coaſt of *Holland*, and there attend the coming out of their Fleet. This laſt Propoſal, as Secretary *Burchett* obſerves, did certainly carry great Weight with it, had there been a real Deſign of obſtructing the Prince of *Orange* in his Paſſage to *England*; but inſtead of that, adds he, Matters were ſo concerted, and agreed among the Flag-Officers and Commanders, who had frequently private Meetings, that had the Admiral come fairly up with the *Dutch*, it wou'd not have been in his Power to have done very much againſt them: Altho' there was great Reaſon to believe, that, in ſuch a Caſe, his Lordſhip, and ſome of the Captains, wou'd have acted to the utmoſt of their Power. But after all, the Hazard of meeting of them was ſo great, that the miſſing of them was look'd upon as a peculiar Bleſſing and Providence. In ſum, the Naval Power and Land Forces, the *Engliſh* Fleet, and the Army now on Foot, were, in appearance, abundantly more than ſufficient to overthrow all the Deſigns of *Holland*, without the leaſt Aſſiſtance from *France*.

The Prince of Orange's ſecond Attempt.

4. Such was the Poſture of Affairs in *England*, when the Prince of *Orange*, under great Diſcouragements undaunted, began his ſecond Attempt for the Relief of *Europe* and his own Glory. The Storm that had caus'd ſo great a Confuſion in his Fleet, did not ſo much ruffle or diſorder his Mind; and while moſt Perſons about him had ſtill their Fancies haunted with the Horrors of the late Tempeſt, his Highneſs with a Compoſedneſs and Serenity of Mind, peculiar to himſelf and great Men, was purſuing his fix'd Deſign, and induſtriouſly repairing his Loſſes. The firſt thing he did was to ſend out a certain Number of Coaſt-Pilots, by the *Dutch* call'd *Lotes-Men*, to cruiſe up and down the Seas between *Holland*, *England* and *France*, to get Intelligence of the ſcatter'd Fleet, and to order all the Ships they met with to go into *Helvoet-Sluys*. By the help of theſe Pilots his Highneſs was inform'd, That none of his Veſſels were loſt, except one Fly-Boat, laden with Men and Horſes, which was driven upon the Coaſt of *England*, and ſecur'd by one of King *James*'s Frigates; but that all the reſt were ſafe in one Harbour or another, tho' moſt them much ſhatter'd and damag'd in their Rigging. The ſtormy Weather continu'd for eight Days; during which time, all Diligence was us'd in Refitting and Victualling the Fleet, in ſupplying the Loſs, and encreaſing the Number of the Horſes; ſo that on *Friday*, the 1ſt of *November*, Old Style, eleven Days after they had firſt put to Sea, all Things were in Readineſs, and the Wind Eaſterly.

He again puts to Sea.

On that Day, in the Afternoon, the Prince of *Orange*, attended by the great Men of every Nation, went on board a new Veſſel of about twenty eight Guns, call'd the *Briel*, with the *Rotterdam* Admiral, the Trumpets ſounding, the Hautboys playing, the Soldiers and Seamen ſhouting, and vaſt Crouds of Spectators on the Shore, breathing out their Wiſhes, and ſending forth their Prayers after him. The uſual Signal being given, the whole Fleet weigh'd Anchor with all poſſible Expedition, being divided into three Squadrons, on Board of which were Troops of ſeveral Countries: The Red Flag was for the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, commanded by Major-General *Mackay*; the White Flag was for the Prince's Guards and the *Brandenburghers*, commanded by Count *Solms*; and the Blue for the *Dutch* and *French*, commanded by the Count of *Naſſaw*. The Winds were proſperous, and withal a brisk Gale, and by the Compaſs the Fleet pointed towards the North, ſo that ſome concluded that the Prince deſign'd to have landed

landed in thoſe Parts of *England*. By the earneſt Invitation of the Earl of *Danby*, and the Lords that manag'd in the North, his Highneſs, tho' contrary to the Inclination of the Seamen, had determin'd to land in the Mouth of the *Humber*, as we are aſſur'd by Biſhop *Burnet*. But the Strength of the Eaſt Wind made it impracticable; and ſo after ſome Hours ſailing in the Night, with Lights in every Ship, the whole Fleet ſtruck Sail, and drove before the Wind towards the Eaſtern Coaſts of *England*. The next Morning they ſail'd happily with the ſame Wind without meeting with any *Engliſh* Ship; and on *Saturday* the 3d of *November*, they diſcover'd the Coaſts of *Eſſex* and *Kent*, and the Wind being favourable, the Fleet made all the ſail they cou'd, and pointed towards the *Chanel*, ſome of the Tranſports paſs'd within Sight of the *Engliſh* Fleet under the Lord *Dartmouth*, near the *Gunfleet*; but the *Engliſh* then rid with their Yards and Top-maſts down, and the height of the Wind ſo hinder'd them from purchaſing their Anchors, that they cou'd not purſue them in due time. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

He enters the Chanel.

About Noon Day, on the 3d of *November*, the Prince of *Orange* who had led the Van, tack'd about to ſee the Rear well come up, and between *Dover* and *Calais* call'd a Council of War; and afterwards order'd that his own Standard ſhou'd be ſet up, and that the Fleet ſhou'd cloſe up in a Body. His Highneſs with three Men of War to attend him, one at a diſtance before his Ship, and one on each Side, ſail'd forwards before the Navy; the Tranſport Ships, Victuallers and Tenders, ſail'd next, with their Decks crouded with Officers and Soldiers, and the main Body of the Men of War brought up the Rear, ready to receive the Enemy, if they ſhou'd attempt to diſturb their Courſe, as was expected. And here the Reader may pleaſe to carry his Imagination either to the *French* or *Engliſh* Shore, to view with the Crouds of amaz'd Spectators this glorious but formidable Sight, and behold the Prince of *Orange* riding triumphantly in the *Engliſh* Chanel, while *Lewis* and *James* are in daily Alarms; and then let him conſider the peculiar Felicity of the Republick of *Holland*, which at this time was able to controul the two greateſt Monarchs of *Europe*.

King *James*, who expected that the Prince of *Orange* wou'd have landed in the North of *England*, and who had ſent a ſtrong Detachment of his Army that Way, was not a little ſurpriz'd and confounded to hear by ſeveral Expreſſes, that the *Dutch* Fleet was ſeen off of *Dover* on the 3d of *November*, ſteering their Courſe Weſtward, ſo numerous, that they were ſix Hours in paſſing by that Harbour, being rang'd in a Line ſeven Leagues long: That on the 4th they were diſcover'd off of *Portſmouth* and the Iſle of *Wight*; but ſtill he hop'd that the Lord *Dartmouth* wou'd attend them, and give a good Account of them. The 4th of *November* being the auſpicious Birth-Day of the Prince of *Orange*, now thirty eight Years of Age, moſt were of Opinion that he wou'd land that Day at or near *Portſmouth*; but that being a *Sunday*, his Highneſs dedicated it to Devotion and the Service of God, and ſo proceeded more to the *Weſt*, deſigning for *Dartmouth* or *Torbay*. That Night a ſtrong Gale and a bold Pilot carry'd the Fleet beyond the deſir'd Ports; and when Day-light ſhew'd them the Coaſt, they then ſaw the Inconvenience and Danger, and apprehended that they might be forc'd to ſail on to *Falmouth*, or a worſe Place, which gave them a very melancholy Proſpect. But in the Moment that they ſaw this Danger, the Wind providentially turn'd to the South, and with a gentle Gale carry'd them directly into *Torbay*, and to the moſt convenient Place for landing a Body of Horſe, that perhaps was to be found round the whole Iſland; ſo that in three Hours time, as the foreſaid Biſhop tells us, above ſeven Thouſand Horſes were landed. And it is further remarkable, that the Wind ſoon after turning Weſt, did that Night blow into ſuch a Storm, that the Lord *Dartmouth*, who came up with the King's Fleet in ſight of them,

He arrives with his Fleet at Torbay.

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them, was driven back, and ſo ſhatter'd, that he cou'd no longer keep out at Sea, but was forc'd at length to go into *Portſmouth*.

Upon the Fleet's arrival in *Torbay*, the Prince of *Orange* gave Order that his great Standard ſhou'd be put up, which was accordingly done: The White Flag was put uppermoſt, ſignifying his moſt gracious Offer of Peace to all ſuch as wou'd live peaceably; and under that the Red or Bloody Flag was ſet up, ſignifying War to all that oppos'd his juſt Deſigns. Drawing into the Bay's Mouth, they diſcover'd the People of *Devonſhire*, who flock'd in great Numbers to the Sea Shore, not to oppoſe the Prince's Landing, but to welcome their Deliverer with joyful Shouts and Acclamations, and to furniſh Him and his Followers with Proviſions for their Refreſhment. Coming very near, juſt before any landed, a certain Chaplain, on board the *Golden-Sun*, from the Top of the uppermoſt Cabin, flouriſh'd a Bible, and with a Voice loud enough to be heard by the People, cry'd out, *For the* Proteſtant *Religion, and maintaining the Goſpel in* Truth *and* Purity, *we are all by the Goodneſs and Providence of God come hither, after ſo many Storms and Tempeſts. Moreover*, continu'd he, *It is the Prince of* Orange *that is come, a zealous Defender of that Faith which is truly Ancient, Catholick and Apoſtolical, who is the Supream Governor of this great and formidable Fleet.* Having rode at Anchor for a ſhort Space, the Prince of *Orange*, about Noon-Day and fine Weather, landed with Mareſchal *Scomberg*, and divers Lords, Knights and Gentlemen: At which the Admiral of *Rotterdam* gave divers Guns, the Trumpets ſounded, the Hautboys play'd, the Drums beat, and the Soldiers ſhouted, which was anſwer'd by the joyful Huzzas and Acclamations of the People.

Where he ſafely lands with all his Forces.

Thus the Prince of *Orange*, after five Days Expedition, ſafely arriv'd in *England* within twenty Miles of *Exeter*, on the 5th of *November*, a Day already famous and auſpicious for the Diſcovery of the *Gun-Powder Plot* above fourſcore Years before, and which Providence hath thought fit to render more memorable, by a Second Deliverance from *Popery*. The firſt Footing upon *Engliſh* Ground, in a ſhort time caus'd him to take full Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Dominions; which Poſſeſſion, in ſpight of the moſt formidable Powers and Oppoſitions, he held to the Day of his Death.

CHAP. IV.

From the Landing of the Prince of Orange *in* England, *to the final Departure, and Deſertion of King* James *from that Kingdom.*

Containing the Space of Six Weeks and Six Days.

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The State of the Nation, and of the King.

I 1. FROM the 5th of *November* this Year we may date a new Æra in *England*; in which Kingdom were now contending oppoſite Powers and Armies in the very Bowels: A diſmal Proſpect of it ſelf, and very threatening, and yet very little frightful to the Nation in general, who were more fill'd with Hopes and Expectations, than Fears and Apprehenſions. Yet of the contending Parties, the

MSS. Bohun. Boyer. Gazettes. Whittie. Sprat. Complete Hiſtory. &c.

the moſt odious to the People, that of King *James* was the moſt powerful in Appearance, and that which for a few Days, ſeem'd moſt likely to carry the Cauſe. And it is believ'd by the wiſeſt Heads, that if his Majeſty had immediately Headed his Forces, Hors'd his Foot-men, and rode directly to the Prince, he had both prevented the Revolt of his Soldiers, and defeated the Power of his Adverſaries: But this was a critical Juncture, the Iſſue of which, as he cou'd not foreſee, ſo it became beyond his Will, as well as his Power, to prevent. He was tired and confounded in his Mind and Intellects, and no leſs haraſs'd and diſorder'd in his Body and Conſtitution. He found himſelf deceiv'd, and involv'd in innumerable Difficulties, and knew not how to enter upon ſudden Action, ſuch as was anſwerable to this extraordinary Emergency. How far the Conſciouſneſs of his former Actions affected him, is hard to determine; but ſtill he had great Hopes from the Fidelity of his Army, and the Addreſſes of his People, in both which he had put ſuch a General Confidence, as was more Romantick than Reaſonable. He had been ſo much flush'd and elevated, that he knew not how to ſuſpect or diſtruſt, and therefore knew not how to make uſe of a ſound Phyſician. This may be illuſtrated from a Private Inſtance and Story, related to the Author by an Eye-Witneſs of ſufficient Credit. About the Time of the Prince's Landing, five or ſix conſiderable Officers in the Army, and two or three Gentlemen, all in favour with the King, met at a Tavern in *Weſtminſter*; where drinking pretty hard, one of the Officers, moſt overtaken in Wine, freely and affectionately began *A Health to the Prince of* Orange, *and Confuſion to all his Oppoſers.* This ſtartled the reſt of the Company, and brought them to a ſerious Conſultation the next Morning what to do upon this Diſcovery, which they found neceſſary to be made known to the King Himſelf. This laſt was very uneaſy to them, and every one was glad to decline the Office, as invidious and ungrateful. Yet their Loyalty made them ſenſible of the Neceſſity, and therefore it was concluded, that Lots ſhou'd be drawn, and the Perſon upon whom the Lot fell ſhou'd go immediately and diſcover the Matter to the King. This was done; and the Officer, whoſe Chance it was to make the Diſcovery, was ſo far from being encourag'd, that he was immediately Caſhier'd, and the criminous Perſon taken into greater Favour. Which laſt was more ſurprizing to the Company, who ſhaking their Heads, ſaid, *The King believes his Enemies more than his Friends, and he has put it out of our Power to ſerve him.*

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A private Story of the King.

However, his Majeſty took all the ordinary Methods of ſecuring himſelf againſt a Foreign Invaſion, and what is common between one Enemy and another, where there is no Appearance of a Revolt and Defection; ſtill apprehending that his ſtanding Forces and *Militia* were ſufficient for that End. The Duke of *Berwick* was ſent down to *Portſmouth* with moſt of the Troops that were in and about *London*, to ſecure that important Place, and to deter People from joining his Highneſs; and all the reſt of the Forces, juſt before encreas'd by the coming over of four thouſand *Iriſh*, were order'd to march with all Speed towards him, and to rendezvous on *Salisbury* Plain, where the King deſign'd to command in Perſon, and where he reckoned to have had an Army of thirty thouſand Men; but afterwards it was thought fit to leave ſeven or eight thouſand behind in *London*, under the Command of the Lord *Craven*, to ſuppreſs the Inſurrections of the Mob. At the ſame time all Endeavours were us'd to render the Prince and his Army contemptible in the Sight of the People, by printing a Liſt of them, and giving out, That but nine of the Nobility, and Gentry only, and a few Rabble, appear'd for him. Nay, the King being inform'd that the City of *London*, and the Counties of *York* and *Kent*, deſign'd to addreſs him to incline him to come to an Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*, his Majeſty raſhly declar'd

He provides againſt the Prince of Orange.

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clar'd in Council, *That he wou'd look upon all Thoſe as his Enemies who ſhou'd pretend to adviſe him to treat with the Invader of his Kingdoms.*

His Declaration againſt him.

Accordingly he caus'd a particular *Declaration* to be iſſu'd out againſt his Highneſs, immediately after his Landing, which contain'd, 'That it was 'but too evident by a late *Declaration*, publiſh'd by the Prince of *Orange*, 'that notwithſtanding the many ſpecious and plauſible Pretences it carries, 'his Deſigns in the Bottom did tend to nothing leſs than an abſolute uſurp-'ing of his Majeſty's Crown and Royal Authority, as might fully appear 'by his aſſuming to himſelf in the ſaid *Declaration* the Regal Style, *re-'quiring the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all 'other Perſons of all Degrees, to obey and aſſiſt him in the Execution 'of his Deſigns*; a Prerogative inſeparable from the Imperial Crown of 'this Realm: Adding, That for a more undeniable Proof of his immode-'rate Ambition, and which nothing cou'd ſatisfy but the immediate Poſ-'ſeſſion of the Crown it ſelf, he call'd in Queſtion the Legitimacy of the 'Prince of *Wales*, his Majeſty's Son and Heir apparent; tho' by the Pro-'vidence of God, there were preſent at his Birth ſo many Witneſſes of un-'queſtionable Credit, as if it ſeem'd the peculiar Care of Heaven, on pur-'poſe to diſappoint ſo wicked and unparallell'd an Attempt. That in or-'der to the effecting his ambitious Deſigns, he ſeem'd deſirous to ſubmit 'all to a *Free Parliament*, hoping thereby to ingratiate himſelf with the 'People; tho' nothing was more evident than that a Parliament cou'd not 'be Free ſo long as there was an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of his 'Majeſty's Kingdoms, ſo that in Truth he was the ſole Obſtructor of ſuch 'a Free Parliament. His Majeſty being fully reſolv'd, as he had already 'declared, ſo ſoon as by the Bleſſing of God his Kingdom ſhou'd be deli-'ver'd from this Invaſion, to call a Parliament, which cou'd no longer be 'liable to the leaſt Objection of not being freely choſen, ſince his Majeſty 'had actually reſtored all the Boroughs and Corporations to their ancient 'Rights and Privileges. Upon which Conſiderations, and the Obligations 'of their Duty and natural Obedience, his Majeſty cou'd no ways doubt, 'but that all his faithful and loving Subjects wou'd readily and heartily 'concur and join with him in the entire Suppreſſing and Repelling of his 'Enemies and rebellious Subjects.' The greateſt part of the Nation were already ſo prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of the Prince's good Intentions, that this ſharp *Declaration* ſerv'd only to exaſperate their Minds againſt King *James*; but his Majeſty and Counſellors were now thought to be turn'd giddy with Reſentment, and incapable of following thoſe wiſe Methods which were only to be ſuggeſted by cool and ſober Thoughts.

The Progreſs of the Prince of Orange.

2. In the mean time they were not a little encourag'd by the ſlow Progreſs of the Prince of *Orange* after his firſt Landing, which was in a Countrey that had felt the ſevere Effects of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Expedition. Tho' the People were ready enough to ſhew their Joy and good Wiſhes, they were extremely fearful of offering their Services and Perſons. They were ignorant of the Engagements of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and chief Gentlemen of *England* to aſſiſt and join with him; and *Monmouth* met with greater Encouragement than the Prince did, liſting more in one Day, than his Highneſs did in ten. The Men of *Devonſhire*, by way of Excuſe, told the Prince's Officers, *That they were enough of themſelves to do the Buſineſs, and wanted no more:* And indeed the Prince's Army, conſidering how carefully it was compos'd, after it was well refreſh'd, was far from being contemptible; conſiſting of ſeventy eight Field-Officers, near a thouſand inferior Officers, and fifteen thouſand four hundred Soldiers, Horſe and Foot, which was above two thouſand more than the

Liſt

Liſt publiſh'd by King *James*'s Order made them. The Prince brought Arms for as many more as he had with him; but being a regular and ſelect Army, and not needing ſuch immediate Aſſiſtance as the Duke of *Monmouth*, he was not ſo haſty in granting Commiſſions to raiſe Regiments, for which he ſhou'd be in Honour oblig'd to ſee Proviſion made. The firſt he gave, were to the Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, Sir *John Guiſe*, and Sir *Robert Peyton*, who being very curious in their Men, were longer in filling their Regiments, than *Monmouth* was in compleating his Army. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

Moving forward with this Army, the firſt Place the Prince's *Declaration* was publickly read at, was *Newton-Abbot*, a Market-Town, a few Miles from *Torbay*, in the Way to *Exeter*. And the firſt Man who read it was a Miniſter of the Church of *England*; in the ſame Day that the Prince march'd thither, and took up his Quarters at Sir *William Courtney*'s Houſe, where he was nobly entertain'd, and ſtaid two Nights. From thence he advanc'd to *Chudleigh*, and thence, on the 8th of *November*, to the City of *Exeter*, where moſt People impatiently waited his Coming, and whither Dr. *Burnet* was ſent before to prepare Quarters for his Highneſs. The Biſhop's Palace and the Deanery being both view'd, the latter was thought to be more convenient, and accordingly choſen. On the *Friday* his Highneſs enter'd that City in a ſplendid and triumphant Manner, the Warlike Harmony of his Trumpets, Hautboys and Kettle-Drums, being drown'd by the louder Peals of the Bells, Huzzas and Acclamations of the overjoy'd Multitudes. This ſolemn Entry was ſtill extoll'd and magnify'd at *London*; and a Paper was publiſh'd with an Account of the Form and Manner of it; adding ſuch a terrible Deſcription of the *Findland* and *Swiſs* Guards, as made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the Vulgar, who look'd on King *James*'s Liſt of his Forces, tho' not much ſhort of Truth, as a mere Fable to leſſen his Strength. The Biſhop of the Place, Dr. *Lamplugh*, as ſoon as he heard of the Prince's Landing, to teſtify his Loyalty, immediately poſted to the Court, where he was rewarded with the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, which for ill Purpoſes had been kept too long vacant. He was ſucceeded by Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* of *Briſtol*, one of the ſeven ſuffering Biſhops; whoſe Biſhoprick was deſign'd for Mr. Archdeacon *Chetwood*, who, as it happen'd, never enjoy'd it, tho', we are told, he very well deſerv'd it for the good Advice he often gave to the King, and the Steadineſs he ſhew'd in the time of the greateſt Danger. *He arrives at* Exeter.

The firſt thing the Prince did after his Arrival at *Exeter*, was to go and pay his grateful Acknowledgments to Almighty God, and to cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung in the Cathedral Church for his happy and ſafe Arrival. After the Collects were ended, Dr. *Burnet* began to read his Highneſs's *Declaration*, at which the Miniſters of the Church there preſent, were ſo ſurpriz'd, that they immediately left their Seats and went out; however, the Doctor continu'd reading, and the *Declaration* being ended, he cry'd, *God ſave the Prince of* Orange! to which the major Part of the Congregation anſwer'd, *Amen*. The Prince being for a while fix'd in the Deanery, and the main Body of his Army being advanc'd near *Exeter*, it was diſpos'd of, the Horſe about *Tiverton*, *Culhampton*, *Honyton*, and Places adjacent; and part of the Foot encamp'd on *Cliſt-Heath*. And now his Highneſs's main Care was both to refreſh, and to re-inforce his Army: The Drums beat for Volunteers, and not only every Regiment of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* that came with the Prince, and which wanted Men, were compleated, but the new Regiments of Sir *John Guiſe*, and Sir *Robert Peyton*, fill'd up a-pace: Horſes for re-mounting the Cavalry, and for the Train of Artillery, were bought up; and, in ſum, every thing was provided to march towards *Salisbury*. *His* Declaration *read there.*

3. Tho'

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3. Tho' the Prince of *Orange* had landed without Obſtruction, and proceeded without Oppoſition, yet for the firſt nine Days he was not without Difficulties and Perplexities. He was made to believe that all the Gentlemen of the *Weſt* wou'd join with him upon his firſt Landing; but during this Space ſcarce any Perſon of Note had come in to him: He found that the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *Exeter* came to viſit him, rather out of Fear than Affection, being buſyed in dubious Conſultations among themſelves: He found that as his Recruits increas'd, he wanted Money to pay off his Men, and the Countenance of great Perſons; and indeed he began ſo far to doubt the Succeſs of his Expedition, that in a Council of War held at *Exeter*, he ſuffer'd it to be propos'd to him to re-imbark for *Holland*. But on the tenth Day, *November* the 15th, there appear'd conſiderable Numbers of the Gentry of the adjacent Parts, and generally firm Church-Men, as Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Francis War*, Colonel *Palmer*, &c. Theſe having waited on his Highneſs, he made this memorable Speech to them: *Tho' we know not your* Perſons, *yet we have a Catalogue of your* Names, *and remember the Characters of your Worth and Intereſt in your Countrey. You ſee, we are come according to your* Invitation, *and our* Promiſe. *Our Duty to God obliges us to protect the* Proteſtant Religion, *and our Love to Mankind your* Liberties *and* Properties. *We expected you, that dwelt ſo near the Place of our Landing, wou'd have join'd us ſooner: Not that it is now too late, nor that we want your* Military Aſſiſtance *ſo much as your* Countenance *and* Preſence, *to juſtify our declared Pretenſions, in order to accompliſh our good and gracious Deſign. Tho' we brought both a good Fleet, and a good Army, to render theſe Kingdoms happy, by reſcuing all* Proteſtants *from* Popery, Slavery, *and* Arbitrary *Power, by reſtoring them to their* Rights *and* Properties *eſtabliſh'd by Law, and by promoting of* Peace *and* Trade, *which is the Soul of Government, and the very Life-Blood of a Nation; yet we rely more on the Goodneſs of God, and the Juſtice of our* Cauſe, *than on any Human Force or Power whatſoever. Yet ſince God is pleas'd we ſhall make uſe of* Human Means, *and not expect* Miracles *for our Preſervation and Happineſs, let us not neglect making uſe of this gracious Opportunity, but with Prudence and Courage put in Execution our ſo honourable Purpoſe. Therefore*, Gentlemen, Friends *and* Fellow-Proteſtants, *we bid you, and all your Followers, moſt heartily welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole World now judge if our Pretenſions are not* Juſt, Generous *and* Sincere, *and above* Price; *ſince we might have even a* BRIDGE OF GOLD *to return back: But it is our Principle and Reſolution, rather to die in a good Cauſe, than live in a bad one; well knowing that* Virtue *and* True Honour *is its own Reward, and the* Happineſs of Mankind *our great and only Deſign.*

The Gentry come in to him.

His Speech to them.

Upon the Arrival of theſe Gentlemen at *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Seymour* ſent for Dr. *Burnet*, and ask'd him, *Why they were a Rope of Sand, why they had not an* ASSOCIATION? Whereupon one was drawn up and laid on a Table in the Prince's Lodgings, where the Lords and Gentlemen of his Court and others ſign'd it, as following: 'We whoſe Names are hereunto 'ſubſcrib'd, who have now join'd with the Prince of *Orange*, for the De- 'fence of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and for the Maintaining the *Ancient* 'Government, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of *England*, *Scotland* and 'Ireland, do Engage to Almighty God, to his Highneſs the Prince, and 'to one another, to ſtick firm to this Cauſe, in the Defence of it, and ne- 'ver to depart from it till our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties* are ſo far ſe- 'cured to us in a Free Parliament, that they ſhall be no more in Danger of 'falling under *Popery* and *Slavery*. And whereas we are engag'd in this

An Aſſociation ſign'd at Exeter.

'Common

'Common Cauſe under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by which means his Perſon is expos'd to Danger, and to the curſed Attempt of *Papiſts* and other bloody Men; We do therefore ſolemnly engage to God, and one another, That if any ſuch Attempt be made upon him, we will purſue not only thoſe that make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms againſt us, with the utmoſt Severity of a juſt Revenge, to their Ruin and Deſtruction. And that the Execution of any ſuch Attempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) ſhall not divert us from proſecuting this *Cauſe* which we do now undertake, but that it ſhall engage us to carry it on with all the Rigour that ſo barbarous an Attempt ſhall deſerve.' This *Aſſociation* was ſent and ſign'd in many Places, and particularly by many in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, to which Place the Prince was earneſtly invited; and his Highneſs deſign'd to have gone thither, had not the Neceſſity of his Affairs hinder'd it. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

The neighbouring Gentry having led the way, in going over to the Prince, they were ſoon follow'd by ſeveral other Perſons of greater Note, the Lord *Colcheſter*, Son to the Earl *Rivers*, Lieutenant of the Lord *Dover*'s Troop of Life-Guards, waited upon his Highneſs, accompany'd by the honourable Mr. *Wharton*, Colonel *Godfrey*, *John Howe*, Eſq; four Life-Guards of the Troop, and about threeſcore Men more on Horſeback. Theſe Perſons of Quality were follow'd by the Earl of *Abington*, Captain *Clarges*, Mr. *Ruſſel* and others. But what was ſtill more material, the Lord *Cornbury*, Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Colonel of Dragoons, being come to *Salisbury*, and pretending an Order from the King to go and beat up one of the Enemies advanc'd Poſts, carry'd off with him his own Regiment, and thoſe of Horſe of *Berwick*, St. *Albans*, and *Fenwick*; and with the major Part of them, went over to the Prince at *Exeter*. About the ſame Time his Highneſs was inform'd from *Cheſhire*, that the Lord *Delamere* having receiv'd certain Intelligence of his Landing in the *Weſt*, and ſeeing the *Iriſh* throng over in Arms, under Pretence of aſſiſting the King, but in reality to command the Nation, had thereupon aſſembled fifty Horſemen, and at the Head of them march'd to *Manchеſter*; and that the next Day he march'd to *Bodin-Downs*, his Forces being then an hundred and fifty ſtrong, declaring his Deſign was to join the Prince, and inviting all his Tenants to follow him in that honoorable Cauſe and Enterprize. About the ſame Time the Lord *Lovelace* was alſo marching towards *Exeter*, with Deſign to bring to his Highneſs a Re-inforcement of ſixty or ſeventy Horſemen; but paſſing through the Town of *Cirenceſter*, he was by the Duke of *Beaufort*'s Orders made Priſoner by the Militia of that County, with thirteen of his Followers, after an obſtinate Skirmiſh, in which ten or twelve Men were kill'd on both Sides. *Several great Perſons join with the Prince.*

4. The Court at *Whitehall* was continually inform'd of theſe Tranſactions, and endeavour'd to make the beſt of them in the publick Accounts; and particularly there appear'd ſome Joy for the taking the Lord *Lovelace*; but this was ſoon overwhelm'd by the killing News of the Lord *Cornbury*'s Defection, which was like to break and ruin all their Meaſures. For upon the hearing of it, both the Artillery, the reſt of the Troops, and the King's Equipage, that was advancing towards *Salisbury*, had Orders to ſtop their March; it being uncertain whether his Majeſty wou'd go to the Army or not. However, after ſeveral Conſultations, which the Earl of *Feverſham* held with the General Officers, and at which Count *de Roye* aſſiſted, it was advis'd and judg'd neceſſary, That the King ſhou'd haſten his Departure to the Army, there by his Preſence to keep thoſe firm to their Duty who were in a ſtaggering Condition. *The Court alarm'd.*

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A Petition from ſeveral Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

On the contrary ſide, moſt of the Proteſtant Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, who were then in *London*, namely, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Archbiſhop of *York* Elect, the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, *Peterborough* and *Oxford*; the Dukes of *Grafton* and *Ormond*; the Earls *Dorſet*, *Clare*, *Clarendon*, *Burlington*, *Angleſley* and *Rocheſter*; Viſcount *Newport*, and the Lords *Paget*, *Chandois* and *Oſſulſton*, drew up a moſt wholeſome Petition, which was conſider'd, agreed on and ſign'd at the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Houſe at *Weſtminſter*. And tho' they had heard that his Majeſty had proteſted, *He wou'd take it highly ill of any Man, that ſhou'd offer him a Thing of that Nature*, yet the two Archbiſhops, with the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Rocheſter*, ventur'd to deliver the Petition, which runs in theſe Words: '*May it pleaſe your Majeſty*, We your Maje-
'ſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, in the deep Senſe of the Miſeries of a War, now
'breaking forth in the Bowels of your Kingdom, and of the Danger to
'which your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon is thereby like to be expos'd, as alſo
'of the Diſtractions of your People by reaſon of the preſent *Grievances*,
'do think our ſelves bound in Conſcience of the Duty we owe to God
'and our Holy Religion, to your Majeſty and our Countrey, moſt hum-
'bly to offer to your Majeſty, That in our Opinion, the only viſible Way
'to preſerve your Majeſty, and this your Kingdom, wou'd be the Calling
'of a Parliament, *Regular* and *Free* in all its Circumſtances. We there-
'fore moſt earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, That you wou'd be graciouſly
'pleas'd with all Speed to call ſuch a Parliament; wherein We ſhall be
'moſt ready to promote ſuch Counſels and Reſolutions of *Peace* and *Settle-*
'ment in *Church* and *State*, as may conduce to your Majeſty's Honour
'and Safety, and to the Quieting the Minds of your People. We do like-
'wiſe humbly beſeech your Majeſty, in the mean Time to uſe ſuch Means
'[viz. *A Treaty with the Prince, and thoſe who had declared for him*]
'for the preventing the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, as to your Majeſty ſhall
'ſeem moſt meet.

It was ſaid there was a ſharp Anſwer to be given to this good Petition, which was the Senſe of all the King's Friends in the Nation, except a few deſperate Men, whoſe Crimes had made them dread an After-Reckoning, and ſome others who choſe to hazard all, rather than to truſt to a Parliament. However, two Days after, the Lords thought it neceſſary for their Vindication, to publiſh the Petition; which ſo enrag'd the Jeſuits, that they printed ſevere Reflections upon it. But the Day after was publiſh'd this Anſwer of the King's; *My Lords, What you ask of me, I moſt paſſionately deſire*; *and I promiſe upon the* FAITH OF A KING, *That I will have a Parliament, and ſuch an One as you ask for, as ſoon as ever the Prince of* Orange *has quitted this Realm: For how is it poſſible a Parliament ſhou'd be* Free in all its Circumſtances, *as you petition for, while an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near a Hundred Voices?* By this unſatisfactory, tho' plauſible Anſwer, the King in effect ruin'd his Intereſt; for the leaſt diſcerning Perſons cou'd not but perceive, That the Power of the Prince was the only Human Security the Nation had for the Calling of a Free Parliament, and that if the King ſhou'd force his Highneſs to leave the Kingdom, all their Laws and Liberties muſt become precarious, and lie at the Mercy of the Conqueror.

The King's Anſwer.

The King prepares to meet the Prince.

II. 1. The Prince of *Orange* had been landed twelve Days before the King remov'd from *London*, of which Space of Time every Day and Hour was precious. But his Majeſty was diſtracted between good and bad Advice, harraſs'd in his Body, as well as diſorder'd in his Mind, and diſ-heartned with black and ominous Apprehenſions, the Effects of Conſciouſneſs, as well as Superſtition. In the mean time the Mob were as ſuperſtitious and credulous

MSS. Orleans. Bohun. Boyer. Whittie. &c.

dulous as the *Papiſts*, and took particular Notice of the ſudden Fall of the Scepter of Queen *Mary* of the Statue on the *Royal-Exchange*, as portending the Downfal of *Popery*; and farther they were alarm'd with the Report of a vaſt Number of Caldrons, Gridirons, Knives and Spits, being found in the *Popiſh* Seminary at St. *John*'s; and likewiſe with the Belief of a *Holy League* between the Kings of *England* and *France* to extirpate the *Proteſtant Religion*. The Diſturbances, occaſion'd from theſe Opinions, and the general Hatred to Popery, might be one Reaſon of this King's delaying his Departure; but however in Concluſion, he reſolv'd to venture his Fortune in the Field, and to ſet forward on the 17th of *November*. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

But before he left *Whitehall*, his Majeſty, who was apprehenſive that the Example of the Lords *Colcheſter* and *Cornbury*, wou'd prove contagious, aſſembled the Officers that were ſtill in *London*, among whom were the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchill*, Colonel *Trelawny* and Colonel *Kirk*, and ſpoke to them after this moving Manner: *According to the Lords Petition I have engag'd my Royal Word to call a Free Parliament as ſoon as the Prince of* Orange *has quitted the Kingdom; and am reſolv'd to do all that lies in my Power, to quiet the Minds of my People, by ſecuring their* Religion, Laws *and* Liberties: *If you deſire any more, I am ready to grant it. But*, added he, *if after all this, any of you is not ſatisfy'd, let him declare himſelf: I am willing to grant Paſſes to all ſuch as deſire to go over to the Prince of* Orange, *and ſpare them the Shame of deſerting their Lawful Sovereign.* This ſo far affected them, that ſome of them, at leaſt, promis'd to ſpend their Blood in his Defence. At the ſame Time the Lord-Mayor of *London* having waited on the King to wiſh him a good Journey, his Majeſty recommended to him the Care of the City, telling him, *That he had left a ſufficient Number of Troops for their Defence; and that in caſe of Need, he might apply himſelf to the Privy-Council*; aſſuring him withal, *That if he return'd victorious, he wou'd punctually perform what he had already promis'd for the Security of their Religion and Liberties.* But the Council then left at *Whitehall* deſtroy'd the Force of theſe fair Proteſtations: For of the Five Perſons it conſiſted of, Three were odious to the Nation, *viz.* the Chancellor, and the Lords *Arundel* and *Bellaſis*, Two *Roman Catholicks*, the Fourth the Lord *Preſton*, who was ſuſpected of favouring *Popery*; and the Fifth, the Lord *Godolphin*, a Perſon againſt whom there was no Exception, beſides continuing there ſo long. But Father *Petre*, one of the deſign'd Number, having been moſt deeply involv'd in all Irregularities, was infinitely afraid of the threatning Storm; and therefore thought it high Time for him to retire to *France*; which he did under the Protection of the Lord *Walgrave*, who was ſent Ambaſſador to that Court, in the room of Colonel *Skelton*.

His Speech to his Chief Officers,

And to the Lord-Mayor.

2. Tho' the Court was ſenſible of the very ill Condition of their Affairs, yet ſtill they put on a Face of Aſſurance, and ſent the Duke of *Hamilton* to *Scotland*, giving it out, 'That he wou'd ſoon return with a conſiderable 'Body of Forces, which the Nobility of that Kingdom had rais'd for the 'King's Service.' Thus his Majeſty left *London* to go for *Salisbury*; and the better to ſhew an Affection for the Church of *England*, he took along with him a Proteſtant Chaplain, Mr. Archdeacon *Chetwood*, formerly mention'd, who bravely caus'd the *Romiſh* Prieſts to remove out of the Biſhop's Chapel, which had been appointed for the King's Uſe, and had it daily crowded with thoſe of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. The King arriv'd at *Salisbury* on the 19th at Night, fatigu'd, diſorder'd and troubled with Bleeding at the Noſe: He was immediately waited on and complemented by ſuch Officers of the Army as were moſt devoted to him, who all expreſs'd their Abhorrence of the Defection of the Lord *Cornbury*, which nevertheleſs was ap-

He goes to Salisbury.

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His ill Fortune.

prov'd of by a great many. The next Day, his Majeſty going to view Part of his Army which quarter'd Eight Miles from *Salisbury*, his Noſe fell a bleeding a freſh, and in ſuch violent Manner, that nothing cou'd ſtop it but the Breathing one of his Veins; which Illneſs, or ominous Circumſtance as it was accounted, hinder'd him from going the next Day to *Warminſter*, the moſt advanc'd Poſt of his Army. On the ſame unlucky Day, moſt of the Chief Officers, and even ſome of thoſe who diſapprov'd the Lord *Cornbury*'s Action, apply'd themſelves to the General, the Earl of *Feverſham*, deſiring his Excellency to aſſure the King, 'That upon any Occaſion they 'ſhou'd be ready to ſpill the laſt Drop of their Blood in his Service; but 'yet they cou'd not in Conſcience fight againſt a Prince, who was come 'over with no other Deſign than to procure the Calling of a *Free Parlia-'ment*, for the Security of their *Religion* and *Liberties*.

And now the King begun to underſtand how little he was to depend upon that Army on whom he had plac'd his greateſt Confidence; and the Earl of *Feverſham*, who ſtrongly ſuſpected the Lord *Churchill*, earneſtly conjured his Majeſty to have him ſecured; to which the King however cou'd never be brought to conſent. We are told, that Colonel *Windham* likewiſe, under the Emblem of a Lap-Dog, gave his Majeſty to underſtand, how commonly *Favourites were good for nothing*, but to no Effect. Theſe Suſpicions prov'd better grounded than his Majeſty believ'd; for the very next Day, the Lord *Churchill*, who commanded a Brigade of about Five Thouſand Men, went over to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, with as many as were willing to follow him; among whom were the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Barkley*, and Four or Five Captains of his Regiment of Dragoons. This Defection was a killing Surprize to the King, who ſtill knew not how to believe ſo much of a Perſon on whom he had beſtow'd diſtinguiſhing Favours, and whom he had rais'd to be a Lieutenant-General, a Captain of a Troop of Life-Guards, and a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber. To aggravate this Action, it was reported by ſome, and inſinuated by Father *Orleans*, that he had laid a Deſign, with Colonel *Kirk*, who commanded at *Warminſter*, to carry off the King to the Prince of *Orange*, which was prevented by his Majeſty's Bleeding at the Noſe. But this Report appear'd to be altogether groundleſs; but for his going over to the Prince, the following Letter he then ſent to the King may ſerve to clear him from all ſuch Aſperſions: 'SIR, Since Men are ſeldom ſuſpected of *Sincerity*, when 'they act contrary to their *Intereſts*; and tho' my dutiful Behaviour to 'your Majeſty in the worſt of Times (for which I acknowledge my poor 'Services much over-pay'd) may not be ſufficient to incline you to a cha-'ritable Interpretation of my Actions; yet I hope the great Advantage I 'enjoy under your Majeſty, which I can never expect in any other Change 'of Government, may reaſonably convince your Majeſty and the World, 'that I am acted by a *Higher Principle*, when I offer'd that Violence to 'my *Inclination* and *Intereſt*, as to deſert your Majeſty at a Time, when 'your Affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt Obedience from all your Sub-'jects; much more from One who lies under the greateſt Perſonal Obliga-'tions imaginable to your Majeſty. This, *Sir*, cou'd proceed from nothing 'but the inviolable Dictates of my *Conſcience*, and a neceſſary Concern for 'my *Religion*, which no good Man can oppoſe, and with which I am in-'ſtructed, *Nothing ought to come in Competition*. Heaven knows with 'what Partiality my dutiful Opinion of your Majeſty, has hitherto repre-'ſented thoſe unhappy Deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted Men 'have fram'd againſt your Majeſty's *True Intereſt* and the *Proteſtant Re-'ligion*. But as I can no longer join with ſuch, to give a Pretence by 'Conqueſt to bring them to effect; ſo I will always, with the Hazard of 'my Life and Fortune (ſo much your Majeſty's Due) endeavour to pre-

The Lord Churchill leaves him.

His Letter to his Majeſty.

'ſerve

'ſerve your *Royal Perſon*, and *Lawful Rights*, with all the tender Con- 1688.
'cern and dutiful Reſpect, that becomes, *Yours*, &c.' Thus did this noble Jac. 4.
Lord become a prime Inſtrument in a Revolution, which open'd a Way to Reſ. 29
make himſelf far greater in reducing and humbling the moſt exorbitant and exalted Power in the Chriſtian World.

The King returns from Saliſbury.

The poor King finding himſelf thus deſerted, and his beſt Friends falling away from him; and being falſely alarm'd, as if Duke *Schomberg*, the Prince's General, was marching with all ſpeed to fight him, left *Salisbury* with great Precipitation, like one that fled before an Enemy; having firſt publiſh'd a Proclamation, *November* 22, 'Promiſing a free and abſolute Pardon to all 'his Subjects, who had taken up Arms, and join'd with the Prince of *O-* 'range, provided they quitted and deſerted him, within the Space of 'twenty Days.' But as he had the Mortification to ſee this *Proclamation* ſlighted and diſregarded, ſo in his Way towards *Windſor* he met with a greater, in ſeeing himſelf forſaken by his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, Sir *George Hewett* and others, who left him at *Andover*. The Prince, as he went off, wrote this remarkable Letter to his Majeſty: 'SIR, With a Heart full of Grief I am forc'd to write 'what Prudence wou'd not permit me to ſay to your Face; and may I e'er 'find Credit with your Majeſty, and Protection from Heaven, as what I 'now do is free from Paſſion, Vanity or Deſign, with which Actions of 'this Nature are too often accompany'd. I am not ignorant of the frequent 'Miſchiefs wrought in the World, by factious Pretences of *Religion*; but 'were not *Religion* the moſt juſtifiable Cauſe, it wou'd not be made the 'moſt ſuperior Pretence. And your Majeſty has already ſhewn too inte- 'reſted a Senſe of *Religion*, to doubt the juſt Effects of it in one, whoſe Pra- 'ctices have, I hope, never given the World Cauſe to cenſure his real Con- 'viction of it, or his Backwardneſs to perform what his Honour and Con- 'ſcience prompt him to. How then can I any longer diſguiſe my juſt Con- 'cern for that *Religion*, in which I have been ſo happily educated, which 'my Judgment truly convinceth me to be the beſt, and for the Support of 'which I am ſo highly Intereſted in my Native Country? And is not *Eng-* 'land now, by the moſt endearing Tye, become ſo? While the reſtleſs Spi- 'rits of the Enemies of the *Reform'd Religion*, back'd by the cruel Zeal, 'and the prevailing Power of *France*, juſtly alarm and unite all the *Prote-* 'ſtant Princes of *Chriſtendom*, and engage them in ſo vaſt an Expence for the 'Support of it; Can I act ſo ungenerous and mean a Part, to deny my Concur- 'rence in ſuch worthy Endeavours, for the Diſabuſing your Majeſty, by the 'Re-inforcement of thoſe Laws, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of that Govern- 'ment, on which alone depends the Well-Being of your Majeſty, and of the 'Proteſtant Religion in *Europe*? This, *Sir*, is that irreſiſtible and only 'Cauſe, that cou'd come in Competition with my Duty and Obligation to 'your Majeſty, and be able to tear me from you, while the ſame affectio- 'nate Deſire to ſerve you continues in me. Cou'd I ſecure your Perſon by 'the Hazard of my Life, I ſhou'd think it cou'd not be better employ'd. 'And wou'd to God theſe your diſtracted Kingdoms might receive that ſa- 'tisfactory Compliance from your Majeſty, in all their juſtifiable Pretenſi- 'ons, as might, upon the only ſure Foundation, *That of the Love and In-* 'tereſt of your Subjects, eſtabliſh your Government, and as ſtrongly unite 'the Hearts of all your Subjects to you, as is that of, *Yours*, &c.

The Deſertion and Letter of Prince George.

The Prince advances from Exeter.

3. While the King's Power and Intereſt was daily weaken'd by Deſer- tion and Diſcord, the Prince of *Orang*'s Party encreas'd, and was farther ſtrengthen'd by the *Aſſociation* formerly mention'd, ſign'd by all the Lords and Gentlemen that join'd his Highneſs at *Exeter*. So that upon the News of King *James*'s being come to *Salisbury*, the Prince march'd out of *Exe-*

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ter with his Army, only leaving Sir *John Guiſe*, with his new-rais'd Regiment, to guard and ſecure that City; and his Van-Guard advancing towards *Sherborn*, a Party of King *James*'s Horſe that were coming into the Town, ſuddenly retreated back to *Salisbury*. And here was the plain Appearance of War and a Battel, but it came only to a Skirmiſh at *Wincaunton*, between a Detachment of ſeventy Horſe, and fifty Dragoons and Granadeers of the Royal Army, commanded by *Glifford*, *Sarsfield* and *Webb*, and twenty five of the Prince's Men, commanded by one *Campbel*, a Lieutenant in *Mackay*'s Regiment. Notwithſtanding the Inequality of Numbers, the latter fought with that undaunted Bravery, that they maintain'd their Ground for a conſiderable time: And when they were in danger of being overpower'd, a Miller, that by chance came that Way, alarm'd the King's Party, telling them, *That he had overtaken a ſtrong Detachment of the Prince's Army, who were juſt entering the Town*; upon which they retreated in great Confuſion, leaving ſeveral of their Men kill'd upon the Spot, and Cornet *Webb* wounded. This ſmall Action ſtruck a Terror into the Minds of King *James*'s Forces, who were otherwiſe but little enclin'd to Fighting: And beſides, it was every where magnify'd ſo much above the real Truth, that it clearly ſhew'd how much the Nation wiſh'd the Proſperity of the Arms of the Prince of *Orange*.

A Skirmiſh.

The Prince's Entry into Salisbury.

His Highneſs however us'd the beſt Means to avoid all Bloodſhed; and being ſoon after inform'd of the King's Retiring to *London*, and the broken Remains of his Army to *Reading*, he reſolv'd to poſſeſs himſelf of *Salisbury*, and made a publick Entry into that City. Accordingly, accompany'd by the Prince of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Grafton*, Mareſchal *Schomberg*, Count *Solms*, Count *Naſſaw*, Heer *Zuileſteen*, Heer *Bentinck*, Heer *Overkirk*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Lords *Mordant*, *Churchill*, *Wiltſhire*, *Cornbury*, *Colcheſter*, with many other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, his Highneſs rode in a triumphant Manner through the Streets of *Salisbury* to the Biſhop's Palace, aſſign'd for his Lodgings. The Manner of their Entrance into this City, was far more glorious than that of *Exeter*; and the Formality and Solemnity of it was much encreas'd by the Management of the Mayor, Aldermen and Corporation. The Spectators were innumerable, and their Joy and Exultation almoſt incredible; and vaſt Multitudes came out of all Parts of the Countrey to get a Sight of him whom they look'd upon as the Hopes and Deliverer of the Nation.

Riſings in many Places.

4. The Defection of ſo great a Part of the Army was not the only Misfortune that alarm'd the King and Court, but the ſeveral Inſurrections, at the ſame time, in diſtant Parts of the Nation, gave a ſudden and fatal Turn to all their Deſigns. The *Dutch* Fleet was got ſafe into *Plymouth*, which Town the Earl of *Bath* had happily ſecur'd for the Prince of *Orange*, and caus'd his Declaration to be publickly read there. The Lord *Lovelace* being reſcu'd by a Party of his Highneſſes Forces, re-inforc'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *John Guiſe*, who had forc'd the Duke of *Beaufort* to ſurrender to them the important City of *Briſtol*. Likewiſe the Earl of *Devonſhire*, with ſeveral other Lords and Gentlemen, aſſembled at *Derby*, where on the 20th of *November* they deliver'd a Paper to the Mayor of that Town, importing, 'That as with Grief they apprehended the Calami-
'ties that might ariſe from the Landing of a Foreign Army in this Kingdom;
'ſo they cou'd not but deplore the Occaſion given for it, by ſo many Inva-
'ſions made of late Years on their *Religion* and *Laws*. And whereas they
'cou'd not think of any other Expedient to compoſe their Differences,
'and prevent Effuſion of Blood, than that which procur'd a Settlement in
'theſe Kingdoms, after the late Civil Wars, *The Meeting and Sitting of a*
'*Parli-*

At Derby.

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'*Parliament, freely and duly choſen*; they thought themſelves oblig'd, as 'far as in them lay, to promote it; and the rather, becauſe the Prince of '*Orange*, as appear'd by his *Declaration*, was willing to ſubmit his own 'Pretenſions, and all other Matters, to their Determination. They hear-'tily wiſh'd, and humbly pray'd, That his Majeſty wou'd conſent to this 'Expedient, in order to a future Settlement; and hop'd that ſuch a Tempe-'rament might be thought of, as that the Army then on foot might not 'give any Interruption to the Proceedings of a Parliament. But if, to the 'great Misfortune and Ruin of theſe Kingdoms, it ſhou'd prove otherwiſe, 'they farther declared, *That they wou'd to their utmoſt, defend the Pro-'teſtant Religion, the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Rights and Liber-'ties of the Subject.*

At Nottingham.

About the ſame time there was a general Rendezvous at *Nottingham*, conſiſting of a great Number of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty, who on the 22d of *November* ſubſcrib'd a remarkable *Declaration*; in which, having ſummarily rehears'd the Grievances of the Nation, they did unanimouſly declare, 'That not being willing to deliver their Poſterity over to 'ſuch a Condition of *Popery* and *Slavery*, as their Oppreſſions inevitably 'threatned, they wou'd, to the utmoſt of their Power oppoſe the ſame, by 'joining with the Prince of *Orange*, for the Recovery of their almoſt ruin'd '*Laws*, *Liberties* and *Religion*. And herein they hop'd all good Pro-'teſtant Subjects wou'd, with their Lives and Fortunes, be aſſiſtant to them; 'and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious Terms of *Rebels*, by which 'the Court wou'd fright them, to become perfect *Slaves* to their tyrannical 'Inſolences and Uſurpations. For they aſſur'd themſelves, that no rational 'and unbiaſs'd Perſon wou'd judge it *Rebellion* to defend their Laws and 'Religion, which all *Engliſh* Princes have ſworn at their Coronations; 'which Oath, how well it had been obſerv'd of late, they deſir'd a *Free-'Parliament* might have the Conſideration of. They indeed own'd it *Re-'bellion* to reſiſt a King that govern'd by Law; but he was always ac-'counted a *Tyrant* that made his Will his Law; and to reſiſt ſuch an one 'they juſtly eſteem'd no *Rebellion*, but a neceſſary *Defence*: And on this 'Conſideration they doubted not of all honeſt Mens Aſſiſtance, and humbly 'hop'd for, and implor'd the Great God's Protection, that turn'd the Hearts 'of People as pleas'd him beſt; it having been obſerv'd, That People cou'd 'never be of one Mind without his Inſpiration, which had in all Ages con-'firm'd that Obſervation, *Vox Populi eſt Vox Dei.*

At York, *&c.*

At the ſame time alſo, the vigorous Earl of *Danby*, with his Son the Lord *Dumblaine*, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Willoughby*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, made themſelves Maſters of the City of *York*; and having diſarm'd, and turn'd out all the *Papiſts*, who under the Protection of the Duke of *Newcaſtle* ſtood up for the King, declared for a *Free Parliament*. Likewiſe Colonel *Copley*, Deputy-Governor of *Hull*, ſurpriz'd that important Sea-Port Town, and made the Lord *Langdale*, the *Popiſh* Governor, the Lord *Montgomery*, and the reſt of the *Papiſts*, Priſoners; till, with the Help of the Towns-Men, Sea-Men, and part of the Garriſon, he had ſecured the Fort and Citadel. The great Town of *Newcaſtle* receiv'd the Lord *Lumley*, and declared for the Prince of *Orange*, and a *Free Parliament*. The Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Oxford*, and ſome other Perſons of Note, went over to the Prince; and the Earl of *Stamford* and the Lord *Delamere*, join'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury* at *Briſtol*. Soon after, the Duke of *Ormond*, being gone to *Oxford* with a Party of the Prince of *Orange*'s Troops, caus'd his Highneſs's Declaration to be publickly read in that famous Univerſity. The Town of *Berwick* in a ſhort time follow'd the Example of *York*, and declar'd for the Prince; and five Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, of whoſe Number were the Duke of *Queensbury* and the Earl

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of *Belcarris*, were coming up to *London*, to demand a Free Parliament in that Kingdom. So that in a little time the Defection was almoſt Univerſal; and what is to be remember'd is, That the chief Actors were all Church of *England* Men, and proceeded, as Biſhop *Sprat* terms it, *upon Church of* England *Principles*; and many of thoſe who cou'd not comply with the after Settlement, were obſerv'd to be the moſt ſtrenuous Aſſerters of the *Laws* and *Liberties* of the Nation. To vindicate which, there came out a notable Piece, ſuppos'd to be written by the Earl of *Danby* himſelf, intituled *The Thoughts of a private Perſon, about the Juſtice of the Gentlemens Undertaking at* York, November 1688; *wherein it is ſhew'd, That it is neither againſt Scripture, nor Moral Honeſty, to defend their Juſt and Legal Rights, againſt the Illegal and Unjuſt Invaders of them.* Which Piece had a mighty Effect upon the Minds of many doubting Perſons; and was writ with that Modeſty, Strength and Clearneſs, that it was hardly ever exceeded by thoſe of the ſame Side, or perhaps fully anſwer'd by thoſe of the other.

The Princeſs Anne *retires.*

5. Amidſt all this diſtracting News, upon the King's arrival at *London, November* 26th, his Trouble was aggravated by the ſudden Receſs of the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, his ſecond Daughter, for whom he had a particular Tenderneſs, who was privately gone from *White-Hall* the Night before. The News of this moſt ſenſibly touch'd the King, who entering into his Palace, with a Flood of Tears, cry'd out, *God help me, my own Children have forſaken me!* It was juſt before reported that the Queen had treated her Royal Highneſs very harſhly and rudely, and had proceeded ſo far as to ſtrike her; ſo that the People were incens'd to that degree, that as ſoon as ſhe was miſſing, they offer'd to tear all the *Romiſh* Party in pieces, upon a Surmiſe that they had either privately murther'd her, or confin'd her to the *Tower*. And the King's own Guards appear'd ready to join with the enraged Mob, if the following Letter from the Princeſs to the Queen had not been produc'd:

Her Letter to the Queen.

'MADAM, I beg your Pardon, if I am 'ſo deeply afflicted with the ſurprizing News of the Prince's being gone, 'as not to be able to ſee you, but to leave this Paper to expreſs my hum-'ble Duty to the King and your Self; and to let you know that I am gone 'to abſent my ſelf, to avoid the King's Diſpleaſure, which I am not able 'to bear, either againſt the Prince, or my Self; and I ſhall ſtay at ſo great 'a Diſtance, as not to return before I hear the happy News of a Recon-'cilement. And as I am confident the Prince did not leave the King with 'any other Deſign, than to uſe all poſſible Means for his Preſervation; ſo 'I hope you will do me the Juſtice to believe, that I am not capable of 'following him for any other End. Never was any one in ſuch an unhap-'py Condition, ſo divided between Duty and Affection to a Father and a 'Husband; therefore I know not what to do, but to follow one, to pre-'ſerve the other. I ſee the general Falling-off of the Nobility and Gen-'try, who avow to have no other End, than to prevail with the King to 'ſecure their Religion, which they ſaw ſo much in Danger by the violent 'Counſels of the *Prieſts*; who, to promote their own Religion, did not 'care to what Danger they expos'd the King. I am fully perſuaded that 'the Prince of *Orange* deſigns the King's Safety and Preſervation, and hope 'all Things may be compos'd without more Bloodſhed, by calling of a 'Parliament. God grant a happy End to theſe Troubles, that the King's 'Reign may be proſperous, and that I may ſhortly meet you in Peace and 'Safety: 'Till then, let me beg you to continue the ſame favourable Opi-'nion that you hitherto had of, *Yours*, &c.

She meets her Huſband at Oxford.

The King was ſoon after inform'd, That her Royal Highneſs, with the Lady *Churchill*, and the Lady *Berkley*, the two ſhining Ladies of her Court,

Court, had privately taken Coach at the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe in *Alderſgate-Street:* From whence they went directly to the Rendezvous at *Nottingham*, attended by that noble Prelate in his Buff-Coat, and with all other Military Accoutrements, together with the Earl of *Dorſet*, and about forty Horſe-Men. At *Nottingham*, where ſhe was welcom'd with the utmoſt Joy and Reſpect, the Earl of *Devonſhire* gave her a Guard of two Hundred Men, by whom ſhe was ſafely conducted to *Oxford*; where the Prince, her beloved Husband, ſoon after met her, with a ſufficient Detachment of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces.

Bohun. Orleans. Boyer. Whittie. Burnet. Jones.

III. 1. We are now arriv'd at the Thorns and Troubles, with which a Crown is often attended, and ſometimes ſurrounded; and are come to conſider King *James*, the Monarch of three Kingdoms, under greater Struggles and Difficulties than the meaneſt of his Subjects; ſo that he began to be the Object of Commiſeration, as well as Indignation. His Countenance and Aſpect was pale and dejected, his Body and Conſtitution was diſordered and unhing'd, and his Mind and Intellects ſeem'd diſtracted and unfixt, if not down right infatuated. He was indeed ready to lay hold on any likely Support; and accordingly, the firſt Thing he did after his Return to *London*, was to ſummon and aſſemble all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal that were then in Town, to conſult with them about the preſent Exigencies and Emergencies. And tho' moſt of theſe Peers were ſuch as his Majeſty had either diſoblig'd or neglected in the height of his Proſperity, yet upon this tender Occaſion, as became noble Patriots, they all forgot their Perſonal Wrongs, being only intent upon the Dangers, which ſo imminently threatned both King and Kingdom. Among the reſt, the Earl of *Clarendon*, ſeeing the Extremity of the Diſtemper, ſpoke with that Freedom which a good and faithful Phyſician ought to uſe on the like Occaſion. He enumerated all the irregular and unwarrantable Proceedings of the governing Party, which had occaſion'd thoſe dangerous Symptoms that now appear'd in the Body Politick, and concluded with the Majority, upon a ſpeedy calling of a Free Parliament: And to remove the Difficulties that were objected, they repreſented to his Majeſty how neceſſary it was; ‘ *Firſt*, to grant a general Pardon to all thoſe who either came over with ‘ the Prince of *Orange*, or had join'd him ſince his Landing. *Secondly*, to ‘ depute ſome of the Lords to his Highneſs to treat with him about a Suſ‘ penſion of Arms, and to endeavour to bring Matters to an Accommoda‘ tion. And *Laſtly*, to turn all *Papiſts* immediately out of their Employ‘ ments, to convince the World that his Majeſty acted a ſincere Part.

The King's Difficulties.

He applies to the Lords.

Their Advice.

This being the joint Opinion of them all, the King took that Night to conſider of the Advice, and the next Day declar'd in Council, That he was reſolv'd to call a Free Parliament, that ſhou'd meet on the 15th of *January* next following: Accordingly the Lord Chancellor was order'd to iſſue out his Writs; and a deſirable Proclamation went forth on the 30th of *November*, wherein his Majeſty declar'd, ‘ That for the Security of all Perſons ‘ both in their Elections and Service in Parliament, all his Subjects ſhou'd ‘ have free Liberty to Elect; and all the Peers, and ſuch as ſhou'd be elect‘ ed Members of the Houſe of Commons, ſhou'd have full Liberty and ‘ Freedom to ſerve and ſit in Parliament, notwithſtanding they had taken ‘ up Arms, or committed any Act of Hoſtility, or been any way aiding ‘ or aſſiſting therein: That for the better Aſſurance thereof, his Majeſty ‘ had directed a general Pardon to all his Subjects to be forthwith prepar'd ‘ to paſs his Great-Seal. And for the reconciling all the publick Breaches, ‘ and obliterating the very Memory of all paſt Miſcarriages, his Majeſty ‘ did hereby exhort, and kindly admoniſh all his loving Subjects, to diſpoſe ‘ themſelves to elect ſuch Perſons for their Repreſentatives in Parliament, ‘ as

A Proclamation for a Parliament, and Pardon.

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'as might not be byaſs'd by Prejudice or Paſſion, but qualify'd with Parts, 'Experience and Prudence, proper for this Conjuncture.' His Majeſty farther declar'd, That he wou'd nominate Commiſſioners to treat with the Prince of *Orange*; but as to that Part of the Lords Advice relating to the *Roman Catholicks*, it being a tender Point, his Majeſty only ſaid, *He wou'd leave that Matter to be debated in Parliament.* However, Sir *Edward Hales*, the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, having been obnoxious, and ſuſpected by the City, as if he had deſign'd to bombard it, his Majeſty turn'd him out of his Government, and put Colonel *Skelton* in his Place; who now by a Viciſſitude of Fortune, was made the Commander of a Fortreſs, where he had lately been a Priſoner.

The King ſends three Lords to treat with the Prince.

The Perſons firſt propos'd to be ſent to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, were the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, with whom ſome wou'd have join'd the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*; but after a long Conſultation, their Number was fix'd to theſe Three, the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, who were allow'd to be Men of great Parts, Addreſs and Application, and who in the late Council had ſhew'd a particular Zeal for his Majeſty's Preſervation. The Earl of *Rocheſter* was really as capable of that important Negotiation, and as agreeable to the Prince, as any of the reſt; but either He or the Marquiſs of *Hallifax* was neceſſarily to be left out, and therefore that Earl got himſelf excus'd. To carry on this Affair, a Trumpeter was immediately diſpatcht by the Earl of *Feverſham*, with a Letter to his Highneſs, to demand the neceſſary Paſſes: And on *Sunday*, *December* the 2d, the Commiſſioners began their Journey, and arriv'd the next Day at *Reading*, where they met the Trumpeter with his Highneſs's Paſſes; who at the ſame time demanded a Paſs for one of his Gentlemen, whom he deſign'd to ſend to the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*. The Day before the Departure of the Commiſſioners, the Earl of *Clarendon*, without making a farther Myſtery of it, went directly over to the Prince of *Orange*, which gave many Occaſion to think that he was gone before them, if not to defeat their Negatiation, at leaſt to give the Prince a Jealouſy of the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the irreconcileable Enemy of his Family, and who began to be ſuſpected by the *Presbyterians* themſelves, ſince he undertook this Accommodation. Others diſcours'd, that the great Warmth the Marquiſs had lately ſhewn for the King's Preſervation, did not ſo much proceed from his Affection to his Perſon, as from his domineering Spirit, which made him zealous for a Negotiation, which he deſign'd to engroſs to himſelf.

A remarkable Paper ſtyl'd the Third Declaration of the Prince of *Orange.*

2. While this Negotiation was on foot, there appear'd a printed Paper at *London* and other Places, call'd *The Third Declaration of the Prince of* Orange, *&c.* which ſhew'd that great Things are often brought about by unknown Agents. Conſidering the Effect it had on the Nation, we ſhall inſert it as following, without any Abridgement: 'We have in the whole 'courſe of our Life, and more particularly by the apparent Hazards both by 'Sea and Land, to which we have ſo lately expos'd our Perſon, given to 'the World ſo high and undoubted Proofs of our fervent Zeal to the *Pro-* 'teſtant Religion, that we are fully confident no true *Engliſhman* and 'good *Proteſtant* can entertain the leaſt Suſpicion of our firm Reſolution, 'rather to ſpend our deareſt Blood, and periſh in the Attempt, than not to 'carry on the bleſſed and glorious Deſign, which, by the Favour of Hea- 'ven, we have ſo ſucceſsfully begun to reſcue *England*, *Scotland* and *Ire-* 'land from *Popery* and *Slavery*, and in a Free Parliament to eſtabliſh the 'Religion, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of theſe Kingdoms on ſuch a ſure and 'laſting Foundation, that it ſhall not be in the Power of any Prince for

'the

'the future to introduce *Popery* and *Tyranny*. Towards the more eaſy 1688.
'compaſſing this great Deſign, we have not been hitherto deceiv'd in the
'juſt Expectation we had of the Concurrence of the Nobility, Gentry and Jac. 4.
'People of *England* with us, for the Security of their *Religion*, and the
'Eſtabliſhment of their *Liberties* and *Properties*. Great Numbers of all Ref. 19
'Ranks and Qualities have join'd themſelves to us; and others, at great
'diſtances from us, have taken up Arms and declar'd for us: And, which
'we cannot but particularly mention, in that Army which was rais'd to be
'the Inſtrument of *Slavery* and *Popery*, many, by the ſpecial Providence
'of God, both Officers and common Soldiers, have been touch'd with
'ſuch a feeling Senſe of Religion and Honour, and of true Affection to their
'Native Countrey, that they have already deſerted the illegal Service they
'were engag'd in, and have come over to Us, and have given us full Aſſu-
'rance from the reſt of the Army, that they will certainly follow this Ex-
'ample, as ſoon as we ſhall approach near enough to receive them without
'Hazard of being prevented or betray'd.

'To which End, and that we may the ſooner execute this juſt and ne-
'ceſſary Deſign we are engag'd in for the publick Safety and Deliverance
'of theſe Nations, we are reſolv'd with all poſſible Diligence to advance
'forwards, that a *Free Parliament* may be forthwith call'd, and ſuch Pre-
'liminaries adjuſted with the King, and all things ſettled upon ſuch a Foot,
'according to Law, as may give us and the whole Nation juſt Reaſon to
'believe, the King is diſpos'd to make ſuch neceſſary Condeſcenſions on
'his Part, as will give entire Satisfaction and Security to all, and make
'both King and People once more happy. And that we may effect
'all this, in the Way moſt agreeable to our Deſires, if it be poſſible, with-
'out the Effuſion of any Blood, except of thoſe Execrable Criminals who
'have juſtly forfeited their Lives for Betraying the Religion, and Subvert-
'ing the Laws of their Native Countrey, We do think fit to Declare, That
'as we will offer no Violence to any, but in our own neceſſary Defence;
'ſo we will not ſuffer any Injury to be done to the Perſon, even of any
'*Papiſt*, provided he be found in ſuch Place, and Condition, and Circum-
'ſtances as the Law requires. So we are reſolv'd, and do Declare, That
'all *Papiſts* who ſhall be found in open Arms, or with Arms in their Hou-
'ſes, or about their Perſons, or in any Office Civil or Military, upon any
'Pretence whatſoever, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, ſhall be
'treated by Us and our Forces, not as *Soldiers* and *Gentlemen*, but as *Rob-*
'*bers*, *Free-booters* and *Banditti*; they ſhall be incapable of Quarter, and
'entirely deliver'd up to the Diſcretion of our Soldiers. We do farther De-
'clare, That all Perſons who ſhall be found any Ways aiding or aſſiſting
'to them, or ſhall march under their Command, or ſhall join with, or ſub-
'mit to them in the Diſcharge or Execution of their Illegal Commiſſions or
'Authority, ſhall be look'd upon as Partakers of their Crimes, Enemies to
'the Laws, and to their Countrey. And whereas we are certainly inform'd,
'that great Numbers of armed *Papiſts* have of late reſorted to *London* and
'*Weſtminſter*, and Parts adjacent, where they remain, as we have Reaſon
'to ſuſpect, not ſo much for their own Security, as out of a wicked and
'barbarous Deſign, to make ſome deſperate Attempt upon the ſaid Cities,
'and their Inhabitants, by Fire, or ſudden Maſſacre, or both; or elſe to be
'more ready to join themſelves to a Body of *French* Troops, deſign'd, if
'it be poſſible, to land in *England*, procured of the *French* King, by the
'Intereſt and Power of the *Jeſuits*, in purſuance of the Engagements,
'which, at the Inſtigation of that peſtilent Society, his moſt Chriſtian Ma-
'jeſty, with one of his Neighbouring Princes of the ſame Communion, has
'enter'd into for the utter Extirpation of the *Proteſtant Religion* out of
'*Europe*. Tho', we hope we have taken ſuch effectual Care to prevent

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'the One, and ſecure the Other, that by God's Aſſiſtance we cannot doubt 'but we ſhall defeat all their wicked Enterprizes and Deſigns.

'We cannot however forbear, out of the great and tender Concern we 'have to preſerve the People of *England*, and particularly thoſe great and 'populous Cities, from the cruel Rage and bloody Revenge of the *Papiſts*, 'to require and expect from all the Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, 'and Juſtices of the Peace, Lord-Mayors, Mayors, Sheriffs, and all other 'Magiſtrates and Officers, Civil and Military, of all Counties, Cities and 'Towns of *England*, eſpecially of the County of *Middleſex*, and Cities of '*London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Parts adjacent, that they do immediately 'diſarm and ſecure, as by Law they may and ought, within their reſpective 'Counties, Cities and Juriſdictions, all *Papiſts* whatſoever, as Perſons at 'all Times, but now eſpecially, moſt dangerous to the Peace and Safety 'of the Government; that ſo, not only all Power of doing Miſchief may 'be taken from them, but that the Laws, which are the greateſt and beſt 'Security, may reſume their Force, and be ſtrictly executed. And we do 'hereby likewiſe Declare, That we will protect and defend all thoſe who 'ſhall not be afraid to do their Duty in Obedience to theſe Laws. And 'that for thoſe Magiſtrates, and others, of what Condition ſoever they be, 'who ſhall refuſe to aſſiſt us, and in Obedience to the Laws, to execute 'rigorouſly, what we have required of them, and ſuffer themſelves at this 'Juncture to be cajoled and terrifyed out of their Duty, we will eſteem 'them the moſt criminal and infamous of all Men; *Betrayers of their Re-* '*ligion, the Laws, and their Native Countrey*; reſolving to expect and 'require at their Hands the Life of every ſingle *Proteſtant* that ſhall pe-'riſh, and every Houſe that ſhall be burnt or deſtroy'd by their Treachery 'and Cowardice.' *Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Head Quarters at* Sherborn-Caſtle, *the* 28th *Day of* November, 1688. WILLIAM HENRY, Prince of ORANGE. *By his Highneſs's ſpecial Command*, C. HUYGENS.

The great Effects of it. This was the boldeſt Attempt that ever was made by a private Perſon; but whoever was the Author of this *Declaration*, which the Prince of *Orange* totally diſown'd, it did his Highneſs no ſmall Service at this nice Juncture: The *Roman Catholicks* were dreadfully alarm'd at it; and ſeveral Juſtices of the Peace caus'd it to be publiſh'd. A certain Captain likewiſe boldly deliver'd a Copy of it to the Lord Mayor of *London*, charging him, before Witneſſes, to ſee it exactly put in Execution; and the inferior Officers of Juſtice deſired his Lordſhip's Aſſiſtance, that they might better obey his Highneſs's Orders. And indeed the *Popiſh* Party was now ſo low, that there was, at the ſame Time, *An Hue and Cry after Father* Petre, publickly cry'd and ſold in the Streets, notwithſtanding he was no leſs than a Privy-Counſellor. And farther, a legal Accuſation againſt the Earl of *Salisbury* for 'Infringing the moſt Sacred Laws of the Kingdom, by turning '*Papiſt*,' was preferr'd to the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*, who found the Bill againſt the ſaid Earl.

The Duke of Norfolk's *Tranſactions at* Norwich.

3. While theſe Things were tranſacting in *London*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, hereditary Earl Marſhal of *England*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County, whoſe Title he bore, ſummon'd all the Quality and Gentry of thoſe Parts to meet him at the City of *Norwich*; where being aſſembled, leſt the Place ſhou'd be alarm'd at the extraordinary Concourſe of People, he made a Speech to the Mayor in the Market-Place; acquainting him, 'That out 'of a deep Senſe, he and the others there met, that in the preſent un-'happy Juncture of Affairs, nothing cou'd better ſecure the *Laws*, *Liber-* '*ties* and *Proteſtant Religion*, than a *Free Parliament*, they were there 'met to pronounce that they wou'd do their utmoſt to defend the ſame, 'by

'by Declaring for ſuch a Free Parliament. And ſince his Majeſty had been 'pleas'd to order Writs for ſuch a Parliament, he cou'd only add in the 'Name of himſelf, and of all thoſe Gentlemen, and others there met, 'That they wou'd ever be ready to ſupport the *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Pro-* '*teſtant Religion.*' And ſo, concluded he, *God ſave the King!* In this the Mayor, Aldermen, and the reſt of the Corporation, and a numerous Aſſembly, did unanimouſly concur with his Grace and the reſt of the Gentry. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

About five Days after, *December* the 6th, the Mayor and Corporation of *King's Lynn* preſented an Addreſs to the Duke of *Norfolk*, humbly deſiring him, 'That they might be put into ſuch a Poſture by his Grace's Di- 'rection and Conduct, as might make them appear as zealous as any in the 'Defence of the *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Laws* and ancient *Government.*' To which his Grace return'd this Anſwer, *That no Man wou'd venture his Life and Fortune more freely for the Defence of the* Laws, Liberties *and* Proteſtant Religion, *than he wou'd do*; *and with all the Gentlemen there preſent, and many more, wou'd procure a Settlement in Church and State, in Concurrence with the Lords and Gentlemen in the* North, *and purſuant to the* Declaration *of the Prince of* Orange. And according to their Deſire, he order'd the *Militia*, both Horſe and Foot, to be rais'd throughout the County; whereupon the Tradeſmen, Seamen and inferior ſort, put *Orange* Ribbons in their Hats, ſhouting and echoing Huzzas to the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Norfolk*. Thus all Places began to ſhew their Inclination, and there appear'd an univerſal Diſpoſition to favour the Prince of *Orange*, and the great Cauſe he had eſpous'd. Lynn *applies to him.*

4. All theſe Motions bred new Troubles and Uneaſineſs in the Court: Nor were they leſs impatient to know how the Commiſſioners, *Hallifax*, *Nottingham* and *Godolphin*, wou'd be receiv'd by the Prince of *Orange*: For ſeveral began to apprehend that ſomething farther was aim'd at, beſides the *ſecuring of the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom*; and that his Majeſty's Crown, if not his Perſon, was not out of Danger. It was not ſo much the Coming of his Highneſs with an Army that gave the *Popiſh* Party theſe melancholy Apprehenſions, but rather the general Diſcontents of the Nobility, Clergy and People, and the Expectance of a ſevere Examination of their own Illegal Proceedings in a Free Parliament; and therefore they began to think of having the Royal Family croſs the Sea, as ſoon as theſe Surmiſes ſhou'd attain to a greater Degree of Certainty. On the 6th of *December* the three Commiſſioners by an expreſs acquainted the King, 'That they were to meet the Prince of *Orange* that 'Night at *Amesbury*;' but the next Day they inform'd his Majeſty, 'That 'his Highneſs had made a new Appointment to meet them at *Hungerford*, 'and had ſent to them the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Oxford*, to deſire them 'to make their Propoſals in Writing.' This Meſſage of the Prince was interpreted to be Evaſive or Contemptuous; not only becauſe he refus'd to treat by Word of Mouth with his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, but alſo becauſe he had deputed two Perſons to them, of whom the laſt had never been concern'd in any publick Affair, and the firſt was a profeſs'd Enemy to the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the principal Manager on the King's Part. From theſe firſt Steps, and from a particular Letter from one of the Commiſſioners, the moſt zealous for the King's Intereſt, the *Popiſh* Cabal, particularly Monſieur *Barillon* the old *French* Ambaſſador, and Count *Lauzan*, began to ſuſpect the Succeſs of this Negotiation, and preſſingly adviſ'd the King to ſupport Himſelf, his Queen and the Prince of *Wales*, by a ſpeedy Receſs from the Nation. However the King was ſtill willing to wait for a full and clear Account of the Affair. *The King adviſ'd to retire from* England. *Undetermin'd.*

During

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During which Time, there happen'd a ſecond kind of a Skirmiſh; For upon the News of the Prince's Forces advancing towards *Reading*, to prevent farther Deſertions, the King's Army that quarter'd there, was order'd to march nearer *London*, and to fix their Head-Quarters at *Colebrook*. But the 8th of *December*, the Court being inform'd that it was only a Detachment of his Highneſs's Horſe that was advanc'd to *Newbery*, the Royal Forces were remanded to their old Poſt, and the ſame Day the General, the Earl of *Feverſham*, return'd to *Maidenhead*, where were the Head Quarters. The next Day, the King's Troops marching thither, the Towns People, who had been great Sufferers by their former Quartering amongſt them, invited ſome of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces that lay not far off, to take Poſſeſſion of that Poſt, to ſecure themſelves againſt the Violences of the *Iriſh*. Colonel *Lanier*, who commanded the Royal Detachment, being firſt come to *Reading*, poſted ſome Companies of *Iriſh* Dragoons, to defend a Bridge over which his Highneſs's Troops were to paſs, and drew up a *Scotch* Regiment of Horſe in Battalia in the Market-Place. Upon the Approach of a ſmall Party of the Prince's Cavalry, the *Iriſh* made a Diſcharge, and abandon'd their Poſt; and the *Scotch* who, had no Inclination to fight, follow'd their Example, and fled in Diſorder, till they were rally'd by the Earl of *Feverſham*, who was coming up to their Relief. Of the *Iriſh*, not many were kill'd, and as few taken: However the Royaliſts complain'd that the Town's People ſhot at them behind from their Windows, while the Prince's Horſe charg'd them before; but the others juſtify'd themſelves by ſaying, That the Fear the *Iriſh* were in, made them imagine that they were attack'd on every ſide, which, at this Juncture, the Court thought fit to believe. *Maidenhead* Bridge was alſo fortify'd, and the Defence of it committed to the *Iriſh*; but ſome of the Townſmen beating a *Dutch* March upon Tubs in the Night, in order to alarm them, this Stratagem took ſo well, that the *Iriſh* abandon'd their Poſt in Confuſion, leaving their Great-Guns behind them.

A ſecond Skirmiſh.

The three Lords Propoſals to the Prince of Orange.

In the mean Time, the three Commiſſioners, *Hallifax*, *Nottingham* and *Godolphin*, appointed to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, at *Hungerford* deliver'd to his Highneſs the following Propoſals in Writing, dated *December* the 8th, 'Sir, The King commanded us to acquaint you, That he obſerveth all the Difference and Cauſes of Complaint, alledg'd by your Highneſs, ſeem to be referr'd to a *Free Parliament*. His Majeſty, as he hath already Declared, was reſolv'd before this to call one; but thought, that in the preſent State of Affairs, it was adviſable to defer it till Things were more compos'd: Yet ſeeing that his People ſtill continue to deſire it, he hath put forth his *Proclamation* in order to it, and hath iſſu'd his *Writs* for the Calling of it. And to prevent any Cauſe of Interruption in it, he will conſent to every Thing that can be reaſonably required for the Security of thoſe that ſhall come to it. His Majeſty hath therefore ſent us to attend your Highneſs for the adjuſting of all Matters that ſhall be agreed to be neceſſary to the Freedom of *Elections*, and the Security of *Sitting*, and is ready immediately to enter into a *Treaty* in order to it. His Majeſty propoſes, That in the mean Time the reſpective Armies may be reſtrain'd within ſuch Limits, and at ſuch a Diſtance from *London*, as may prevent the Apprehenſions that the *Parliament* may be in any kind diſturb'd; being deſirous that the Meeting of it may be no longer delay'd, than it muſt be by the uſual and neceſſary *Forms*.

The Prince having receiv'd this Paper, ſubſcrib'd by the Commiſſioners Names, continu'd his March toward *London*; and being arriv'd at *Littlecott*, the next Day, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen aſſembled with him, his Highneſs made the following *Propoſals*, in Anſwer to thoſe of his Majeſty: 'We, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen aſſembled with 'us, have, in Anſwer, made theſe following *Propoſals*. I. That all *Papiſts*

The Prince's Anſwer and Propoſals.

'*piſts*, and all ſuch Perſons as are not qualify'd by Law, be diſarm'd, disband- 1688.
'ed, and remov'd from all Employments, Civil and Military. II. That all Jac. 4.
'*Proclamations* which reflect upon Us, be recall'd; and that if any Perſons, Reſ. 29
'for having aſſiſted Us, have been committed, that they be forthwith ſet
'at Liberty. III. That for the Security and Safety of the City of *London*,
'the Cuſtody and Government of the *Tower*, be immediately put into the
'Hands of the ſaid City. IV. That if his Majeſty ſhall think fit to be at
'*London*, during the Sitting of the *Parliament*, that We may be there alſo,
'with equal Number of our Guards: Or if his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to be in
'any Place from *London*, whatever Diſtance he thinks fit, that We may be
'at a Place of the ſame Diſtance; and that the reſpective Armies be from
'*London* Thirty Miles; and that no farther Forces be brought into the
'Kingdom. V. That for the Security of the City of *London*, and their
'Trade, *Tilbury* Fort be put into the Hands of the ſaid City. VI. That a
'ſufficient Part of the Publick Revenue be aſſign'd Us, for the Support and
'Maintenance of our Troops, until the Sitting of a *Free-Parliament*.
'VII. That to prevent the Landing of the *French*, or other Foreign Troops,
'*Portſmouth* may be put into ſuch Hands, as by his Majeſty and Us ſhall
'be agreed on.

Theſe Propoſals were ſent with all Speed to the King, and they were look'd upon as ſo reaſonable and moderate in this Juncture, that his Majeſty upon the Reading of them ſaid, *They were better than he expected.* This ſeems to have been the moſt critical Hour in the King's whole Reign; and his preſent Compliance wou'd, reaſonably ſpeaking, have kept the Crown upon his Head during the reſt of his Life. As his Invaſions had been inſufferable, ſo his Difficulties were become innumerable, but ſtill not inſuperable, if he had not abandon'd Himſelf to *Popiſh* Counſels. However, he thought fit that Evening to call an Extraordinary Council, and beſides the Lords that were in Town, he ſent for the Lord-Mayor of the City, and the Sheriffs, whom he charg'd to take particular Care of the City, and omit nothing that lay in their Power for the Preſervation of the Peace and Tranquillity of the ſame; ſo that all Things look'd as tho' he had deſign'd to comply with the Prince's Propoſals; and at the Breaking up, the ſame Council was order'd to meet the next Morning, to give their farther Advice upon this Exigency of Affairs. Before they broke up, we are told, That the King under ſome Diſtraction of Mind, amidſt the ſilent Company, earneſtly apply'd himſelf to the Earl of *Bedford*, Father to the executed Lord *Ruſſel*, ſaying, *My Lord, you are a good Man, and have a great Influence, you can do much for me at this Time.* To which the other anſwer'd, *I am an old Man and can do but little*;—then added with a deep Sigh, *I had once a Son that cou'd now have been very ſerviceable to your Majeſty:* Which Word ſtruck the King half dead with Silence and Confuſion. *The King confounded.*

Upon the breaking up of the Council, the King enter'd into a deep Conſult with his *Popiſh* Friends that had reduc'd him to all theſe Difficulties. Theſe were the Men that now at this Exigency, as well as formerly, did him the greateſt Miſchief. They all plainly ſaw, that nothing cou'd ſave his Majeſty in a Free Parliament, but the total Delivering up of *Popery* in the Nation, and the Paſſing ſuch Acts, as ſhou'd be moſt effectual Bars to the Return of it again. Being fill'd with this Proſpect, they, who reſolv'd to ſacrifice their King, and every Thing elſe, rather than ſee their Deſigns blaſted, firſt ſtudy'd to fright the Queen, with the Apprehenſions of ſomewhat diſmal, that ſhe her ſelf, and her Son might expect. They alſo preſs'd the King with the Senſe of the Diſhonour that he muſt ſuſtain in ſubmitting to the hard Terms impos'd upon him: And to both, they did ſo magnify the Power and Zeal of the *French* King, that that unhappy Monarch came to be perſuaded, contrary to his ſolemn Promiſes of a Parliament; That it

was

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was better to fly to *France*, than to remain in his own Kingdom, *and ſubmit*, as they call'd it, *to a Victorious Prince, and an offended Parliament*. In this they ſucceeded ſo effectually, that his Majeſty reſolv'd to hear no more of Propoſals, but to abandon his Subjects, and throw himſelf into the the Arms of the *French* King. But before this, he took Care for the private conveying away his Royal Conſort, and the Prince of *Wales*; which latter had lately been ſent with great Secreſie to *Portſmouth*, but being refus'd Tranſportation by the Lord *Dartmouth*, was now brought back with the ſame Care and Caution. So that their Eſcape now became very difficult, and Father *Orleans* gives us this following Account of it.

The Popiſh Party prevail'd with him.

It was in the Night, between the 9th and 10th of *December*, that the Count *de Lauzan*, being then in the Court of *England*, concerted with the King the Flight of the Queen and the young Prince; and by one of the moſt happy Adventures of his Life, was ſucceſsful in his Undertaking. *Riva* an *Italian* belonging to her Majeſty, and *Labadie*, a *French* Man, Page of the Back-Stairs to the King, both Perſons of experienc'd Fidelity, were order'd to provide all Things neceſſary for their Paſſage, and to convey them from *Whitehall* to a Veſſel prepar'd at *Graveſend*. It was not without much Danger of being ſtop'd and diſcover'd, that a Queen and a Prince, ſcarce five Months old, went out of their Palace at a Time full of Suſpicion, and when the leaſt Cry of the Infant might have broke the beſt concerted Meaſures. However the Queen in Diſguiſe, accompany'd by the Marquiſs of *Powis*, the Marchioneſs his Wife, Governeſs to the Prince, the Counteſs *Dalmon*, and the Wet and Dry-Nurſes, *Montecuculi* and *Turini*, ſtole thro' a Privy-Stairs to the Water-ſide, croſs'd the *Thames* in a dark diſmal Night, ſeverely expos'd to the Wind, Rain, and Roughneſs of the River; and being got on the other ſide, waited near the Walls of a Church, inſulted by the ſtormy Weather, till the Coaches were got ready in the next Inn. The Curioſity of a Man, who at the ſame Time went out of the Inn, and was making towards the Queen with a Light, drove her Majeſty into a Fright; when *Riva* perceiving it, immediately follow'd and joſtled him ſo rudely, that both fell into the Dirt. This was a fortunate Diverſion; for the Man attributing all to an Accident, he and *Riva* begg'd Pardon, and fairly parted. The Queen and her Attendance, being with difficulty arriv'd at *Graveſend*, her Majeſty immediately went on Ship-board; and *Labadie*'s Wife, who was acquainted with the Captain, amus'd him for a while, till the Queen, that paſs'd for an *Italian* Lady and a Traveller into her own Countrey with her Family, was got into the Cabin which had been prepar'd for her. Three *Iriſh* Captains embark'd at the ſame time, being appointed by the King to have an Eye upon the Commander of the Veſſel, in Caſe, upon ſome Suſpicion, he ſhou'd have refus'd to do his Duty. But this Precaution prov'd unneceſſary; for the Veſſel having put to Sea, had a very quick Paſſage, and ſafely landed at *Calais*; from whence her Majeſty went forwards, and met with a generous and Royal Welcome from the *French* King, who us'd all Means to alleviate her Misfortunes.

The Queen flys beyond Sea.

5. Immediately after the Queen's Departure, the King, to cover his Deſigns of following her, gave it out, 'That he wou'd return to the Head 'of his Forces, and fight the Prince of *Orange*;' which however was not very conſonant with ſending Part of the Artillery into the *Tower*. Nevertheleſs that ſame Evening, being *Monday* the 10th of *December*, the Life-Guards were order'd to be ready to attend him to *Uxbridge*. But inſtead of going to the Army, his Majeſty, tho' he knew upon what Terms he might be ſafe, undertook the greateſt Hazards, and took Water at *Whitehall* Privy-Stairs, between Two and Three in the Morning, accompany'd only by Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr. *Sheldon* and *Labadie*, who had juſt before taken Care of

The King retires and flys.

of his Royal Conſort; and this was done without communicating his Deſign to any of his chief *Popiſh* Officers, and not ſo much as to the Lord *Dover* himſelf, tho' formerly his Favourite, with whom he had a long Converſation. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

This Departure was the Concluſion of all the Breaches of Faith in this Reign, particularly that of the Promiſe of a Free Parliament; and what he did at the ſame Time, appear'd to the World a voluntary, open and unforc'd *Deſertion* of the Government, at leaſt as much as was conſiſtent with a ſecret and incompatible Deſire to retain it. The firſt Thing was the Writing of this Letter to his General the Earl of *Feverſham*: 'My Lord, Things 'being come to that Extremity, that I have been forc'd to ſend away the 'Queen, and my Son the Prince of *Wales*, that they might not fall into 'the Enemies Hands, which they muſt have done, if they had ſtay'd; I am 'oblig'd to do the ſame Thing, in Hopes it will pleaſe God, of his infinite 'Mercy to this unhappy Nation, to touch their Hearts again with true 'Loyalty and Honour. If I cou'd have rely'd on all my Troops, I might 'not have been put to the Extremity I am now in; and wou'd at leaſt, have 'had one Blow for it: But tho' I know there are many valiant and brave 'Men among you, both Officers and Soldiers; yet you know, that both 'you, and ſeveral of the General Officers and Soldiers, and Men of the 'Army told Me, *It was no ways adviſable for me to venture my ſelf at 'their Head, or think to fight the Prince of* Orange *with them.* And 'now there remains only for Me to thank You, and all Thoſe, both Offi'cers and Soldiers, who have ſtuck to Me, and been truly *Loyal:* I hope 'you will ſtill retain the ſame *Fidelity* to Me. And tho' I do not expect 'you ſhou'd expoſe your ſelves, by reſiſting a Foreign Army, and a poy'ſon'd Nation; yet I hope your former Principles are ſo inrooted in you, 'that you will keep your ſelves free from *Aſſociations*, and ſuch pernicious 'Things. Time preſſeth, ſo that I can add no more JAMES REX. *His Letter to the Earl of* Feverſham.

The ſecond Thing the King did, was the ordering all thoſe *Writs* to be burnt that were not ſent out for the Calling of the Parliament, and entering a *Caveat* againſt making uſe of thoſe few that were already ſent out. The laſt Thing, when he left *Whitehall*, and took Water, he threw the Great Seal into the *Thames*, where it was ſhortly found by a Fiſher-man; which laſt was interpreted as a Reſolution to govern no more by Law, if he ſhou'd return, but by the Sword. Thus in a Moment was an Army in effect disbanded without Money, Parliament *Writs* deſtroy'd, and the Broad-Seal thrown away; ſo that the Nation became like Sheep without a Shepherd: And if ever there was a real Deſertion of a Kingdom; and ever a People were left at Liberty to take Care of themſelves, this was the Seaſon. All that the King did afterwards, was not to be compared to this, no otherwiſe than it was a Confirmation or Re-iteration of the ſame Thing. *Parliament* Writs *burnt; and Broad-Seal thrown into the* Thames.

Rohun. Boyer. Jones. Complete Hiſtory. &c.

IV. 1. From the 11th of *December* we are to date the great Turn in the Nation, which happen'd but Five Weeks after the Landing of the Prince of *Orange*, and which gave his Highneſs an open and clear Field to range in. Upon the Noiſe of the King's Departure, upon the 11th in the Morning, all the City were in Amazement, and immediately fill'd with Surprize, Wonder and Conjectures: Some were terrify'd with the Proſpect of Anarchy, that ſeem'd to threaten the City; but moſt caſt their Eyes towards the Prince of *Orange*, and with that Effect, that in a few Hours, there was an Appearance of Government, and a Regular Adminiſtration. The Duke of *Northumberland* went immediately to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, to acquaint him with his Deſign of going over to the Prince; but the Earl adviſ'd him to ſave himſelf that Trouble, and rather to aſſemble his Troop of Guards, and declare for his Highneſs, which accordingly he did. The *The Care in the City.*

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Marquiſs of *Miremont* follow'd his Example, and turn'd all the *Papiſts* out of his Regiment of Horſe. And the other principal Officers of the Army about the Town met at *White-Hall*, and ſent an Expreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with the King's going away, and to aſſure his Highneſs, 'That they wou'd aſſiſt the Lord Mayor to keep the City quiet 'till his Arrival there.

The Lords in Town meet at Guild-Hall.

But the main Step towards an Eſtabliſhment, was the unanimous Aſſembly of about thirty Lords Spiritual and Temporal, then in and about the Town, namely, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*; the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Dorſet*, *Mulgrave*, *Thanet*, *Carliſle*, *Craven*, *Aleſbury*, *Burlington*, *Berkley* and *Rocheſter*; Viſcounts *Newport* and *Weymouth*; and the Lords *Wharton*, *North* and *Grey*, *Chandois*, *Mountague*, *Jermyn*, *Vaughan*, *Carbery*, *Colepeper*, *Crewe* and *Oſulſton*. Theſe all ſolemnly met at *Guild-Hall*, and ſending for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City, who readily attended, they made this memorable *Declaration:* 'We 'doubt not but the World believes that in this great and dangerous Con- 'junCture, we are heartily and zealouſly concern'd for the *Proteſtant Reli- 'gion*, the *Laws* of the *Land*, and the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the 'Subject. And we did reaſonably hope, that the King having iſſu'd out his '*Proclamation* and *Writs* for a *Free Parliament*, we might have reſted 'ſecure under the Expectation of that Meeting: But his Majeſty having 'withdrawn himſelf, and, as we apprehend, in order to his Departure out 'of this Kingdom, by the pernicious Counſels of Perſons ill-affected to our 'Nation and Religion, we cannot, without being wanting to our Duty, be 'ſilent under theſe Calamities, wherein the *Popiſh* Counſels, which ſo long 'prevail'd, have miſerably involv'd theſe Realms. We do therefore unani- 'mouſly reſolve to apply our ſelves to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, 'who with ſo great Kindneſs to theſe Kingdoms, ſuch vaſt Expence, and 'ſo much Hazard to his own Perſon, has undertaken, by endeavouring to 'procure a *Free Parliament* to reſcue us, with as little Effuſion, as poſ- 'ſible, of Chriſtian Blood, from the imminent Dangers of *Slavery* and '*Popery*.

Their Declaration.

'And we do hereby *declare*, That we will with our utmoſt Endeavours, 'aſſiſt his Highneſs in the obtaining ſuch a Parliament with all ſpeed, 'wherein our *Laws*, our *Liberties* and *Properties* may be ſecured, and 'the Church of *England* in particular, with a due *Liberty* to *Proteſtant 'Diſſenters*; and in general, that the *Proteſtant Religion* and *Intereſt* over 'the whole World may be ſupported and encourag'd, to the Glory of God, 'the Happineſs of the Eſtabliſh'd Government in theſe Kingdoms, and the 'Advantage of all Princes and States in *Chriſtendom*, that may be herein 'concern'd. In the mean time we will endeavour to preſerve, as much as in 'us lies, the Peace and Security of theſe great and populous Cities of *Lon- 'don* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Parts adjacent, by taking care to diſarm 'all *Papiſts*, and ſecure all *Jeſuits* and *Romiſh Prieſts*, who are in or a- 'bout the ſame. And if there be any thing more to be perform'd by us, 'for promoting his Highneſs's generous Intentions for the Publick Good, we 'ſhall be ready to do it, as Occaſion ſhall require.

Which they ſent to the Prince.

This encouraging *Declaration* being ſubſcrib'd by all the above mention'd Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Viſcount *Weymouth*, the Biſhop of *Ely* and the Lord *Colepeper*, were deſired by the reſt immediately to go and attend his Highneſs with it; and at the ſame time to acquaint him, among other things they had farther done at that Meeting, 'That having ſent for Colonel *Skelton*, then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, they 'had demanded the Keys of him, which he willingly reſigning, they had 'beſtow'd the Government of that Fortreſs upon the Lord *Lucas*, a Perſon

'of

'of unqueſtion'd Honour, and a ſincere Lover of his Countrey.' Which Choice was afterwards confirm'd by the Prince of *Orange*. 1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

2. As ſoon as the Lords had thus led the Way, the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, immediately drew up this remarkable Addreſs to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*: 'We taking into 'Conſideration your Highneſs's fervent Zeal for the *Proteſtant Religion*, 'manifeſted to the World in your many hazardous Enterprizes, wherein it 'hath pleas'd Almighty God to bleſs you with miraculous Succeſs, do ren- 'der our deepeſt Thanks to the Divine Majeſty for the ſame, and beg leave 'to preſent our moſt humble Thanks to your Highneſs, particularly for your 'appearing in Arms in this Kingdom, to carry on and perfect your glori- 'ous Deſigns to reſcue three Kingdoms from *Slavery* and *Popery*, and in a '*Free Parliament* to eſtabliſh the *Religion*, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* 'of theſe Kingdoms upon a ſure and laſting Foundation. We have hither- 'to look'd for ſome Remedy for thoſe Oppreſſions and imminent Dangers, 'which we, together with our *Proteſtant* Fellow-Subjects, laboured under, 'from his Majeſty's Conceſſions and Concurrences with your Highneſs's juſt 'and pious Purpoſe expreſs'd in your Gracious *Declaration*. But herein 'finding our ſelves finally diſappointed by his Majeſty's Withdrawing him- 'ſelf, we preſume to make your Highneſs our *Refuge*; and do in the Name 'of this Capital City, implore your Highneſs's *Protection*, and moſt hum- 'bly beſeech your Highneſs to repair to this City, where your Highneſs 'will be receiv'd with univerſal Joy and Satisfaction.' This Addreſs, being ſoon approv'd and ſign'd, four Aldermen and eight Commoners were appointed to attend his Highneſs with it.

The Addreſs from the City of London.

This Example was immediately follow'd the ſame Day by another Addreſs from the Lieutenancy of the City of *London*, in theſe Terms; 'We 'can never ſufficiently expreſs the deep Senſe we have conceiv'd, and ſhall 'ever retain in our Hearts, that your Highneſs has expos'd your Perſon to 'ſo many Dangers by Sea and Land, for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* '*Religion*, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of this Kingdom, without which 'unparallel'd Undertaking, we muſt probably have ſuffer'd all the Miſeries 'that *Popery* and *Slavery* cou'd have brought upon us. We have been 'greatly concern'd, that before this time we had not any ſeaſonable Oppor- 'tunity to give your Highneſs and the World a real Teſtimony, that it has 'been our firm Reſolution, to venture all that is dear to us, to attain thoſe 'glorious Ends, which your Highneſs has propos'd for Reſtoring and Set- 'tling theſe diſtracted Nations. We therefore now unanimouſly preſent to 'your Highneſs our juſt and due Acknowledgments, for that happy Relief 'you have brought to us: And that we may not be wanting in this preſent 'Conjuncture, we have put our ſelves into ſuch a Poſture, that, by the 'Bleſſing of God, we may be capable to prevent all ill Deſigns, and to pre- 'ſerve this City in Peace and Safety, till your Highneſs's happy Arrival. 'We therefore humbly deſire, that your Highneſs will pleaſe to repair to 'this City with that convenient Speed you can, for perfecting the great 'Work which your Highneſs has ſo happily begun, to the general Joy and 'Satisfaction of us all.' This Addreſs was carry'd by Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*, and *Charles Duncomb*, Eſq; and upon this Occaſion Mr. *Duncomb* very generouſly offer'd his Purſe to his Highneſs, for which ſeaſonable Piece of Service, he was afterwards remember'd with diſtinguiſhing Favours.

Another from the Lieutenancy of London.

3. Tho' the *Militia* of *London* and *Weſtminſter* were immediately up in Arms, both to prevent dangerous Deſigns from *Roman Catholicks*, and to preſerve thoſe great Cities in Peace and Safety till the Arrival of the Prince

Inſurrection of the Mob.

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of *Orange*; nevertheleſs both were alarm'd and terrify'd with the ſudden Eruptions of the Mob, that Scum of a Nation that naturally ſubſides in a Calm, and as readily mounts in a Storm. And as the *Papiſts* were the chief Occaſions of the preſent Diſtractions, ſo they now became the principal Sufferers. The new-erected *Maſs-Houſes*, both in the City and Suburbs, were outragiouſly pull'd down and deſtroy'd, and the Materials burnt with the moſt riotous Acclamations, while common Rogues mixing with the leſs deſigning Apprentices, took Opportunity to rifle and plunder many Houſes, particularly thoſe of the *Spaniſh* and *Florentine* Embaſſadors; in the firſt of which, the beſt Effects of numerous *Roman Catholicks*, and even the Holy Utenſils of the Royal Chapels were depoſited, as it were in an *Aſylum*. All that the Mob cou'd not carry away, or the Value of which they did not underſtand, was committed to the Flames; and among the reſt, a very fine Library, with ſeveral curious Manuſcripts. This Accident was the more ſurprizing, becauſe of all the Foreign Miniſters, *Don Pedro de Ronquillo* was moſt belov'd by the People, which caus'd ſeveral odd Conjectures about it, being afterwards largely recompens'd by the ſucceeding Parliament for the Loſſes he ſuſtain'd in this time of Confuſion. The *French* Embaſſador's Houſe and Chapel were accidentally preſerv'd by the Neighbourhood of ſome Noble-Men, who had caus'd their Houſes to be very well guarded; and the Reſident of *Venice* was luckily ſecured by a Detachment of Soldiers. But the King's Printing-Houſe, under *Henry Hills* the Maſter, ſuffer'd very great Damage; and all the Paper that was found in it, whether printed or not, was turn'd into one large Bone-Fire.

Chancellor Jeffreys's *Commitment,*

In the midſt of theſe Irruptions, which ſoon infected the other Parts of the Nation with ungovern'd Fury, the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, who was generally believ'd to have been gone with the King, having diſguis'd himſelf in a Sea-Man's Habit and Houſe at *Wapping*, in order to eſcape to *Hambourgh*, was diſcover'd, as he was looking out of a Window, by a Clerk in *Chancery*, that accidentally paſt that Way. Whereupon he was immediately apprehended, as the moſt obnoxious of all the *Proteſtant* Miniſters, and after a fair Deliverance from the enrag'd Mob, he was carry'd before Sir *John Chapman* the Lord-Mayor, in a ſtrange Diſguiſe, far different from his former Habit: And by reaſon of the Lord-Mayor's Illneſs, who for that reaſon declin'd meddling with him, he offer'd to go to the *Tower*, to be out of the Hands of the Rabble, who threatned the utmoſt Revenge and Retaliation, and particularly by Whips and Halters: But having a Guard of Train'd-Bands to conduct him, he got ſafe thither; and ſoon after was charg'd in Cuſtody by a Warrant of Commitment from the Lords at *White-Hall*, where he continu'd a few Months under great Affliction and Indiſpoſition, and then dy'd, before he had Opportunity to diſcover ſome *Arcana Imperii*, which by his own Offers the World expected from him. It is generally reported that he ſhortned his Days, and in a manner diſpatch'd himſelf by hard Drinking of the moſt ſpiritous Liquors; but I have been aſſur'd to the contrary by a very credible Perſon, who was often with him in his Confinement, who ſaid that the Stone was the only bodily Diſtemper that kill'd him; and farther added, that his Lordſhip very much complain'd of the repeated Advice of a Reverend Prelate, who incited him to go thoſe Lengths with him in the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, and then by Innuendoes publickly charg'd it upon him. As to the Character of this remarkable Chancellor, that ſhall be given in the next Volume of this Hiſtory, if we meet with ſuitable Encouragement to venture on the next Reign.

And Death.

The Earl of Feverſham *diſbands his Forces.*

4. What added ſtill to the Diſtraction of the Times was the ſudden Diſbanding of ſuch great Numbers of the King's Forces: For the Earl of *Feverſham*, and the other general Officers, who had follow'd him to *Uxbridge*, to

to attend the King's Coming, ſoon receiv'd his Majeſty's Letter formerly mention'd; and this he read aloud to the Troops, which drew Tears from moſt of them. Thereupon they held a Council of War, and concluded from that Letter, 'That ſince the King did not expect they ſhou'd reſiſt a Foreign 'Army, his Intention was, that the reſt of the Army ſhou'd be Disbanded;' And accordingly four thouſand Men the Earl had with him, were immediately diſmiſs'd. After which he ſent the following Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, ſubſcrib'd by himſelf, and by three General Officers: '*Sir*, Ha- *His Letter to the Prince.* 'ving receiv'd this Morning a Letter from his Majeſty, with the unfortu- 'nate News of his Reſolution to go out of *England*, I thought my ſelf 'oblig'd, being at the Head of his Army, and having receiv'd his Orders 'to make no Oppoſition againſt any Body, to let your Highneſs know it, 'with the Advice of the Officers here, ſo ſoon as was poſſible, to hinder 'the Effuſion of Blood. I have order'd already to that Purpoſe all the 'Troops that are under my Command, which ſhall be the laſt Order they 'ſhall receive from *Feverſham*, *Lanier*, *Fenwick*, *Oglethorp*.' The Trumpeter the Earl of *Feverſham* had diſpatch'd with his Letter, return'd without an Anſwer, which was interpreted as if his Highneſs did not approve his Conduct in this critical Juncture; and indeed moſt of the Lords in *London* blam'd that General for Disbanding the Army in ſo haſty a Manner, without, at leaſt, the Advice of the Peers of the Realm, if he thought it too much to wait for his Highneſs's Directions.

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This Cenſure was aggravated, and almoſt confirm'd by what had happen'd the very next Day; a prodigious Pannick Fear that alarm'd and confounded the City and Countrey after an unheard Manner: It ſeems, ſome *A general Conſternation.* Countrey-Fellows arriving towards Midnight at *Weſtminſter*, caus'd a ſudden Tumult and Uproar, by Reporting, 'That the *Iriſh* were up, and in 'a deſperate Rage, were approaching *London*, firing of Houſes, and put- 'ting Man, Woman and Child to the Sword.' This ſtrange Report and Outcry ſo gather'd, as it went along, that in a few Moments, not only the Train'd-Bands and Diſciplin'd Troops appear'd in Arms, but every Body leaving their Beds in a hurry, plac'd Lights in their Windows, and with half their Cloaths on betook themſelves, the moſt Fearful to Flight, the moſt Reſolute to their Weapons. And what is more ſtrange and ſurprizing, is, that this falſe Alarm the ſame Night flew like Wild fire, and with the ſame Effects, to all the Chief Places in the Kingdom; and all that were able to bear Arms, vow'd the Defence of their Lives, Laws and Liberties, and ſtood reſolv'd to deſtroy all the *Iriſh* and *Papiſts* in *England*, in caſe any Injury were offer'd them. There were many Opinions concerning the Cauſe of this general Fright; ſome ſay it was occaſion'd by ſeven or eight *Iriſh* Soldiers, who having no Money, reſolv'd to keep themſelves from ſtarving, by forcibly entering into a Countrey Houſe; and that whilſt they were Cuffing with thoſe that wou'd have thruſt them out, a poor Cottage happen'd to take Fire, whereupon all the neighbouring Towns and Villages rang their Alarm Bells, which increas'd and echo'd in all Parts. Some Politicians aſſign'd another Cauſe of this univerſal Terror, and ſaid it was a deep Project and Stratagem laid by the Duke of *Scomberg*, both to feel the Pulſe of the Nation, and to inſpire them with Reſentment againſt the *Popiſh* Party, by letting them ſee to what Dangers they were reduc'd by bringing *Iriſh* Troops into the Kingdom. It ſeems moſt probable that it proceeded chiefly from the real Inſolence of the *Iriſh*, and the ſudden Disbanding the Army. However it was, that Night afterwards obtain'd the Name of the *Iriſh-Night*; and may ſerve to ſhew, that when a Nation is once well heated, every little Accident will throw it into a Flame.

In the mean time, the Prince of *Orange*, being advanc'd as far as *Henly*, with the greateſt Part of his Army, and finding the King's Troops, now without

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A new Declaration *of the Prince.*

without a Head, and in want of Subſiſtence, to prevent many Diſorders, he iſſu'd out this ſhort *Declaration*, 'Whereas we are inform'd, That divers 'Regiments, Troops and Companies have been encourag'd to diſperſe themſelves in an unuſual and unwarrantable manner; whereby the Publick Peace 'is very much diſturb'd; we have thought fit hereby to require all Colonels and Commanders in Chief of ſuch Regiments, Troops and Companies, by Beat of Drum, or otherwiſe, to call together the ſeveral Officers 'and Soldiers belonging to their reſpective Regiments, Troops and Companies, in ſuch Places as they ſhall find moſt convenient for their Rendezvous, 'and there to keep them in good Order and Diſcipline. And we do likewiſe direct and require all ſuch Officers and Soldiers forthwith to repair to ſuch Places as ſhall be appointed for that Purpoſe, by the reſpective Colonels and Commanders in Chief, whereof ſpecial Notice is to be 'given unto us for our further Orders.' At the very ſame time the Prince ſent a Letter to the Earl of *Danby*, to deſire his Lordſhip to come to him, and order'd Mr. *Blaithwait* Secretary of War, to bring him an Account of the King's Forces. He alſo diſpatch'd the Lord *Churchill* to *London*, to re-aſſemble his Troop of Horſe-Guards, and directed the Duke of *Grafton* to go and take Poſſeſſion of *Tilbury-Fort* with his Regiment of Foot-Guards.

The Lords Orders.

Immediately after, the Peers and Privy-Council, upon the *Iriſh* Alarm, and in purſuance of the Prince's Directions, made this *Order*, 'We the Peers 'of the Realm, aſſembled with ſome of the Lords of the Privy-Council, do 'hereby require all *Iriſh* Officers and Soldiers to repair forthwith to their 'reſpective Bodies to which they do or did lately belong; and do hereby 'declare, that behaving themſelves peaceably, they ſhall have Subſiſtence 'paid them, till they ſhall be otherwiſe provided for or employ'd. And 'the ſaid Officers and Soldiers are to deliver up their Arms to ſome of the 'Officers of the *Ordnance*, who are to depoſite the ſame in their Stores 'in the *Tower* of *London*. And we do require and command all Juſtices 'of the Peace, Conſtables and other Officers, whom it may concern, That 'they apprehend and ſeize all ſuch Soldiers as ſhall not repair to their reſpective Bodies, and that they be dealt with as *Vagabonds*.' Signed *Tho. Ebor. North* and *Grey*, *N. Dunelm*, *Nottingham*, *Dorſet*, *Halliſax*, *J. Trevor*, *P. Winton*, *Rocheſter*, *Craven*, *Carliſle*, *J. Titus*.

The King's private Journey.

5. All theſe Matters were tranſacted upon a Suppoſition that the King had actually left the Nation; but it ſoon appear'd to be otherwiſe. For ſo it happen'd that his Majeſty with his three Followers, having croſs'd the *Thames* at *White-Hall*, went by Land as far as a certain Place near *Feverſham*, where he embark'd in a ſmall Veſſel that was to carry him to a Frigate, commanded by *Mackdonnel*, a faithful and ſtout *Iriſh* Captain, who waited for his Majeſty at *Margate*. The Weather was ſtormy, and the Veſſel wanted Ballaſt; and while the Seamen were buſy in bringing it in, Sir *Edward Hales*, one of the Three, ſent his Footman to the *Poſt-Office* at *Feverſham*: A Gunner belonging to *Dover* Caſtle, whom Sir *Edward* had formerly caſhier'd, immediately knew the Footman by his Livery; and dogging him to the River-ſide, he ſaw him make Signs to ſome People on Board a Bark. Hereupon he got together the Fiſhermen, Seamen, and other Free-Booters of that Place, who at this time took upon themſelves to ſearch all Ships that went by, and to rob all Paſſengers whom they ſuſpected to be Prieſts, aſſuring them of a good Booty in that Bark where Sir *Edward Hales* muſt needs be. Encourag'd with this Proſpect, they immediately boarded the Veſſel, and meeting firſt with Sir *Edward*, their Joy was extraordinary, he being equally well known, and much hated in that Country; as for the King, who was in a plain Suit, and a Bob-Wig, they took him

him for a *Popiſh* Prieſt, and *Hales*'s Chaplain, for which Reaſon they put many groſs Indignities upon him; and ſearching him they found four Hundred Guineas, ſeveral valuable Seals, and other Jewels about him, all which they took from him. But ſeveral other People crouding into the Veſſel, there was among the reſt a Conſtable who knew the King's Face, and fell preſently at his Feet, and begging his Majeſty to forgive the Rudeneſs of the Mob, and commanding the Fellows to return what they had taken from him. But the King wou'd only receive his Jewels, and gave the Gold among them; and then his Majeſty told the Conſtable, *He hop'd he wou'd uſe him well*; and when he ſaw every one paying the Reſpect due to him, he earneſtly endeavour'd to be gone. But the People brought him by a ſort of Force to a publick Inn in the Town; from whence his Majeſty ſent for the Earl of *Winchelſea*, whom he made Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of *Dover* Caſtle, who prevail'd with his Majeſty not to leave the Kingdom, but to return towards *London*.

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He is ſtopt and abus'd at Feverſham.

This ſtrange Adventure had various Effects upon the Prince of *Orange*, and the City of *London:* The former ſeems to have deſir'd that the King ſhou'd not have been ſtopt, nor brought back, and the latter appear'd fill'd with a joyful Surprize; moſt People there being glad of an Opportunity to convince the King, *That there was never any ill Deſign againſt his Perſon.* As for the Peers and Privy-Council, they were likewiſe variouſly affected by this News, more eſpecially by Reaſon of the Advance they had made to the Prince of *Orange*; however, after ſome Debates, they appointed four of their Members, namely, the Earls of *Middleton*, *Ailesbury*, *Yarmouth* and *Feverſham*, to wait upon his Majeſty, and to invite him to his Palace at *White-Hall*; to which, tho' at firſt he ſhew'd ſome Reluctance, yet at laſt he condeſcended. The Peers alſo diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Prince of *Orange* to acquaint him that the King was ſtill in *England*; at which time his Highneſs came to *Windſor*, and lodg'd in the Prince of *Denmark*'s Apartment, which was prepar'd and made ready for his Reception. As his Highneſs was much ſurpriz'd, ſo it is eaſy to believe that he was not very well pleas'd to meet with new Obſtructions, when his Affairs neceſſarily call'd him to *London*. Therefore after a long Conſultation with the Chief of the Nobility and Gentry about him, he diſpatch'd Monſieur *Zuyleſtein* to the King, to deſire him to continue at *Rocheſter:* But this Expreſs miſſing his Way, his Majeſty left that Place on *Sunday* Morning, the 16th of *December*, and about four in the Afternoon enter'd the City of *London*, as it were, in Triumph, and went to *White-Hall*, attended by ſeveral Noblemen, and a great Number of Guards, while Multitudes of People, that crouded to ſee him, welcom'd his Return with their loud Acclamations: And the Night concluded with the Ringing of Bells, Illuminations, Bonefires, and other ſuch like Demonſtrations of Joy and Satisfaction.

He is invited to London.

His triumphant Return.

Bohun. Burnet. Boyer. Wood. Pope. Collier. &c.

V. 1. We are now to conſider King *James* as, in a Manner, re-inſtated on his Throne, and in new Poſſeſſion of his Royal Palace, which he had ſo inglorioufly deſerted. The firſt Thing he did, which was the laſt publick Act of his Regal Authority, was the iſſuing out the following Order of Council, with the Conjunction of eight Privy-Counſellors: 'His Ma-'jeſty being given to underſtand, That divers Outrages and Diſorders are 'committed in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, by Burning, Pulling down, 'and otherwiſe Defacing Houſes, and other Buildings, and Rifling and 'Plundering the ſame, to the great Terror of his Majeſty's Subjects, and 'manifeſt Breach of the Peace; his Majeſty in Council is pleas'd to direct 'and command all Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Juſtices of the 'Peace, Mayors, Conſtables and all other Officers, whom it may concern, 'to

The King's laſt Publick Act.

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'to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours for the preventing ſuch Outrages and Diſ-
'orders for the future, and for the ſuppreſſing all riotous and tumultuous
'Meetings and Aſſemblies whatſoever.' This Order was ſign'd by the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Craven*, *Berkley* and *Middleton*, the Lords *Preſton* and *Godolphin*, the Maſter of the *Rolls*, and Mr. *Titus*. It was obſerv'd, that ſufficient Care had been taken for this by the Privy-Council before; and his ſhewing his Zeal for the *Popiſh* Party in his firſt Act after his Return, look'd as tho' he had come back only to ſerve them. And during the ſhort Time he ſtaid at *White-Hall*, the Place was crowded with *Iriſh* Men, Prieſts, *Jeſuits* and *Roman Catholicks*, after the former Manner; and one of the Prieſts ſent an imperious Meſſage to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, the Lord Chamberlain, to ſupply his Lodgings with new Furniture, *for he meant to continue in them.* And the King alſo immediately diſcharg'd *Leiburn*, a *Popiſh* Biſhop, out of *Newgate*; ſo that all Things were apparently returning into the old Chanel. Inſomuch that ſome that wiſh'd well to the King, ſaid, *He was cunningly invited back to* White-Hall, *with a Deſign to ruine him more effectually, and extinguiſh the remaining Pity of his* Proteſtant *Subjects.*

He ſends an Invitation to the Prince.

Still the King wou'd gladly have come to ſome Terms with the Prince of *Orange*, who had now the chief Power in his own Hands; therefore in his Journey to *London* his Majeſty diſpatch'd the Earl of *Feverſham* with a Letter to the Prince, kindly to invite him to the Palace at St. *James*'s, 'with what Number of Guards and Troops his Highneſs ſhou'd think con-
'venient to bring along with him, that they might amicably and perſonal-
'ly confer together about the Means of Redreſſing the Publick Grievances.'

His Meſſenger is ſeiz'd.

The Earl having deliver'd his Meſſage to the Prince, he was not a little ſurpriz'd, when inſtead of an Anſwer, Monſieur *Bentinck* demanded his Sword, being order'd by his Highneſs to ſecure him upon the Account of his late precipitate Disbanding the Army; or, as it was ſurmiz'd, becauſe having a great Influence upon the King, he might have puſh'd his Majeſty upon ſome bold Attempt that might have broke thoſe Meaſures, which the Prince and his Adherents had concerted for the Security of the Nation. Tho' his Highneſs did not approve of the Invitation, yet he wholly referr'd the Conſideration of the King's Letter to all the Lords about him: Upon a Debate their Opinion was, 'That the Royal Palace of *White-Hall* being
'ſtill crowded with *Iriſh Papiſts*, *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, his Highneſs cou'd
'not with Eaſe and Safety remain at St. *James*'s, where he muſt neceſſarily
'go the next Day, without his Majeſty, and his *Popiſh* Guards, were re-
'mov'd within a reaſonable Diſtance from *London*.' They were likewiſe provok'd by this Accident that happen'd two or three Days before: The Duke of *Grafton* marching through the *Strand*, at the Head of a Regiment, to take *Tilbury*-Fort out of the Hands of the *Iriſh*, an *Iriſh* Trooper came riding up to him, and drew a Piſtol againſt him; for which he was ſhot dead upon the Place: And they thought it was not improbable, but there were more of the ſame Temper. In the Debate, ſome of the Lords, afterwards of a contrary Intereſt, adviſ'd the ſending the King a Priſoner over to *Holland*, and the keeping him in the Caſtle of *Breda*, till the War both in *England* and *Ireland* was at an End. To which the Prince made this generous Anſwer, *That tho' he cou'd appear againſt the King at the Head of an Army in this Quarrel; yet now that he had him in his Power, he cou'd not put him under any Reſtraint; and he knew the Princeſs cou'd never enjoy herſelf, if any ſuch thing were done:* And rejected theſe Suggeſtions with Indignation, and with Averſion to thoſe who made them. However, ſeveral Places being propos'd for the Removal, in Concluſion *Ham*, a Houſe belonging to the Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*, was fix'd upon; and, by the Lords Advice, his Highneſs ſubſcrib'd a Paper in theſe Words;

The Prince refuſes to ſeize the King.

Words; 'We desire You, the Lord Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the Earl of 1688.
'*Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, to tell the King, That it is thought
'convenient, for the great Quiet of the City, and the great Safety of his Jac. 4.
'Person, that he do remove to *Ham*, where he shall be attended by his
'Guards, who will be ready to preserve him from any Disturbances, *W.* Rel. 29
'*H. P. de Orange.*

But orders his Removal.

The King was very soon inform'd of the Confinement of the Earl of *Feversham*, his Messenger, which he look'd upon as against the Law of Nations; and therefore was the more fill'd with Perplexity and Irresolution. Yet the next Morning he sent the Earl of *Mulgrave* to complement the Prince of *Orange*, who by that Time was come as near as *Sion House*. His Highness's Guards being approach'd nearer, even to *Kensington* and *Chelsea*, were order'd to quarter there that Night; but upon the last Determination from the Prince in Council, they soon after receiv'd fresh Orders to march, and take possession of all the Posts about *White-Hall* and St. *James*'s, either by Persuasions, or open Force. Count *Solms*, who commanded these Troops, being come for that purpose, about nine a Clock at Night his Majesty sent for him, and earnestly desired of him, *If it cou'd be, to let him have his own Guard at* White-Hall *only for that Night*; but the Count alledging his positive Orders to *Relieve all the Posts*, the King answer'd, *Do your Office*. At Ten, an Hour after, the *Dutch* Blew Guards enter'd into St. *James*'s House; and towards Eleven, those who were order'd to *White-Hall*, mov'd thither through the *Park*. The Lord *Craven*, who was directed by the Prince to order the King's Guards to retire from their Posts upon the first Approach of his Highness's Troops, supposing this was not to be executed till the next Day, had given no Orders to that purpose; and the *English* seeming very unwilling to dislodge, the *Dutch* Guards march'd up to them with lighted Match, and in Order of Battel. This gave the Apprehension of a bloody Encounter; but at last the King's Guards were prevail'd upon to retire and march off. This Proceeding having been severely censur'd both by King *James* and his Friends, as undutiful and inhuman from a Nephew and a Son-in-law, we shall deliver the Sense of a curious Observer, which perhaps comes nearer the Truth. He tells us, That the Prince never shew'd his Clemency, or indeed his Tenderness for King *James*, more than upon this Occasion. The Prince was under an unavoidable Necessity of Entering *London* the next Day: The Troops that he commanded, and wou'd in all probability have taken Possession of *White-Hall*, were Foreigners, of a different Language and Temper, and such as might have offer'd Violence to the Person of that Monarch, notwithstanding their Orders to the contrary. But allowing that the Prince had detach'd for that Service the *Scotch* and *English*, which bore his Colours, still the Hazards of King *James* wou'd have been the greater: Several of those Officers had serv'd in *Ireland* under the King, and had been broke of their Commissions purely for being *Protestants*; and others had quitted *England* or *Ireland* to find a Liberty of their Religion abroad, which they found in so much Danger at home; in which Number were Major-General *Mackay*. Another Party were personally disgusted at the King, as *Tolmash* and *Cutts*, and many more of Quality and Distinction. Therefore to have commanded those to guard their old Master, against whom they had, or pretended to have so many Causes of Dissatisfaction, wou'd have been Madness in any Person who intended or design'd that Monarch shou'd live till cut off by the Course of Nature; which was the visible Design of the Prince of *Orange* with respect to his Uncle and Father-in-law. But to proceed,

The Dutch *Guards take Possession of* White-Hall.

Censures upon it.

The *Dutch* having thus got Possession of *White-Hall*, the three Lords, *Hallifax*, *Shrewsbury* and *Delamere* sent a Note to Secretary *Middleton*, to inform him, 'That there was a Message to be deliver'd to his Majesty

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The King receives the Prince's Orders at Night.

'from the Prince, which was of so great Importance, that they, who were 'charg'd with it, desired they might be immediately admitted; and there-'fore desired to know where they might find his Lordship, that he might 'introduce them.' It was then about One in the Morning, when the poor Monarch, distress'd, and over-burthen'd with Cares, was gone to rest, when the Lords were introduc'd and admitted to his Bed-side. After a short Apology *for breaking in upon his Majesty's Repose at so unseasonable an Hour*, they deliver'd to him the Prince's Paper, which the King read, and said, *He wou'd comply with it.* Whereupon their Lordships humbly desired, 'That he wou'd remove so early in the Morning, as to be at *Ham* by Noon, 'to prevent Meeting with the Prince in his Way to *London*, where he 'was to come the same Day.' His Majesty likewise readily yielded to this, and movingly ask'd, *Whether he might not appoint what Servants shou'd attend him?* To which the Lords reply'd, *That it was left to him to give Order in that as he pleas'd*; and so took their Leave of his Majesty. The King, under new Difficulties and Irresolutions, as soon as they were gone as far as the *Privy-Chamber*, sent for them again, and told them, *He had forgot to acquaint them with his Resolutions before the Message came, to send the Lord* Godolphin *next Morning to the Prince, to propose his going back to* Rochester; *he finding by the Message Monsieur* Zuilestein *was charg'd with, That the Prince had no Mind he shou'd be at* London; *and therefore he now desir'd he might rather return to* Rochester, *than go to any other Place.* The Lord's promis'd him, *That they wou'd immediately acquaint the Prince with his Majesty's Desire, not doubting of such an Answer, as wou'd be to his Majesty's Satisfaction*; and so a second Time took their Leaves.

This Request was immediately communicated to the Prince, who reasonably imagining the King's Design of leaving the Kingdom, order'd Monsieur *Bentinck* to write a Letter, which came before eight a Clock next Morning, agreeing to his Majesty's Proposals of going to *Rochester*. His Majesty was desirous that some of his own Guards might attend him, and one of his own Coaches to convey him to *Rochester*, declaring, *He cou'd not travel by Water in so cold a Season against Wind and Tide, without greatly endangering his Health.* But however it was, the King took a formal Leave of the Lords, the Embassador of *Spain*, and other Persons of Note there present, in such an affecting Manner, that many of them melted into Tears, and then took a Barge, attended by the Earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran* and *Dumbarton*, six of his Yeoman of the Guard, and about an hundred of the *Dutch* Guards, and arriv'd about nine a Clock at Night at *Gravesend*; where he met with some Troops of Horse of the same Countrey, which, the next Day guarded him by Land to *Rochester*, the Place he desired.

He retires to Rochester.

The Prince arrives at St. James's.

2. And now the Prince of *Orange*, having a clear Stage, took this favourable Opportunity to make his first Appearance in *London*; and about three in the Afternoon, the same Day that the King left *White-Hall*, his Highness, with a magnificent Equipage, and a noble and numerous Retinue, arriv'd at St. *James*'s, where he receiv'd the Congratulations of all the Nobility, and other Persons of the highest Quality in the Town; not to mention the mighty Triumphs of the Multitude, who now turn'd all their Pity for King *James* into Joy for their Deliverer. Two Days after, the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London* attended his Highness upon the same Account; and the Lord-Mayor being ill, Sir *George Treby*, their Recorder, made this memorable Speech, '*May it please your* '*Highness*, The Lord-Mayor being disabled by Sickness, your Highness is at-'tended by the Aldermen and Commons of the Capital City of this King-'dom,

Sir George Treby's *Speech to him.*

'dom, deputed to congratulate your Highneſs upon this great and glorious 1688.
'Occaſion. In which, labouring for Words, we cannot but come ſhort in
'Expreſſion: Reviewing our late Danger, we remember our Church and Jac. 4.
'State over-run by *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and brought to the Point
'of Deſtruction, by the Conduct of Men, who were our true *Invaders*; Reſ. 29
'that broke the Sacred Fences of our *Laws*, and, which was worſt, the
'very Conſtitution of our *Legiſlature*: So that there was no Remedy left
'but the Laſt. The only Perſon, under Heaven, that cou'd apply this Re-
'medy, was your Highneſs. You are of a Nation, whoſe Alliance in all
'Times, has been agreeable and proſperous to us. You are of a Family
'moſt Illuſtrious, Benefactors to Mankind; to have the Title of a *Sove-*
'*reign Prince*, *Stadt-Holder*, and to have worn the *Imperial Crown*, are
'amongſt their leſſer Dignities. They have long enjoy'd a Dignity ſingular
'and tranſcendent, To be the *Champions* of Almighty God, ſent forth in ſe-
'veral Ages, to vindicate his Cauſe againſt the greateſt Oppreſſions. To
'this *Divine Commiſſion*, our Nobles, our Gentry, and among them our
'brave *Engliſh* Soldiers, render'd themſelves and their Arms upon your
'Appearing.

'GREAT SIR, When we look back to the laſt Month, and con-
'template the Swiftneſs and Fullneſs of our preſent Deliverance; aſtoniſh'd,
'we think it miraculous! Your Highneſs, led by the Hand of Heaven,
'and call'd by the Voice of the People, has preſerv'd our deareſt Intereſts:
'The *Proteſtant Religion*, which is *Primitive Chriſtianity*, reſtor'd; our
'*Laws*, which are our ancient Title to our Lives, Liberties and Eſtates;
'and without which, this World were a Wilderneſs. But what Retribution
'can we make to your Highneſs? Our Thoughts are full charg'd with Gra-
'titude. Your Highneſs has a laſting Monument in the *Hearts*, in
'the *Prayers*, in the *Praiſes* of all good Men amongſt us; and late
'*Poſterity* will celebrate your ever-glorious Name, till Time ſhall be no
'more.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and Reſident of *Venice*, likewiſe thought fit to compliment his Highneſs, but in private. In the mean Time the *London* Mob, who had taſted of the Sweets of Plunder, took Occaſion from the Publick Rejoicings upon the Prince's Arrival, to inſult and rifle the *Papiſts* without Controul; not excepting ſome Peers of *England*, no more than ſome Foreign Miniſters. Upon Complaint of which, the Privy-Council order'd that all Foreigners ſhou'd be permitted quietly to leave the Kingdom; and the Prince of *Orange* ſent particular Paſſes to the Pope's *Nuncio*, and to the Envoys of *Poland*, *Savoy* and *Modena*; and us'd proper Methods for the regulating the *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Regiments. The *Popiſh* Lords *Langdale* and *Montgomery* were ſet at Liberty; but the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Salisbury* were kept in Cuſtody, as well as a great Number of *Romiſh* Prieſts and *Jeſuits*. The Earl of *Middleton* waited upon the King at *Rocheſter*, to ſurrender to him the Seals of the Secretary's Office; and all the other Lords who had any Employments at Court, diſtinguiſh'd by exterior Badges, as the *Staff*, the *Key*, *&c.* voluntarily laid down thoſe Marks of their Offices. *The Mob up.*

On the 21ſt of *December*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to the Number of above Threeſcore, appear'd and aſſiſted the Prince at *James*'s in a great Council. To whom his Highneſs made this ſhort Speech; '*My Lords*, 'I have deſir'd you to meet here to adviſe the beſt Manner how to pur-'ſue the Ends of my *Declaration* in Calling a *Free Parliament*, for the 'Preſervation of the *Proteſtant Religion*, the Reſtoring the *Rights* and *Li-*'*berties* of the Kingdom, and ſettling the ſame, that they may not be in 'Danger of being again ſubverted.' Upon ſpeaking of which, his Highneſs withdrew. After the Reading the Prince's *Declaration*, the Lords voted *The Prince attended by the Peers.*

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their particular Thanks for his Highneſs's coming over; and the better to conſider of the moſt effectual Means to obtain the Ends of his *Declaration*, and ſettle a Form of Government, they reſolv'd to aſſemble for the future in their ancient Houſe at *Weſtminſter*. For which purpoſe they nam'd Five of the moſt eminent Lawyers, *viz.* Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Holt*, Mr. *Pollixfen*, Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Atkinſon*, to aſſiſt them in their important Conſultations, and to explain to them the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Realm; in the Room of the Judges, who were moſt of them abſent from *London*. They alſo appointed Mr. *Francis Gwin* to ſign ſuch Orders as ſhou'd be from Time to Time by them made. It was farther propos'd, that the whole Aſſembly ſhou'd ſign the *Aſſociation*, formerly mention'd, which the Nobility and Gentry had already ſubſcrib'd at *Exeter*; to which Propoſal all agreed, except the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Nottingham*, the Lord *Wharton*, and all the Biſhops, ſave that of *London*, who ſet his Hand to the *Aſſociation*. The main Objection of the Biſhops was upon the Account of the unchriſtian Word *Revenge*, which being afterwards chang'd for that of *Puniſhment*, they were better ſatisfy'd.

3. The King in the mean time, perceiving by theſe Proceedings, the uncomfortable Condition of his Affairs, and dreading the formidable Conſequences of a Free Parliament, betook himſelf to his former Reſolution of ſeeking the Protection of the *French* King. We are told by the Author of *Great Britain's juſt Complaint*, that the poor King offer'd firſt to throw himſelf upon the City of *London*, till the Meeting of a Parliament; and after that, into the Hands of the whole Body of the Biſhops, and all without Succeſs. But Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, That being now at *Rocheſter*, and under no Reſtraint from the Guards that attended him, all his *Proteſtant* Friends preſs'd him to ſtay, and to ſummon a Parliament; aſſuring him, 'That there was a great Turn in the Minds of the City, and of the *Engliſh* Army; and that Pity and Compaſſion for him then generally prevail'd;' which was in a great meaſure true. But ſtill he adher'd to his firſt Reſolution, and ſo on the 23d Day of *December*, between Two and Three a-Clock in the Morning, his Majeſty privately withdrew himſelf, without communicating his Deſign to any about him; no not to the Earl of *Dumbarton*, who lay in the King's Chamber, and did not wake till after his Majeſty was gone. This ill-adviſ'd Prince, taking with him only the Duke of *Berwick*, his natural Son, Mr. *Sheldon* and *Labadie*, went on Horſeback as far as a certain Place near the River, where Captain *Mackdonnel* waited to receive him in a ſmall Frigate; and having immediately put to Sea, with a favourable Wind, landed at *Ambleteuſe* in *France*; from whence he immediately repair'd to St. *Germains*.

The King finally leaves the Nation.

The Earl of *Middleton*, who was ſtill at *Rocheſter* when the King departed, found a Letter from his Majeſty to himſelf, deſiring him 'To gratify the 'Captains of the Prince's Troops, that were appointed to guard him, with 'an Hundred Guinea's a-piece, the Lieutenants and Enſigns with Fifty, 'and to reward ſome others that had attended him, in proportion; his Ma'jeſty, among all his diſtracting Troubles, not forgetting his wonted Gene'roſity to all that approach'd his Perſon. He alſo left behind him a Paper, containing *His Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from* Rocheſter, which he wrote with his own Hand, and is as follows: 'The World cannot wonder 'at my withdrawing my ſelf now this ſecond Time. I might have expect'ed ſomewhat better Uſage after what I writ to the Prince of *Orange* by 'my Lord *Feverſham*, and the *Inſtructions* I gave him: But inſtead of an 'Anſwer, ſuch as I might have hop'd for, What was I to expect after the 'Uſage I receiv'd, by making the ſaid Earl a Priſoner, againſt the Practice 'and Law of Nations; The ſending his own Guards at Eleven at Night, 'to

He leaves a Paper at Rocheſter.

'to take Poſſeſſion of the Poſts at *Whitehall*, without advertiſing me in
'the leaſt manner of it; The ſending to me at One a-Clock after Midnight, 1688.
'when I was in Bed, a kind of an *Order* by Three Lords, *to be gone out of my* Jac. 4.
'*own Palace before Twelve that ſame Morning?* After all this, how cou'd
'I hope to be ſafe, ſo long as I was in the Power of One, who had not only Ref. 29
'done this to me, and invaded my Kingdoms without any juſt Occaſion gi-
'ven him for it; but that did by his firſt *Declaration* lay the greateſt Aſ-
'perſion upon me that Malice cou'd invent, in that Clauſe of it which
'concerns my *Son?* I appeal to all that know me, nay, even to Him-
'ſelf that in their Conſciences, whether He nor They can believe me in
'the leaſt Capable of ſo unnatural a *Villany*, nor of ſo little *Common*
'*Senſe*, to be impos'd on in a Thing of ſuch a Nature as that. What
'had I then to expect from One, who by all Arts, hath taken ſuch Pains
'to make me appear as *Black as Hell* to my own People, as well as to all
'the World beſides? What Effect that hath had at Home, all Mankind have
'ſeen by ſo *General a Defection* in my Army, as well as in the Nation,
'amongſt all Sorts of People.

'I was born *Free*, and deſire to continue ſo; and tho' I have ventur'd
'my Life very frankly on ſeveral Occaſions, for the Good and Honour of
'my Countrey, and am as free to do it again, (and which I hope I ſhall
'yet do, as old as I am, to redeem it from the *Slavery* it is like to fall
'under) yet I think it not convenient to expoſe my ſelf to be ſo ſecured,
'as not to be at Liberty to effect it; and for that Reaſon do withdraw,
'but ſo as to be within Call whenever the Nation's Eyes ſhall be open'd,
'ſo as to ſee how they have been abus'd and impos'd upon by the ſpecious
'Pretences of *Religion* and *Property*. I hope it will pleaſe God to touch
'their Hearts, out of his infinite Mercy, and to make them ſenſible of the
'ill Condition they are in, and bring them to ſuch a Temper, that a *Legal*
'*Parliament* may be call'd; and that, amongſt other Things which may be
'neceſſary to be done, they will agree to *Liberty of Conſcience* to all *Prote-*
'*ſtant Diſſenters*; and that thoſe of my own *Perſwaſion*, may be ſo far con-
'ſider'd, and have ſuch a Share of it, as they may live peaceably and quietly,
'as all *Engliſh* Men and Chriſtians ought to do, and not be oblig'd to tranſplant
'themſelves; which would be very grievous, eſpecially to ſuch as live in their
'own Countrey: And I appeal to all Men, who are conſidering Men, and
'have had Experience, Whether any Thing can make this Nation ſo Great
'and Flouriſhing, as *Liberty of Conſcience?* Some of our Neighbours dread
'it. I cou'd add much more, to confirm what I have ſaid, but now is not
'the proper Time.

This Paper, as it made a great Noiſe, was animadverted upon by Dr. *Burnet*, and others, who ſhew that the Facts inſiſted on as the Cauſes of his Departure, were aggravated or miſrepreſented. However, there was a general Obſervation, obvious to enough all; That tho' the King gave ſome Reaſons for his ſecond Deſertion, he gave none at all for his Firſt. For his Second going off, he might make ſome popular Pretences; but for the Firſt, he cou'd ſhew no greater Grounds for his Fears than what might ariſe from the Conſciouſneſs of his own Actions. In ſum, this Flight of King *James* was afterwards interpreted by a ſolemn Vote of Parliament, a voluntary and abſolute *Abdication*; whereby the People fell into their Original Right of filling up a Throne that was become *Vacant*, and the Prince of *Orange* left at Liberty to wear a Diadem, however ſtain'd, yet unſpotted by any Parricide.

The Vacancy of the Throne.

We ſhall conclude this Period, and likewiſe the Old Year, as we have in all the reſt, with the Deaths of conſiderable Men worthy of Remembrance; beginning with Two celebrated Loyaliſts, and firſt the moſt famous, and illuſtrious *James Boteler*, Duke of *Ormond*, a glorious Patriot, and a Perſon of

The Death of the Duke of Ormond.

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of as great Worth, Generosity, Honour and Renown, as ever adorn'd the *English* and *Irish* Nation, whose Sufferings and Services with respect to both were beyond Expression. We have taken Notice of this great Man in many Places of this History; therefore we shall now only remember, That after all his great Services, and faithful Endeavours to preserve the Crown upon his Master's Head, he was uugratefully lay'd aside, and dy'd in private, but much lamented, on the 21st of *July*, aged Seventy Nine. The second was,

Sir Winston Churchill,

Sir *Winston Churchill*, Knight, eldest Clerk-Comptroller of the *Green-Cloth*, a Person of Parts and Letters, who had distinguish'd himself by his Loyalty and particular Services to the Crown; for which he became much in Favour with the late and the present King: But he is most of all to be remember'd for his being Father to the greatest Soldier and Hero that this, or perhaps any other Age has produc'd.

Bishop Ward.

The next to be mention'd, are Three eminent Divines; the first, Dr. *Seth Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, a Person educated first in the University of *Cambridge*, and then in *Oxford*; in both which Places he display'd his Abilities, especially as to the Mathematicks and Astronomy, and afterwards became Fellow of the Royal Society, a great Virtuoso and Promoter of experimental Knowledge. He was particularly taken Notice of by King *Charles* the Second, who gave him the Deanery of *Exeter*, and successively the Bishopricks of *Worcester* and *Salisbury*; to the last of which he recover'd the Chancellorship of the *Garter*, which had been held by Lay-Hands for above a Hundred and Fifty Years. The Sweetness and Genteelness of his Behaviour, besides his Learning and Hospitality, gain'd him great Affection when living, and his charitable Benefactions to Colleges and Hospitals, no less Reputation when dead. The second was Dr. *Ralph Cudworth*, a Person first educated at *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, from whence he remov'd and became Master of *Clare-Hall*, and then Master of *Christ College*, and *Hebrew* Professor: In which last Station he continu'd several Years in considerable Fame; but yet he was by many thought more ornamental than useful to his College; but to the Publick he shew'd himself a Master of deep and uncommon Learning; and his *Intellectual System* manifests a Genius that is not easy to be match'd.

Dr. Cudworth.

Dr. Claggett.

The last was Dr. *William Claggett*, of *Suffolk* by Birth, and of *Emanuel-College* in *Cambridge* by Education; from whence he became Rector of St. *Mary*'s at St. *Edmund*'s-*Bury*, and then removing to *London*, he became Preacher to the honourable Society of *Gray*'s-*Inn*, Lecturer of St. *Michael*'s *Basing shaw*, and Chaplain to his Majesty. He was a sound Man, and of real Worth, one of very good natural Parts, an eminent Preacher, and distinguish'd for his happy controversial Writings.

Mr. Waller.

The next were two celebrated Poets, Mr. *Edmund Waller* and Mr. *Thomas Flatman*. The First was a Gentleman more than once remember'd in this History, and in many Respects as great as ever the Age cou'd shew. He had the Love and Acquaintance of all the best Poets and polite Writers in his Time, as *Fletcher*, *Ben. Johnson*, *Suckling*, *Davenant*, *Milton*, *Cowley*, *Denham*, *Rochester*, *Oldham*, *Etheridge*, *Dryden*, &c. and was himself the great Refiner of the *English* Tongue. For, besides the Richness of his Fancy, and the Beauty of his Thoughts, he shew'd the most delicate Ear in the World in the Harmony of his Numbers, which he made so smooth and flowing, that he first taught Foreigners to be sensible of the Sweetness of our Language. He liv'd to a great Age; and it is remarkable, there is near Seventy Years distance between his first and his last Poems, and yet the Purity of the Style is much the same. The other, Mr. *Flatman*, was a Gentleman educated in the University of *Oxford*, and afterwards of the *Middle-Temple*, where he became a Barrister, but more signally display'd his Parts and Abilities in the Two ingenious Faculties of Poetry and Painting. His Poems shew a great deal

Mr. Flatman.

deal of Wit and Spirit, but too much ſully'd with the Looſeneſs of the Age; and his Pieces of Limning in Miniature, no leſs Skill and Exactneſs of Judgment. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

After all theſe, we ſhall mention a learned Foreigner who reſided and dy'd in *England*, *Iſaac Voſſius*, Son to the famous *John Gerard Voſſius* of *Holland*; a Perſon of vaſt Induſtry, and famous for critical Learning, either in Language or Hiſtory, and ſo famous, that he was taken notice of by the *French* King, who by Monſieur *Colbert* ſent him a Royal Gratuity. King *Charles* likewiſe took him into his Favour, and made him a Canon of *Windſor*, where he continu'd Fifteen Years after a cloſe retired manner, generally ſtudying in the Night Time, and upon his Death left behind him the beſt private Library, as it was then ſuppos'd, in the whole World. *And* Iſaac Voſſius.

CHAP. V.

The Vacancy of the Throne. From the final Departure of King James, *to the filling the Throne by the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *under the Titles of King* William *and Queen* Mary.

Containing the Space of Seven Weeks and Three Days.

Bohun. Complete Hiſtory. *Boyer. Jones. &c.*

I. 1. DUring this Period, upon which we are entering, there was an actual *Inter-regnum* in the Kingdom, a Thing altogether unknown to the *Engliſh* Nation, and eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution; yet, whatever were the Cauſes of it, it was no ways leſs Actual and Real: Which demonſtrates, that the beſt and wiſeſt Conſtitutions in Government can never, in their own Natures, be made abſolutely Unalterable. But tho' the King's Power was at an End in *England*, his Title was ſtill in Being, and ſo continu'd till it was formally and effectually determin'd by the remaining unextinguiſhable Powers of the Nation, and the ſolemn placing the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* upon the Throne. We are farther to remember, that tho' there was a real *Inter-regnum*, yet it neither produc'd, nor was it ſucceeded by *Anarchy*, or total Ceſſion of Supreme Authority, which ſtill continu'd, and like a Spring confin'd by a greater Weight, as ſoon as it is remov'd diſcovers its Elaſtick Power. For from the Moment of the King's Departure, his Power ſeem'd all devolv'd; and the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, who in the moſt ancient Times were the ſtanding Council of the Nation, eſpecially in all Emergencies, immediately felt themſelves inveſted with an original Right of applying to the neareſt Relations of the Crown, and of ſummoning the remaining Part of the Legiſlature, to ſettle and eſtabliſh the broken Repoſe of the Nation. Leſs they cou'd not do with Safety to the People, nor more, perhaps, with Juſtice to the Monarchy. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29 *An actual* Inter-regnum. *The Power of the Lords.*

In this Capacity, as ſoon as they heard of King *James*'s Departure, their Lordſhips exerted themſelves and their Authority, and immediately aſſembled themſelves in their Houſe at *Weſtminſter*; and after a long Debate, relating

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lating chiefly to the Prerogatives of a King of *England*, they reſolv'd to begin with this following Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*: 'We the Lords 'Spiritual and *Temporal*, aſſembled in this Conjuncture, do deſire your 'Highneſs to take upon you the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preſervation of our *Religion*, *Rights*, *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Properties*, and of 'the *Peace* of the Nation; and that your Highneſs will take into your 'particular Care the preſent Condition of *Ireland*, and endeavour by the 'moſt ſpeedy and effectual Means to prevent the Dangers threatning that 'Kingdom: All which we make our Requeſts to your Highneſs to undertake and exerciſe, till the Meeting of the intended *Convention*, the 22d Day 'of *January* next; in which, we doubt not, ſuch proper Methods will be 'taken, as will conduce to the Eſtabliſhment of theſe things upon ſuch ſure 'and legal Foundations, that they may not be in danger of being again 'ſubverted.' Dated at the Houſe of Lords, *Weſtminſter*, the 25th of *December*.

They apply to the Prince of Orange.

Having made this firſt Step, their Lordſhips proceeded to conſider of the moſt effectual Way for ſummoning the ſaid *Convention*, and the ſame Day drew up their Opinions, in this ſecond Addreſs to the Prince: 'We the 'Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* in this extraordi-'nary Conjuncture, do humbly deſire your Highneſs to cauſe *Letters* to be 'written, ſubſcrib'd by your ſelf, To the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*, 'being *Proteſtants*; and to the ſeveral *Counties*, *Univerſities*, *Cities*, *Bo-'roughs*, and *Cinque-Ports* of *England*, *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* 'upon *Twede*. The Letters for the *Counties* to be directed to the *Coroners* 'of the reſpective Counties, or any one of them; and in default of the Co-'roners, to the *Clerk of the Peace* of the reſpective Counties: And the 'Letters for the *Univerſities*, to be directed to every *Vice-Chancellor*: 'And the Letters to the ſeveral *Cities*, *Boroughs* and *Cinque-Ports*, to be 'directed to the *Chief-Magiſtrates* of each reſpective City, Borough and 'Cinque-Port; containing Directions for the Chuſing, in all ſuch Counties, 'Cities, *Univerſities*, *Boroughs* and *Cinque-Ports*, within ten Days after 'the Receipt of the reſpective *Letters*, ſuch a Number of Perſons to *Re-'preſent* them, as are of Right to be ſent to *Parliament*: Of which Ele-'ctions, and the Times and Places thereof, the reſpective Officers ſhall give 'Notice, within the Space of five Days in the leaſt. Notice of the intended '*Elections* for the *Counties*, to be publiſh'd in the Churches, immediately 'after the Time of *Divine Service*, and in all the Market Towns within 'the ſaid reſpective Counties: And Notice of the intended *Elections* for the '*Cities*, *Univerſities*, *Boroughs* and *Cinque-Ports*, to be publiſh'd within 'the ſaid reſpective Places. The ſaid *Letters*, and the Execution thereof, 'to be *Return'd*, by ſuch Officer and Officers who ſhall execute the ſame, to 'the *Clerk of the Crown* in the *Court of Chancery*; ſo as the Perſons ſo to 'be choſen, may Meet and Sit at *Weſtminſter*, on the 22d Day of *Janua-'ry* next.' Theſe two Addreſſes were ſubſcrib'd by about ninety Lords, that were then preſent in the Houſe.

The ſecond Addreſs to him.

In all Debates, the Marquiſs of *Hallifax* was made their Chair-Man: And having proceeded thus far, to ſhew their Authority, as well as ſettle the Peace of the City, they next made an 'Order for all *Papiſts* to depart the 'City of *London*, and ten Miles from the ſame, within five Days, and not 'to remove from their Habitations above five Miles; excepting ſuch as were 'actually in the Queen Dowager's Service, the Domeſticks of Foreign Mi-'niſters, Foreign Merchants and Factors, reſiding only upon the Account 'of Trade, and all Houſe-keepers in *London* and ten Miles from the ſame, 'who had been Traders for three Years laſt paſt: Provided they gave in 'their Names, and Places of Abode, in eight Days, to the Lord Mayor in 'Writing;

Their Order againſt Papiſts.

'Writing; and alſo all *Popiſh* Officers that ſhall give Bail in ſix Days, to ap- 1688.
'pear the firſt Day of the Term, and to be on their good Behaviour in the
'mean time; and ſuch Officers as ſhou'd neglect, to be taken into Cuſtody.' Jac. 4.
Thus far the Lords proceeded and acted by themſelves, agreeable to their Reſ. 29
ancient Right and Authority.

The Proceedings of the Prince of Orange.

2. In the mean Time the Prince of *Orange* proceeded with all Vigour and Diligence. His Highneſs ſeem'd never to doubt a conſiderable Party among the Peers; therefore the regular Concurrence of the Commons of *England* appear'd the moſt important Point; and to aſſemble them after a legal Manner, was no ſmall Difficulty. There was no King in the Nation, nor any particular Style or Form of Government; the *Writs* were deſtroy'd, and the Great Seal thrown away and loſt. After a long Conſultation upon this weighty and knotty Affair a late Precedent was produc'd, which ſeem'd to agree with the preſent Exigency. About the latter End of the Year 1659, General *Monk*, with the Nobility and Gentry that labour'd for King *Charles*'s Reſtoration, in oppoſition to the *Rump* Parliament, who pretended to continue Sitting, iſſu'd forth their Summons in the Names of the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England, for a *Convention* or *Parliament*, to meet on the 25th of *April*, 1660. And tho' this was done by Unqualify'd Perſons, without the formal Conſent of the People, yet after the King's Return, he was ſo well ſatisfy'd with their Proceedings, that it was Enacted by the King and the Three Eſtates of the Realm, 'That the Lords and Commons then Sit-
'ting were the *Two Houſes of Parliament*; notwithſtanding any Want of
'the King's *Writs*, or any other Defect whatſoever.' From whence his Highneſs's Council inferr'd, 'That if the *Neceſſity of Affairs* was a forci-
'ble Argument in 1659, it was certainly of a greater Force in the preſent
'Conjuncture:' Now becauſe the Commons of *England* have not the ſame Power to Aſſemble as the Peers, the Prince publiſh'd this following *Order*;

He Summons the Commons, &c.

'Whereas the *Neceſſity of Affairs* does require ſpeedy Advice; We do de-
'ſire all ſuch Perſons as have ſerv'd as *Knights*, *Citizens* or *Burgeſſes* in
'any of the *Parliaments* that were held during the Reign of the late King
'*Charles* the Second, to meet us at St. *James*'s, upon *Wedneſday* the 26th
'of this Inſtant *December*, by ten of the Clock in the Morning. And we
'do likewiſe deſire, That the *Lord Mayor* and *Court of Aldermen* of the
'City of *London* wou'd be preſent at the ſame time; and that the *Common*
'*Council* wou'd appoint fifty of their Number to be there likewiſe. And
'hereof we deſire them not to fail.

Purſuant to this Summons, many Members of the Parliaments in King *Charles*'s Reign, to the Number of about a hundred and ſixty, and the Aldermen and Deputies of the Common-Council of the City of *London*, aſſembled at St. *James*'s, on *Wedneſday* the appointed Day; where the Prince made this following Speech to them: 'You, *Gentlemen*, that have been

His Speech to them.

'Members of the late Parliaments, I have deſired you to meet me here, to
'adviſe the beſt Manner how to purſue the Ends of my *Declaration*, in
'Calling a *Free-Parliament*, for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant Reli-*
'*gion*, and the Reſtoring the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the Kingdom, and
'ſettling the ſame, that they may not be in danger of being again ſubverted.
'And you, the *Aldermen* and Members of the *Common-Council* of the City
'of *London*, I deſire the ſame of you. And in Regard your Numbers are
'like to be great, you may, if you think fit, divide your ſelves, and ſit
'in ſeveral Places.' The Lord Mayor being abſent, upon the Account of his Indiſpoſition, the Prince gave the Copy of his Speech to Sir *Thomas Allen*, as being eldeſt Alderman, and ſtyl'd *Father of the City*, deſiring that he and the reſt wou'd take that Paper into immediate Conſideration.

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They form themſelves into a Houſe.

Accordingly, by Agreement, they all repair'd to the Commons Houſe in *Weſtminſter*; where being ſeated, and having choſen *Henry Powle*, Eſq; for their Chair-Man, the firſt Queſtion they debated, was, *What Authority they had to aſſemble?* Upon which it was ſoon agreed, That the Requeſt of his Highneſs the Prince was a ſufficient Warrant. The next Queſtion of moment was, *How his Highneſs cou'd take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs without a diſtinguiſhing Name or Title?* Which Objection, being ſtarted by Sir *Robert Southwell*, was briskly anſwer'd by Serjeant *Maynard*, who ſaid, *That the Aſſembly wou'd loſe a great deal of time, if they waited till Sir* Robert *cou'd conceive how that was poſſible.* A Temporary Offer of the Government being made to his Highneſs, one propos'd that it ſhou'd be, not for a Month only, but for a whole Year; to whom it was anſwer'd, that the Convention ought only to conſider of that. Others mov'd that the *Aſſociation*, that had been ſign'd by the Lords, might likewiſe be ſubſcrib'd by this Aſſembly; but it was carry'd, that the ſaid *Aſſociation* ſhou'd be left upon the Table, and every one be at liberty to ſign it or not. After theſe previous Debates, they reſolv'd upon Heads for an *Addreſs* to be made to his Highneſs, and appointed Perſons to draw up and prepare the ſame; and in the Afternoon it was done accordingly, and read and approv'd in this Form:

Their Addreſs to the Prince.

'We who have ſerv'd as Members of the *Parliaments* during the Reign 'of the late King *Charles* the Second, together with the Court of *Alder-* 'men, and Members of the *Common Council* of the City of *London*, aſſem- 'bled at your Highneſs's Deſire, in this extraordinary Conjuncture, do, 'with an unanimous Conſent, tender to your Highneſs our humble and 'hearty Thanks, for your Coming into this Kingdom, and Expoſing your 'Perſon to ſo great Hazards, for the Preſervation of our *Religion*, *Laws*, 'and *Liberties*, and Reſcuing us from the Miſeries of *Popery* and *Slavery*: 'And deſire your Highneſs, (for the Purſuance of theſe Ends, and for the 'Preſervation of the *Peace* of the Nation) your Highneſs will take upon 'you the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, both *Civil* and *Military*, and 'the Diſpoſal of the *Publick Revenues*. We do alſo deſire, That your 'Highneſs will take into your particular Conſideration, the preſent Condi- 'tion of *Ireland*; and endeavour, by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Means, 'to prevent the Dangers threatning that Kingdom. All which, we deſire 'your Highneſs to undertake and execute, until the Meeting of the intend- 'ed *Convention*, the 22d Day of *January* next.' Then, for the Chuſing of Members for the ſaid *Convention*, they propos'd the ſame which has been mention'd in the Lords Addreſs; and ſo concluded in theſe Words, 'This 'we humbly offer to your Highneſs, as our beſt *Advice*, in this Exigency 'of Affairs, for attaining the Ends of your Highneſs's *Declaration*; and as 'the beſt Means tending to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, as that our *Religion*, '*Laws* and *Liberties*, may not be in danger of being again ſubverted.'

His Highneſs's Anſwer to the Lords and their Addreſs.

His Highneſs having appointed to receive the Addreſs the next Morning, he was then attended by a Body of them; and the Addreſs was preſented and read by Mr. *Powle* to his Highneſs; who was pleas'd to declare, *That it being a Matter of Weight, he wou'd conſider thereof, and give his Anſwer the next Day.* Accordingly, on *Friday* Morning, *December* 28, his Highneſs firſt gave the following Anſwer at St. *James*'s to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal: *My Lords, I have conſider'd of your* Advice; *and, as far as I am able, I will endeavour to ſecure the* Peace *of the Nation, untill the Meeting of the* Convention *in* January *next*; *for the* Election *whereof I will forthwith iſſue* Letters, *according to your Deſire. I will alſo take care to apply the Publick* Revenue *to the moſt proper Uſes that the preſent Affairs require*; *and likewiſe endeavour to put* Ireland *into ſuch a Condition, as that the* Proteſtant Religion *and* Engliſh Intereſt *may be maintain'd*

tain'd in that Kingdom. And I further aſſure you, That as I came hither for the Preſervation *of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and the* Laws *and* Liberties *of theſe Kingdoms; ſo I ſhall always be ready to expoſe my ſelf to any Hazard, for the* Defence *of the ſame.* And in the Afternoon, his Highneſs was pleas'd to return the very ſame Anſwer to the Commons. 1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

3. While King *James* continu'd at *Rocheſter*, the old *French* Ambaſſador, Monſieur *Barillon*, was extraordinary active and buſy in promoting Diviſions amongſt the Peers; wherefore the Prince of *Orange* was no ſooner inform'd of his Majeſty's ſecond Departure, but his Highneſs ſent an expreſs Order to that Miniſter to leave the Kingdom in four and twenty Hours. *Barillon* demanded a longer time, which being refus'd, he unwillingly parted from *London*, where he had many Years reſided, together with the Marquiſs *Rangoni*, Envoy of *Modena*, to whom the Prince had granted a particular Guard. Two Days after, the Prince having receiv'd an Account, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſome other *Engliſh* Gentlemen had been ſecur'd at *Paris*, it was debated, whether his Highneſs ſhou'd ſend down a Meſſenger to arreſt the *French* Ambaſſador, by way of Repriſals; but the Propoſition was not thought adviſeable at this nice Juncture. *The French Ambaſſador ſent away.*

On the 30th of *Deecember*, being *Sunday*, his Highneſs the Prince ſolemnly receiv'd the Holy Sacrament in the Royal Chapel of St. *James*'s from the Hands of the Biſhop of *London*, and heard the whole Service perform'd by Dr. *Burnet*, and an excellent Sermon preach'd by Dr. *Lloyd* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; which open profeſſing himſelf a Member of the Church of *England*, gain'd him the Praiſes and Affections of many wavering People. The next Day the Juſtices of the Peace of *Middleſex* waited upon his Highneſs with an Addreſs of Thanks, for his hazardous coming over to deliver them from *Popery* and *Slavery*. And on the ſame Day his Highneſs began with the firſt *Act* of his Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, and this was a *Declaration* for 'Authorizing all Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, 'and other Officers and Miniſters, not being *Papiſts*, that were in ſuch 'Offices, on the firſt Day of *December* laſt, to act in their reſpective 'Places, till the Meeting of the intended *Convention*, or other Order to 'the contrary. *The Prince declares for the Church of* England.

On the ſame *Monday* Evening, the laſt in the Year, his Highneſs made a publick Viſit to the Queen Dowager; and among other Queſtions, in a pleaſant way, he ask'd her Majeſty, *How ſhe paſs'd away the Time*, and *Whether ſhe play'd at Baſſet*? Upon which the Queen took this Opportunity to ſpeak, at a diſtance, in favour of the confin'd Earl of *Feverſham*, and anſwer'd his Highneſs, *That ſhe had not play'd that Game ſince the abſence of her Chamberlain, who us'd to keep the Bank.* The Prince immediately took the Hint, and generouſly aſſur'd her Majeſty, *That he wou'd not by any means interrupt her Majeſty's Diverſions*; and the next Day he order'd the Earl to be ſet at Liberty. However his Highneſs's Complaiſance did not alter the Queen's Reſolution of retiring to her native Countrey, *Portugal*; for at that very time ſhe diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Liſbon* to that Purpoſe; tho' as it happen'd afterwards, it did not take Effect. *He viſits the Queen Dowager.*

Rohun. Boyer. Gazettes. Calamy. State-Tracts. &c.

II. 1. As the Prince of *Orange* had ſhewn himſelf very active and vigilant with relation to the Affairs of *England*, ſo he manifeſted a ſuitable Regard to thoſe of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; with ſome Account of the firſt of which we ſhall begin the new Year. Now the *Declaration* that his Highneſs had caus'd to be diſpers'd in *Scotland* did not miſs of its deſign'd Effect, and particularly among the *Presbyterian* Party, who ſeem'd to have had as great an Influence in the Beginnings of the Revolution there, as 1688/9. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29 *The Prince's Care of* Scotland.

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as the Church Party had in *England*. The Lord Chancellor, upon the News of King *James*'s withdrawing, immediately reſign'd the Great Seal, and retir'd from *Edinburgh*: Upon which the Populace of that City, with ungovernable Fury, inſulted and rifled, not only the *Roman Catholicks*, but alſo the Epiſcopal Party, of whom their Heads the Biſhops had unhappily publiſh'd a ſort of Abhorrence of the Expedition of the Prince of *Orange* from *Holland*.

He aſſembles the Scotch *Nobility at* London.

His Highneſs being inform'd of theſe forward Motions, on the 7th of *January* he aſſembled all the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry, as were then in and about *London*; who meeting at St. *James*'s, he made this Speech to them: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The only Reaſon that induc'd me to 'undergo ſo great an Undertaking, was, That I ſaw the *Laws* and *Liber-* 'ties of theſe Kingdoms overturn'd, and the *Proteſtant Religion* in immi- 'nent Danger; and ſeeing there are here ſo many Noblemen and Gentle- 'men, I have call'd you together, that I may have your *Advice*, what is 'to be done for the ſecuring the *Proteſtant Religion*, and reſtoring your '*Laws* and *Liberties*, according to my *Declaration*.' As ſoon as his Highneſs was retir'd, theſe Lords and Gentlemen immediately repair'd to the *Council-Chamber* at *White-Hall*; and having choſen the Duke of *Hamilton* their Preſident, they conſulted together what *Advice* was moſt proper to be given to his Highneſs in this Conjuncture: And after ſome Hours Debates, they agreed upon the Particulars of it, which they order'd to be drawn up in Writing. The next Day this Draught was preſented to the Aſſembly, and order'd to be ingroſs'd, after they had made ſome Amendments to it, relating to the Calling a *General Meeting* of the States of *Scotland*. But as they were ready to break up, the Earl of *Arran* propoſed to them, *That they ſhou'd move the Prince of* Orange *to deſire the King to return, and call a Free Parliament*; *which wou'd be the beſt way to ſecure their* Religion *and* Properties, *according to the known Laws of the Kingdom, and to heal all* Breaches. This Propoſal ſeem'd to diſſatisfy the whole Aſſembly; and therefore, being met again the Day following, Sir *Partrick Hume* took particular Notice of it, and deſir'd to know *If there were any that wou'd ſecond it*: But none appearing to do it, he ſaid, *That what the Earl had propos'd was evidently oppoſite and ungrateful to the Prince of* Orange's *Undertaking, his* Declaration, *and the good Intentions of preſerving the* Proteſtant Religion, *and of reſtoring their* Laws *and* Liberties; and farther deſir'd, *That the Aſſembly wou'd declare this to be their Opinion.* The Lord *Cardroſs* ſeconded Sir *Patrick*'s Motion, but the Duke of *Hamilton* wav'd it, alledging, *That their Buſineſs was to prepare an* Advice *to be offer'd to the Prince*; *and the* Advice *being ready to go to the* Vote, *there was no need that the Aſſembly ſhou'd give their Senſe of the Earl's Propoſal, which never before, nor after Sir* Patrick's *Motion, any had pretended to own or ſecond, ſo that it was fallen, and out of Doors*; *and that the* Vote *of the Aſſembly upon the* Advice, *brought in by their* Order, *wou'd ſufficiently declare their Opinion.* This being ſeconded by the Earl of *Sutherland*, the Lord *Cardroſs* and Sir *Patrick* did both acquieſce in it. In concluſion they unanimouſly Voted this following Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*.

Their Addreſs to him, to take the Government, &c.

'We, the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, aſſembled 'at your Highneſs's Deſire on this Extraordinary Conjuncture, do give 'your Highneſs our humble and hearty Thanks, for your pious and gene- 'rous Undertaking, for preſerving the *Proteſtant Religion*, and reſtoring 'the *Laws* and *Liberties* of this Kingdom. In order to the attaining of 'theſe Ends, our humble *Advice* and *Deſire* is, That your Highneſs take 'upon you the Adminiſtration of all Affairs both Civil and Military, the 'Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenues and Fortreſſes of the Kingdom of *Scot-*

'*land*,

'*land*, and the doing every Thing that is neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom, until a *General Meeting* of the States of the Nation, which we humbly deſire your Highneſs to call, to be holden at *Edinburgh* the 14th Day of *March* next, by your *Letter* or *Proclamation*, to be publiſh'd at the *Market-Croſs* of *Edinburgh*, and other head *Boroughs* of the ſeveral *Shires* and *Stewarties*, as ſufficient Intimation to all concern'd, according to the Cuſtom of the Kingdom: And that the Publication of theſe your *Letters* or *Proclamation* be by the *Sheriffs*, or *Stewart-Clerks*, for the *Free-Holders*, who have the Value of Lands holden according to Law, for making *Elections*; and by the *Town-Clerks* of the ſeveral *Boroughs*, for the Meeting of the whole *Burgeſſes* of the reſpective *Royal-Boroughs*, to make their Elections, at leaſt fifteen Days before the Meeting of the *Eſtates* at *Edinburgh*; and the reſpective *Clerks* to make Intimation thereof, at the leaſt ten Days before the Meeting for *Election*: And that the whole Electors and Members of the ſaid Meeting at *Edinburgh*, qualify'd as above expreſs'd, be *Proteſtants*, without any other Exception or Limitation whatſoever; to deliberate and reſolve what is to be done for ſecuring the *Proteſtant Religion*, and reſtoring the *Laws* and *Liberties* of the Kingdom, according to your Highneſs's *Declaration*.

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This Addreſs was ſign'd by about thirty Lords and eighty Gentlemen, and preſented in their Preſence at St. *James* by their Preſident the Duke of *Hamilton*. His Highneſs took three Days time to conſider of an Anſwer; tho' he gave them his immediate Thanks for the Truſt and Confidence they had repos'd in him. So on the 14th he met the *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen in the ſame Place again, and gave them the following Anſwer: *My Lords and Gentlemen, In purſuance of your* Advice, *I will, until the Meeting of the* Eſtates *in* March *next, give ſuch Orders concerning the Affairs of* Scotland, *as are neceſſary for the calling of the ſaid* Meeting *for the Preſervation of the Peace, the applying of the Publick* Revenue *to the moſt preſſing Uſes, and putting the* Fortreſſes *into the Hands of Perſons, in whom the Nation can have a juſt Confidence: And I do further aſſure you, That you will always find me ready to concur with you in every Thing that may be found neceſſary for ſecuring the* Proteſtant Religion, *and reſtoring the* Laws *and* Liberties *of the Nation.* The Earls of *Crawford* and *Lothian* being preſent in this laſt Meeting, but arriving in *London* after the former, deſir'd they might likewiſe ſign the ſaid Addreſs, which they accordingly did. So that now all Things appeared with a fair Proſpect to the Prince's Succeſſes in the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

The Prince's Anſwer.

2. The Prince of *Orange* was no leſs careful and ſolicitous about the Safety and Preſervation of *Ireland*, where the Proſpect was leſs pleaſing in a ſhort time, tho' there was an hopeful Appearance. The Care of that Kingdom was recommended to his Highneſs, not only by *Engliſh* Lords and Commons, but alſo by a particular Addreſs from the *Iriſh Proteſtant* Nobility and Gentry, aſſembled for that Purpoſe in the Duke of *Ormond*'s Houſe, who at the ſame time preſented his Highneſs with the Draughts of the chief Ports and Fortreſſes of that Kingdom. The Prince was juſtly afraid that the Lord-Lieutenant *Tyrconnel* wou'd cloſely adhere to King *James* and his Intereſt, being ſupported by a numerous Army, and a powerful *Popiſh* Party, who had wretchedly depreſs'd the poor *Proteſtants* in all Parts. But upon a Report that he had actually propos'd in Council to make the Lords *Granard* and *Monjoy*, both *Proteſtants*, the firſt Lieutenant, and the other Major-General, and to reſtore the Arms taken from the

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the Proteſtant Party, it was thought proper to ſummon him, by a Letter, 'To ſubmit to the preſent Adminiſtration in *England*, and thoſe Troops 'which the Prince of *Orange* deſign'd for the Security of *Ireland*; farther 'aſſuring him, That the *Roman Catholicks* there ſhou'd enjoy the ſame Li-'berty they had under the Reign of King *Charles* the Second.

Colonel Hamilton *ſent thither.*

Colonel *Sarsfield*, a Native of *Ireland*, was firſt reſolv'd upon to carry this important Letter; but he freely told his Highneſs, *That he was ready to obey his Commands, and even to fight againſt the King of* France; *but as to his being any ways acceſſary to deprive his* Lawful Sovereign *of one of his Kingdoms, he wou'd never do it, unleſs he was forc'd to it.* The Prince always lov'd or eſteem'd a brave Officer, and therefore his Anſwer was not ill receiv'd; and ſo the Matter was left to Colonel *Hamilton*, another *Iriſhman*, who willingly undertook the Meſſage: But being arriv'd at *Dublin*, inſtead of promoting the Prince's Intereſt, he acted in concert with the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, directly to oppoſe it. Some of the Lords who had plentiful Eſtates in *Ireland*, were apprehenſive of the ſad Conſequences of *Tyrconnel*'s Preparations, and preſs'd his Highneſs to ſend ſpeedy Succours to the *Proteſtants* of the *North* of that Kingdom: But this Motion, we are told, was retarded by others, who having nothing to loſe, deſir'd nothing more than that Things ſhou'd come to an Extremity; as foreſeeing that Oppoſition againſt Conquerors is ever attended with Forfeitures, out of which Friends are to be rewarded. But to return to the Affairs of *England.*

The Prince regulates the Engliſh *Forces.*

3. The firſt Thing the Prince did, after his ordering of Sheriffs and other Officers to continue their Places, was to diſpatch Circular Letters for the Meeting of the *Convention*; 'and for the better preventing Diſorders 'that might happen in any Place of Election, he order'd all Regiments, 'Troops and Companies to march out of the Quarters where ſuch Electi-'ons ſhou'd be made, the ſeveral Garriſons only excepted.' In the next Place, his Highneſs bent his Thoughts upon modelling the *Engliſh* Army: And firſt he caus'd a Review to be made of all the *Engliſh* Forces, and then gave Directions to the Lord *Ranelaugh* their Pay-Maſter to pay them their Arrears, and to the Lord *Churchill* to make a Reform of Eight of the new rais'd Regiments, *viz.* Five of Horſe, and Three of Foot; which however extended no farther than their Officers, nor did it reach thoſe neither who had ſerv'd before, and were willing to be employ'd under his Highneſs. Beſides this Reform, the whole Troop of Life Guards, commanded by the Lord *Dover*, was disbanded, to make room, as was juſtly ſuppos'd, for the *Dutch* Life-Guards. The Regiment of *Dumbarton* was given to Duke *Scomberg*, which was a Diſappointment to Duke *Hamilton*, who expected it ſhou'd have been beſtow'd on his ſecond Son, the Earl of *Selkirk*, to make him amends for his Regiment that had been given before to Colonel *Godfrey*. That of Major-General *Oglethorp*, whom the Prince in vain endeavour'd to engage in his Service, was given to the Lord *Churchill*'s Brother; and that of *Skelton*, to Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*. Colonel *Tufton*, who commanded Admiral *Herbert*'s Regiment, ſurrender'd his Commiſſion, as likewiſe did Major-General *Sackvil* and Colonel *Legg*: And ſeveral other Officers follow'd this Example, upon Account of the new Oath that was exacted of them. Now becauſe the Prince was inform'd, that divers Soldiers contrary to his Intentions and the Laws of the Land, were Quarter'd in Private Houſes, his Highneſs iſſu'd out a *Declaration*, ordering that none of the Forces ſhou'd preſume to Quarter in any Private Houſe, without the voluntary Conſent of the Owner.

In the mean time the Prince began to be ſenſible of the Want of a neceſſary Subſiſtence for the preſent Exigencies; and upon the firſt Notice gi-

ven by Letter from his Highneſs to the *Court of Aldermen* and *Common-Council* of the City of *London*, That there was a great Occaſion for an immediate Supply of Money, beyond what the preſent Condition of the Revenue cou'd furniſh, for the Charge of the Navy, paying off Part of the Army, and ſending a ſpeedy Relief for the Defence of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt in *Ireland*. And propoſing, That for the anſwering theſe great Ends, ſuch a ſum of Money ſhou'd be advanc'd by the City, by way of Loan, as they cou'd conveniently ſpare, which wou'd be ſecur'd and repaid with full Intereſt at the end of ſix Months; an unanimous Vote immediately paſs'd, That they wou'd ſupply his Highneſs with two hundred Thouſand Pounds; which was the Sum demanded, and which was rais'd in four Days time; one ſingle Man, Sir *Samuel Daſhwood* alone having ſubſcrib'd ſixty Thouſand Pounds towards it. 1688/9. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

Money lent him by the City.

Among the many that waited upon the Prince, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had hitherto declin'd that Particular, tho' he had ſhewn himſelf as ready as any in joining with, and ſubſcribing the Lords Invitation at *Guild-Hall*. This was by many aſcrib'd to his Indiſpoſition of Body, but by others, who ſeem'd to judge more rightly of the Matter, to the ſame Reaſon which oblig'd the Biſhops not to ſign the *Aſſociation*. However, his Grace did ſoon after ſend a Complement to the Prince, and with ſeven or eight Biſhops more ſubſcrib'd the *Aſſociation*; having ſoften'd ſome Words in it, that ſeem'd to bear upon the Principles of Chriſtianity, as was formerly hinted, whereof one was that of *Revenge*, which they chang'd into that of *Puniſhment*.

The Archbiſhop, &c. ſigns the Aſſociation.

About the ſame Time divers of the Diſſenting Miniſters, in and about *London*, under the Denomination of *Presbyterial* and *Congregational*, to the Number of about ninety, attended his Highneſs at St. *James*'s, introduc'd by the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Wharton* and the Lord *Wiltſhire*; when their Senſe was repreſented by one of thoſe Miniſters to this Effect:

The Diſſenting Miniſters Addreſs to the Prince.

'That they profeſs'd their grateful Senſe of his Highneſs's hazardous and 'heroical Expedition, which the Favour of Heaven had made ſo ſurprizing-'ly proſperous. That they eſteem'd it a common Felicity, that the wor-'thy Patriots of the Nobility and Gentry, had unanimouſly concurr'd with 'his Highneſs's Deſign: By whoſe moſt prudent Advice, the Adminiſtrati-'on of Publick Affairs was devolv'd in this difficult Conjuncture, into 'Hands which the Nation and World knew to be apt for the greateſt Un-'dertakings, and ſo ſuitable to the preſent Exigencies. That they promis'd 'the utmoſt Endeavours, which in their Stations they were capable of af-'fording, for promoting the excellent and moſt deſirable Ends, for which 'his Highneſs had declared. That they added their continual fervent Prayers 'to the Almighty, for the Preſervation of his Highneſs's Perſon, and the 'Succeſs of his future Endeavours, for the Defence and Propagation of the '*Proteſtant* Intereſt throughout the Chriſtian World. That they ſhou'd 'moſt willingly have choſen that Time for the Seaſon of paying this their 'Duty to his Highneſs, when the Lord Biſhop of *London*, and the Clergy 'of *London* attended his Highneſs for that purpoſe; which ſome of them 'did, and of which his Lordſhip was pleas'd condeſcendingly to take No-'tice to his Highneſs; had their Notice of that Application been ſo early, 'as to have made their more general Attendance poſſible to them at that 'Time. That therefore, tho' they did now appear in a diſtinct Company, 'they did it not upon a Diſtinct Account, but on that which is common to 'all *Proteſtants*. That tho' there were ſome of eminent Note, whom Age 'or preſent Infirmities hinder'd from coming with them, yet they concurr'd 'in the ſame grateful Senſe of their common Deliverance.

His

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His Highneſs was pleas'd very favourably to receive their Application, and return'd them this Anſwer: *My great End was the Preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and with the Almighty's Aſſiſtance and Permiſſion, ſo to defend and ſupport the ſame, as may give it Strength and Reputation throughout the World, ſufficient to preſerve it from the Inſults and Oppreſſions of its moſt implacable Enemies; and that more immediately in theſe Kingdoms of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland: *And I will uſe my utmoſt Endeavours, ſo to Settle and Cement all different Perſuaſions of* Proteſtants, *in ſuch a Bond of Love and Community, as may contribute to the laſting Security and Enjoyment of* Spirituals *and* Temporals, *to all ſincere Profeſſors of that Holy Religion.*

His Anſwer.

Elections for the Convention.

4. All this Time the Elections of the Members for the *Convention* went on with the greateſt Freedom and Liberty that cou'd be imagin'd; every Man giving his Vote for whom he pleas'd, without the leaſt Sollicitations from the Prince, or any belonging to him; to which Calm, the Removal of the Soldiers, during the Times of Election, did not a little contribute. There had been *Writs* twice before this for a Parliament in a few Months, and almoſt every Place had before this fix'd their Members; ſo that the Difference was not conſiderable between the Members that were, and thoſe that wou'd have been choſen, if King *James* had ſuffer'd the firſt or ſecond Parliament he call'd, to have met: And this gives the trueſt Idea of the Temper of the Nation at this Seaſon, and what wou'd have been the Event, if either of thoſe Parliaments had ſat. Yet ſtill Diviſions and Difficulties were to be expected; and the Sitting of the *Convention* drawing near, and the major Part of the Members being come up to *London*, it was eaſy to foreſee that there wou'd be more than one Party in the Lower Houſe. It is true, the Generality, if not all of them, agreed in the 'Neceſſity of Re-eſtabliſhing the Fundamentals of the Government, and of 'bringing back the *Engliſh* Conſtitution to its perfect and pureſt Original, 'tho' hard to know or effect, as the beſt Means to ſecure the Nation a-'gainſt *Popery*, *Slavery* and *Oppreſſion*;' but yet they did not a little differ in the *Means* and *Methods* of Compaſſing theſe great Ends. And again, tho' all concurr'd to lodge the Government in the Hands of the Prince of *Orange*, yet ſtill the Opinions were various as to the *Title* they ſhou'd confer upon him; ſome being for making him *Regent* or *Protector*, with particular Limitations, and others *King*, according to the old Conſtitution. The firſt ſeem'd to be ſtrengthen'd by the numerous Party of the Republicans, who hop'd by that Means to make a great Step towards Introducing a Common-Wealth. Then as for thoſe who were for a *King*, they appear'd divided into two Parties; ſome maintaining that the Princeſs of *Orange* being the next Heir, ſhe ought therefore to be Crown'd, and the Prince to manage the Affairs as King only by his Wife's Title; and others, who appear'd a Majority, aſſerting that the Prince ought to be made King ſingly.

Diviſions about ſettling the Government.

Arguments for making the Prince of Orange *King only.*

This laſt was ſtrenuouſly urg'd and maintain'd, and the Arguments that were publiſh'd much applauded, in this Conjuncture. They alledg'd, 'That 'the *Supreme Power Perſonal* of *England* was in the King, Lords and 'Commons, the three Eſſential Parts of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; That that '*Supreme Power* was Diſſolv'd by the Failure of two Eſſential Parts of it, '*viz.* of the *King*, by his Subjection to the Biſhop of *Rome*, his Uſurping an Arbitrary Power, and afterwards by his Perſonal Withdrawing himſelf; and of the *Houſe of Commons*, which cou'd not ſo be call'd according to the Conſtitution, the King being gone, and the Freedom of Election before deſtroy'd by the King's Encroachments: That the *Supreme Power Real* remain'd in the Community, who might act by their *Ori-*

'*ginal*

'*ginal Power:* That tho' every particular Perſon was, notwithſtanding 1688.
'ſuch *Diſſolution*, ſubject to the Laws that were made by the *Supreme* Jac. 4.
'*Power Perſonal*, when in Being; yet the Power of the Community was
'not bound by Them, but was Paramount to all Laws made by the *Su-* Ref. 29
'*preme Power Perſonal*; and had a full Right to take ſuch Meaſures for
'ſettling the Government as they ſhou'd think were ſure and effectual, for
'the laſting Security and Peace of the Nation; ſince it was the Communi-
'ty of *England*, which firſt gave Being to both King and Parliament, and
'to all Parts of the Conſtitution.' They farther urg'd, 'That the Acts
'done and executed by the *Supreme Power Perſonal* had ſo modell'd the
'Parts and Perſons of the Community, that the Original Conſtitution was
'the beſt, juſteſt and moſt deſireable: That the *Royal Family* afforded a
'Perſon that both Heaven and Earth pointed out for *King:* That there
'were Lords whoſe *Nobility* was not affected by the Diſſolution of the Go-
'vernment, and were the Subject Matter of a *Houſe of Lords*; and that
'there were Places, which by *Cuſtom* or *Charter*, had Right to chuſe Re-
'preſentatives of the *Commons:* That there were inextricable Difficulties
'in all other Methods; for there being no Demiſe of the King, neither
'*Civil* nor *Natural*, there was conſequently no *Deſcent*, and the Com-
'munity only had a Right to take Advantage of the King's *Forfeiture* or
'*Deſertion:* That whatever other Power might be imagin'd in the two
'Houſes, as Houſes of Parliament, it cou'd juſtify it ſelf to the Reaſon of
'any who underſtood the Bottom of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution: That by
'this Method all *Popiſh* Succeſſors might be excluded, and the Govern-
'ment ſecured, in Caſe all the *Proteſtants* of the Family dy'd without Iſ-
'ſue; and this by the very Conſtitution of *England.* That it wou'd be
'moſt adviſeable, not only for the Security and Welfare of the Nation,
'but for the Intereſt of their Royal Highneſſes, to limit the Crown as fol-
'lows; To the Prince of *Orange* during his Life, (yet with all poſſible
'Honour and Reſpect to the Princeſs) Remainder to the Princeſs of *O-*
'*range*, and the Heirs of her Body; Remainder to the Princeſs of *Den-*
'*mark*, and the Heirs of her Body; Remainder to the Heirs of the Body
'of the Prince of *Orange*; Remainder as an Act of Parliament ſhou'd
'appoint.

In which Method they believ'd they found theſe Conveniencies among o-thers, *viz.* 'That Husband and Wife being but one Perſon in Law, the
'Prince's Honour wou'd be her Royal Highneſs's; That it put the Kingly
'Power into the beſt Hand in the World; That it aſſerted the Power of
'the Community; That it wou'd be ſome Acknowledgment to the Prince
'for what he had done for the Nation: Concluding, That it was worthy Ob-
'ſervation, that before the *Theocracy* of the *Jews* ceas'd, the Manner of
'the Divine Deſignation of their *Judges*, was by God's giving the People
'ſome Deliverance by the Hand of the Perſon to whoſe Government they
'ought to ſubmit: That ſince that *Theocracy* ceas'd, there was no Inſtance
'of a Deſignation of any Perſon to any Government, more viſibly Divine
'and Miraculous than that which they now admired: That if *the Voice of*
'*the People be the Voice of God*, that Voice never ſpoke louder: That if
'a Nation of various Opinions, Intereſts and Factions, from a turbulent
'and fluctuating State, fell into a ſerene and quiet Calm, and Men's Minds
'were ſtrangely united on a ſudden, it ſhew'd from whence they were in-
'fluenc'd. In a Word, that if the Hand of God was to be ſeen in Human
'Affairs, and his Voice to be heard upon Earth, they cou'd not any where
'ſince the Ceaſing of Miracles, find out a clearer and more remarkable In-
'ſtance than is to be obſerv'd in the preſent *Revolution.*' Beſides the fore-mention'd Reaſons, they farther alledg'd, 'That the Placing the Prince of

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'*Orange* ſingly on the Throne; wou'd be a Caution to ſucceeding Kings, 'of what fatal Conſequence a general Derogation may be, when they found 'by this Inſtance, the Exerciſe of the Kingly Office in Danger, not only 'with Reference to Themſelves, but likewiſe precarious to their Families. 'That the Princeſs of *Orange* wou'd ſhare in all the Glory of a Crown, 'without the Trouble of it, and wou'd be free from all *Popiſh* Reflections. '*That ſhe ſate in her Father's Throne while he liv'd*; and that there was 'no Room for the Princeſs of *Denmark* to think her ſelf neglected, the 'Exchange being attended with many Advantages, by the Poſtponing of 'the Prince of *Wales*. That if the Prince of *Orange* were not King in his 'own Right, his Intereſt cou'd not be entirely that of the Nation; for tho' 'his Bravery was an Aſſurance of his Sincerity to us, yet if there remain'd 'any Probability of his returning to *Holland*, as upon the Death of his 'Queen, if She only were Sovereign, his Intereſt muſt be divided. That it was 'dangerous to the Government it ſelf, to veſt the Exerciſe of the Sovereignty 'in Both; for they might differ in Sentiments of Things: That it was repug-'nant to grant the Crown to Both, and to fix the Adminiſtration in One; 'ſince the Adminiſtration was an Incident inſeparable from the Sovereignty.' Laſtly, they alledg'd, 'That it ſupported this uſeful Maxim, *That a neigh-'bouring Nation may take Arms, to reſcue a People oppreſs'd by Tyranny*; '*and that* Foreign Princes *wou'd be apt to look to themſelves, when they 'heard, by our Nation's Example of Gratitude, That they are no longer 'Safe, than while* Juſt *to their Subjects.*'

The Princeſs Anne *complying.*

This Project, in all Appearance, ſeem'd moſt likely to take; but it being in a great Meaſure derogatory to the Intereſt of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Denmark*, it was fear'd that She, who had a conſiderable Party in both Houſes, wou'd hardly conſent to it. But however this Obſtacle, it ſeems, was ſoon remov'd; and we are told that her Royal Highneſs preferr'd the Publick Good before Her private Intereſt, both out of the great Concern She ever had for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of *England*, and by the Mediation of the Lady *Churchill*, a Perſon diſtinguiſh'd by her prevailing Wit, and thoſe Perſonal Accompliſhments for which her Sex are generally admir'd. Beſides this Difficulty, they were apprehenſive of another Party, which, it was ſuppos'd, wou'd be headed by Sir *Edward Seymour*, a Man of great Sway, and which conſiſted of Thoſe who deſign'd and determin'd to 'Continue proviſionally 'the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal 'of the Revenue in his Highneſs the Prince's Hands; and impower him to 'make War againſt *France*, a Point wherein all Parties now concurr'd and 'agreed; to ſee old Treaties executed, and in Caſe of Neceſſity, to make 'new Alliances.' Then as to the Lords, tho' they were generally for keeping out King *James*, yet there were a conſiderable Party amongſt them, who to ſave the Honour of the Church of *England* and the Rights and Relicks of Monarchy, were for ſending his Majeſty an Invitation to return into *England*; but ſtill upon ſuch hard Terms, and with ſuch Reſtrictions as, in all probability, he wou'd never condeſcend to: Of which Party were the Earls of *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter* and *Nottingham*, and moſt of the Biſhops. As for the Affair of the Titular Prince of *Wales*, the Generality were of Opinion, that it ought to be left undecided, and not ſo much as mention'd or remember'd.

Divers Projects.

The Princeſs of Orange *ſent for.*

While Mens Minds were agitated with Projects and Contrivances, and while it remain'd doubtful what Reſolutions the *Convention* wou'd take concerning the Settlement of the Government, the Prince of *Orange* thought it beſt to ſend over for his Royal Conſort; and gave particular Orders to Admiral *Herbert* to attend her in her Paſſage, with a Squadron of *Dutch* Men of War, and ſome *Engliſh* Yatches. Perhaps the Prince never acted more wiſely

wiſely than in ſending for One who was moſt likely to bring Peace and Unanimity to the Nation; that admirable Lady that was infinitely belov'd and admir'd by the *Engliſh*; a Lady that reviv'd and gladen'd the Hearts of all that ſaw or convers'd with her. 1688/9. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

Rot. Parl. *Bohun.* Collections. *Jones. Boyer. &c.*

III. 1. At the appointed Time, the wiſh'd for 22d Day of *January*, the Grand Convention met, not only with the Expectations of the *Britiſh* Dominions, but of the neighbouring Nations and Kingdoms. Being divided into two Houſes, as uſually in Parliament, of whoſe Rules they were ſtrictly obſervant, they immediately proceeded to the Choice of their Speakers. In the Houſe of Peers the Marquiſs of *Hallifax* carry'd it againſt the Earl of *Danby*; and in the Lower-Houſe, *Henry Powle* Eſquire, was unanimouſly choſen; tho' it was thought that Sir *Edward Seymour*, who had ſo early join'd the Prince at *Exeter*, wou'd ſtand in Competition with him. The Commons likewiſe choſe Mr. *Jodrell* Clerk, and Mr. *Gwilliam* Clerk-Aſſiſtant, and likewiſe Mr. *Topham* Serjeant at Arms. The Chairs being fill'd, the following Letter from the Prince of *Orange*, was read in both Houſes, on the Occaſion of their Meeting. *The Meeting of the* Convention.

The Prince of Orange's *Letter to both Houſes.*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have endeavour'd to the utmoſt of my Power 'to perform what was deſired from Me in order to the Publick Peace and 'Safety; and I do not know that any Thing hath been omitted which might 'tend to the Preſervation of them, ſince the Adminiſtration of Affairs was 'put into my Hands. It now lyeth upon you to lay the Foundation of a firm 'Security for your *Religion*, your *Laws* and your *Liberties*. I do not 'doubt, but that by ſuch a *Full* and *Free Repreſentative* of the Nation, as is 'now met, the Ends of my *Declaration* will be attained: And ſince it hath 'pleas'd God hitherto to bleſs my good Intentions with ſo great Succeſs, I 'truſt in him, that He will compleat his own Work, by ſending a Spirit of 'Peace and Union to influence your Counſels, that no Interruption may 'be given to a happy and laſting Settlement.

'The dangerous Condition of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, requiring a 'large and ſpeedy Succour, and the preſent State of Things abroad, oblige 'me to tell you, that next to the Danger of unreaſonable Diviſions among 'our ſelves, nothing can be ſo fatal as too great a Delay in your Conſulta-'tions. The *States*, by whom I have been enabled to reſcue this Nation, 'may ſuddenly feel the ill Effects of it, both by being too long depriv'd of 'the Service of their Troops, which are now here, and of your early Aſſiſt-'ance againſt a powerful Enemy, who hath declared a War againſt them. 'And as *England* is by Treaty already engag'd to help them upon ſuch Exi-'gencies, ſo I am confident, that their chearful Concurrence to preſerve 'this Kingdom with ſo much Hazard to themſelves, will meet with all the 'Returns of Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance, which may be expected from you 'as *Proteſtants* and *Engliſhmen*, whenever their Condition will require it. '*Given at St. James's the* 22d *Day of* January, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

Proceedings of the Commons.

Upon the Reading of this Letter in the Houſe of Commons, the Speaker preſently repreſented to that Aſſembly, 'The dangerous State of the Na-'tion, and the fatal Conſequences of *Anarchy*; the deplorable Condition of 'the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, and how much *England* might be affected by 'the Loſs of that Kingdom; and more particularly the Growth of the exor-'bitant Power of *France*, and the vaſt Deſigns of that turbulent and aſpi-'ring Monarch, not only the Perſecutor of the Proteſtant Religion, but 'likewiſe the ſworn Enemy of *England*; exciting the Aſſembly to put the 'Nation into a Poſture, not only to ſecure themſelves againſt all his Attempts, 'but alſo to make ſuch a powerful Diverſion in the very Bowels of his Do-'minions, as that they might recover their firſt Conqueſt of *France*, and

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're-unite the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, to the Imperial Crown 'of *England*, which, by an undiſputable Right, appertain to it.' This Speech was receiv'd with univerſal Applauſe, and was ſeconded by ſeveral Members; who, at the ſame Time, under a deep Senſe of their paſt Dangers, and preſent Deliverance, and excited by a Meſſage from the Lords, mov'd that a Day of *Publick Thankſgiving* to the Almighty, ſhou'd be appointed throughout the Kingdom, which was accordingly done, as will be farther remember'd. Then to his Highneſs they voted the following Addreſs, to which the Lords gave their unanimous Concurrence, and which was preſented to him that very Day in a full Body.

The Addreſs of both Houſes to the Prince.

'We the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and *Commons* Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, being highly ſenſible of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom, 'from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and that our Preſervation is, next 'under God, owing to your Highneſs, do return our moſt humble Thanks 'and Acknowledgement to your Highneſs, as *the glorious Inſtrument of 'ſo great a Bleſſing*. We do farther acknowledge the great Care your 'Highneſs has been pleas'd to take, in the Adminiſtration of the Publick 'Affairs of the Kingdom, to this Time: And we do moſt humbly beſeech 'your Highneſs, that you will take upon you the *Adminiſtration* of Pub'lick Affairs, both *Civil* and *Military*, and the Diſpoſal of the *Publick Re'venue*, for the Preſervation of our *Religion*, *Rights*, *Laws*, *Liberties*, 'and *Properties*, and of the *Peace* of the Nation. And that your High'neſs will take into your particular Care the preſent State of *Ireland*, and 'endeavour, by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Means to prevent the Dan'gers that threaten that Kingdom. All which we make our Requeſt to 'your Highneſs to undertake and execute, till farther Application ſhall be 'made by Us, which ſhall be expedited with all convenient Speed: And 'we ſhall alſo uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to give Diſpatch to the Matters 'recommended to us by your Highneſs's Letter.

The Prince of *Orange* took a Day's Time to return an Anſwer to this acceptable Addreſs; and ſo on the 23d of *January* he ſent this Anſwer to both Houſes; *My Lords and Gentlemen, I am glad, that what I have done has pleas'd You; and ſince you deſire me to continue the* Adminiſtration of Affairs, *I am willing to accept it. I muſt recommend to you the Conſideration of* Affairs *abroad, which makes it fit for you to expedite your Buſineſs; not only for making a* Settlement *at Home, upon a good Foundation, but for the* Safety *of all* Europe.

His Anſwer.

2. It was remarkable to ſee the Diſpatch and Unanimity between the two Houſes, and how both agreed with the general Senſe and Deſires of the Nation; ſo that the mighty Revolution went on without any Rubs or Obſtructions, till it came to the finiſhing Part, as will ſhortly be remember'd. The Senſe of the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, will farther appear from their Order for a Thankſgiving, the Perſons deſir'd to compoſe the Prayers, and the Expreſſions contain'd in them; all which are too remarkable to be forgotten. The Lords were no ſooner plac'd in their Seats, but they made this following *Order*. '*Die Martis, Jan.* 22. Order'd by 'the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, That the 'Lord Biſhop of *London*, the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Lord Biſhop of '*Norwich*, the Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the 'Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, the Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, the 'Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*, the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Lord Bi'ſhop of *Briſtol*, and the Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* [viz. *Compton*, *Sprat*, '*Lloyd*, *Turner*, *Lake*, *Frampton*, *Ken*, *White*, *Barlow*, *Trelawney* and '*Lloyd*] be, and are hereby deſired to draw up a Form of Prayer and Thankſ'giving to Almighty God, *For having made his Highneſs the Prince of* 'Orange,

The Lords Order for a Thankſgiving.

'Orange, *the glorious Inſtrument of the Great Deliverance of this King-* 1688/9.
'*dom, from Popery and Arbitrary Power*; to be us'd in the City of *Lon-* Jac. 4.
'*don* and Ten Miles diſtance thereof, on the 31ſt Inſtant, annd throughout
'the whole Kingdom, on the 14th of *February* next. Reſ. 29

As to the Prayers themſelves, which were very ſolemn, and in which the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had a chief Hand, we are to remember theſe Expreſſions in the Firſt: 'We give Glory to thy Holy Name for the bleſſed *Refor-* *The particular Prayers.*
'*mation* of this Church, in the Days of our Forefathers, from the deteſtable
'Superſtitions and Corruptions of Popery, and for our Deliverance from the
'intolerable Yoke of the *Romiſh* Church. We praiſe Thee for that Light of
'the Goſpel, that Purity of Doctrine and Worſhip, Thou haſt ever ſince
'vouchſafed unto us; and for the many wonderful Preſervations, by which
'Thou haſt manifeſted thy Fatherly Care of us, and Preſence with us: More
'eſpecially at this Time, we magnify Thy Goodneſs for our late great and
'happy Deliverance, whereby we truſt Thou haſt eſtabliſh'd to us all Thy
'former Mercies, *&c.*' In the ſecond Prayer, we have theſe Expreſſions;
'We moſt humbly preſent our ſelves this Day at the Throne of thy Grace,
'to bleſs and adore the unſpeakable Wiſdom and Goodneſs of Thy late gra-
'cious Providence towards us. We acknowledge it was thy infinite Mercy
'alone that rais'd this Church and Nation from their low Eſtate, and caus'd
'Light to ſpring out of Darkneſs unto us. It was becauſe Thy Compaſſions
'fail not, that our Holy Reform'd Religion was not overwhelm'd with *Po-*
'*piſh* Superſtition and Idolatry, that our Laws and Liberties are reſcu'd from
'the Bands of Violence and Oppreſſion.——Bleſſed be Thy Name who has
'rais'd up for us a mighty *Deliverer*, by whom thou haſt wrought this
'great Salvation, without the Effuſion of Blood, *&c.*' In the fourth Prayer we are to take notice of theſe Expreſſions; 'Accept, we beſeech
'Thee, the Thankſgivings and Praiſes of thy Servants for our Deliverance
'from thoſe great and apparent Dangers, wherewith we were compaſſed.
'It is of thy Mercy, O Lord, that we were not utterly conſumed; that
'our Religion was not deſtroy'd, nor our Liberties ſubverted; but that we
'ſtill freely profeſs Thy ſacred Truth, and join in thy moſt Holy Worſhip,
'and poſſeſs the Rights and Inheritances of our Fathers. Go on to perfect,
'O gracious God, the Work that Thou haſt begun amongſt us. Bleſs and
'proſper the Hands by which Thou haſt convey'd this Mercy to us, *&c.*

Over and above theſe Prayers, Six Days after the firſt *Order*, the Lords made a Second, 'whereby it was recommended to the Lords the Biſhops,
'to whom was referr'd the drawing up the Prayers for a Day of Thankſ-
'giving to Almighty God, *For having made his Highneſs the Prince of*
'Orange *the glorious Inſtrument*, &c. That they draw up a particular Prayer *One for the Prince alone.*
'for his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, inſerted in that Form.' This was publiſh'd by it ſelf, with this Title; *A Prayer for his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange; *to be us'd immediately after the Prayer for the Royal Family*; and is as follows: 'Almighty God, who in Times of Trouble and Danger,
'doſt raiſe up *Deliverers* of Thy People, and filleſt their Hearts with Zeal
'for Thy Service; we beſeech Thee to bleſs his Highneſs the Prince *of O-*
'*range*, whom Thou haſt ſent to be the Defender of our Laws and Reli-
'gion: Protect his Perſon, ſtrengthen his Hands, let Thy holy Fear ever-
'more rule in his Heart, that having Thee only before *his* Eyes, he may
'in all Things ſeek Thy Honour and Glory, and ſtudy to unite this divided
'Nation, and eſtabliſh it upon the ſure Foundations of Mercy and Truth,
'Righteouſneſs and Peace. This we beg for *Jeſus Chriſt* his ſake, our
'only Lord and Saviour.

3. In the mean Time the unfortunate King *James*, foreſeeing what Advantages the Nation was like to take of his withdrawing himſelf out of his Kingdom,

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King James's Letter to the Privy-Council.

Kingdom, thought it proper to write a moving *Letter* from St. *Germains*, directed to the *Lords and others of his Privy-Council*, in which he declar'd, 'That he had taken away not only all juſt Cauſes, but even Pretenſions of Diſcontent, and redreſs'd all thoſe Things that were ſet forth as the Cauſes of the Invaſion: That the Prince of *Orange* ſeeing all the Ends of his *Declaration* anſwer'd, the People beginning to be undeceiv'd, and returning apace to their Duty; and well foreſeeing, That if a Free Parliament ſhou'd meet at the Time appointed, ſuch a Settlement in all Probability, wou'd be made both in Church and State, as wou'd totally defeat his ambitious Deſigns, reſolv'd by all Means poſſible to prevent the Meeting of the Parliament: That to do this the moſt effectual Way, the Prince thought fit to lay a Reſtraint upon his Royal Perſon; for as it were abſurd to call that a Free Parliament, where there is any Force in either of the Houſes, ſo much leſs can that Parliament be ſaid to act Freely, where the Sovereign, by whoſe Authority they meet and ſit, and from whoſe Royal Aſſent all their Acts receive their Life and Sanction, is under actual Confinement. That the Senſe of the Indignities he had ſuffer'd, both in his own, and in the Perſon of the Earl of *Feverſham*, and the juſt Apprehenſions of farther Attempts, by them who had already endeavour'd to murther his Reputation by infamous Calumnies (as if he had been capable of ſuppoſing a Prince of *Wales*) together with a ſerious Reflection on a Saying of his Royal Father, *That there is little Diſtance between the Priſons and the Graves of Princes* (which afterwards prov'd but too true in his Caſe) cou'd not but perſuade him to make uſe of that Right which the Law of Nature gives to the meaneſt of his Subjects, of freeing himſelf from that unjuſt Confinement: That this he did, not more for the Security of his own Perſon, that thereby he might be in a better Capacity of tranſacting and providing for every Thing that might contribute to the Peace and Settlement of his Kingdoms: That as no Change of Fortune ſhall make him condeſcend to any Thing unbecoming his Royal Station, ſo neither the Provocation or Ingratitude of his own Subjects, nor any other Conſideration, ſhall ever prevail with him, to make the leaſt Step contrary to the true Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, which he ever did, and ever muſt look upon as his own. That he requir'd them of the *Privy-Council*, to make theſe his Intentions known to the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and the *Lord-Mayor* and *Commons* of the City of *London*, and to all his Subjects in General, and to aſſure them, That he deſir'd nothing more than to return and hold a *Free Parliament*; wherein he might have the beſt Opportunity of undeceiving his People, and ſhewing the *Sincerity* of thoſe *Proteſtations* he had often made of *Preſerving the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects, and the Proteſtant Religion, more eſpecially the Church of* England, *as by Law Eſtabliſh'd:* That in the mean Time they ſhou'd ſend him their Advice, what was fit to be done by him towards his Returning, and the accompliſhing of theſe good Ends; and that he required them to endeavour to ſuppreſs all Tumults and Diſorders, that the Nation might receive the leaſt Prejudice from the preſent Diſtractions that was poſſible.

His ſecond Letter to the Lords and Commons.

This Letter was no ſooner ſent, but it was publickly Printed and diſperſed in *London*; but it being counterſign'd by the Earl of *Melfort*, a profeſs'd *Papiſt*, and ſuppos'd to be dictated by the Counſels of *France*, his renew'd Promiſes made but ſmall Impreſſion upon thoſe who ever retain'd an Affection for him. There being no avow'd Anſwer made to it, while the *Convention* was ſitting, King *James* wrote another Letter, directed *To the Lords and Commons*; in which, with great Concern, he told them, 'That he thought himſelf oblig'd in Conſcience to do all he cou'd to open 'his Peoples Eyes, that they might ſee the true Intereſt of the Nation in 'this

'this important Conjuncture: That finding he cou'd no longer ſtay with 1688.
'Safety, nor act with Freedom, he had left the *Reaſons of his withdraw-*
'*ing from* Rocheſter, under his own Hand: That underſtanding that that Jac. 4.
'*Letter* [*here repeated at length*] was not taken to be his, but was ma-
'liciouſly ſuppreſs'd by the Prince of *Orange*, he wrote to ſeveral of his Ref. 29
'Privy-Council, and directed Copies thereof to divers of them, the Peers
'of the Realm, believing none durſt intercept or open any of his Letters:
'That of all theſe he had no Account, nor did he wonder that all Arts
'were us'd to hinder them from knowing his Sentiments: That he was re-
'ſolv'd nothing ſhou'd be omitted on his Part, that cou'd contribute to-
'wards the Redreſs of all former Errors, or preſent Diſorders, or add to the
'ſecuring of the *Proteſtant Religion*, or the *Property* of the Subject; in-
'tending to refer the whole to a Parliament *legally call'd*, *freely elected*,
'and *held without conſtraint:* And that none might deſpair of his *Mercy*,
'he declared on the WORD OF A KING, that his *Pardon* ſhou'd be extended
'even to thoſe that betray'd him, (ſome few excepted) Reſolving in that
'Parliament, by an *Act of Oblivion*, to cover all Faults.

The *Word of a King* was now ſo unhappily reduc'd to ſo low an Ebb, *Both diſre-*
that when the Letter was ſent by the Lord *Preſton* to the Houſe of Com- *garded.*
mons, and directed to their Speaker, the Houſe underſtanding that it came from King *James*, they did not think fit to take any notice of it, and ſo rejected it unopen'd. A Copy of the ſame Letter being likewiſe ſent to the Houſe of Lords, directed to the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, their Speaker, ſome of the Aſſembly mov'd to have it open'd and read, but others warmly oppos'd it; and at length it was reſolv'd, That the Lord *Preſton* ſhou'd be ſent for. His Lordſhip accordingly appear'd, and own'd that the Letter was brought to him by a *Scotch Man*; upon which he was order'd to attend the Houſe with the *Bearer* on the 4th of *February:* But his Lordſhip was never call'd that Day, nor any farther Notice was taken of the Letters, which, by the particular Friends of King *James*, was thought a great Hardſhip.

4. All this while the Houſe of Lords kept Sitting every Day; but the *The Proceed-*
Commons had deferr'd their Sitting again till the 28th of *January*, on pur- *ings of the*
poſe to give time to the reſt of their Members to come up to Town. On *Houſe of*
which Day, the Houſe being full, they proceeded to the great Conſideration *Commons.*
of the State and Condition of the Nation; whereupon they reſolv'd themſeves into a Committee of the whole Houſe, and Mr. *Hambden* was put into the Chair. The firſt that ſtood up was Mr. *Dolben*, Son to the late Archbiſhop of *York*, who made a long and free Speech, tending to prove, 'That the Throne of *England* was now become Vacant; King *James* the 'Second, both by his Violation of the Laws and Conſtitution, and his vo-'luntary Deſerting his Kingdoms, having forfeited his Right, and Abdica-'ted the Government.' A Member of the oppoſite Party made a ſharp Reply to that unexpected Aſſertion, *That the Throne was Vacant.* Whereupon Sir *Richard Temple* briskly ask'd him, *If the Throne were not Vacant, what Buſineſs had they in that Place, and what Need there was of Calling a Convention?* Sir *Richard* made a very remarkable Speech to back Mr. *Dolben*'s Poſition, which occaſion'd a famous Debate of four or five Hours: Which being ended, the Houſe made the following complicated Vote, perhaps the moſt memorable in all the *Engliſh* Records:

'*Reſolved*, That King *James* the Second, having endeavour'd to ſubvert *Their Grand*
'the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the *Original Contract* be- *Vote of the*
'tween King and People; and by the Advice of *Jeſuits*, and other wicked *Vacancy of*
'Perſons, having violated the *Fundamental Laws*, and withdrawn himſelf *the Throne.*

'out

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'out of the Kingdom, hath *Abdicated* the Government, and that the Throne 'is thereby become *Vacant*.' The Party of those who were for inviting King *James* to return upon Limitations, or not for making the Prince of *Orange* King, did not find themselves strong enough to cause the House to Divide: However, the Chief of them, such as Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Mr. *Finch*, Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, Sir *William Cook*, the Lord *Fanshaw*, the Lord *Cornbury*, &c. did vigorously oppose the Passing of this Vote. Among the rest Mr. *Finch* made a long and eloquent Speech, 'Extolling the Courage, Conduct and Magnanimity of the Prince of *Orange*, 'who was to be compared to those ancient Heroes, that were contented 'with the Glory of Freeing Nations, and Destroying Tyrants, without any 'particular Design upon their Crowns.' But notwithstanding all that these Gentlemen cou'd alledge, the fore-mention'd Vote was sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Other Votes.

Having got over this grand Vote, they found others more easy; and the next Day they 'Resolv'd, That it hath been found by Experience, to be 'inconsistent with this *Protestant* Kingdom to be govern'd by a *Popish* 'Prince;' which Resolution was likewise sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence. At the same time they presented an Address to the Prince of *Orange*, For the immediate Stopping of all Ships that were going to *France*. Two Days after they Voted, 'That the Thanks of the House be given to 'the Clergy of the Church of *England*, who had preach'd and written against '*Popery*, and had refus'd to read in the Churches the King's *Declaration* 'for Toleration, in opposition to the pretended *Dispensing Power*, claim'd 'in the late Reign of King *James* the Second, and had oppos'd the illegal '*Ecclesiastical Commission*.' They farther Voted, on the same Day, 'That 'the Thanks of the House be given to the Officers, Soldiers and Mariners 'of the Army and Fleet, for having testify'd their ready Adherence to the '*Protestant Religion*, and being Instrumental in Delivering this Kingdom 'from *Popery* and *Slavery*; and to all such, who had appear'd in Arms to 'that Purpose.' These two last Votes pass'd *nemine Contradicente*, and without the least Opposition.

The Revolution at some Stand.

IV. 1. The mighty *Revolution* had mov'd forward after a wonderful Manner, from its first Appearance, to the present Time, with scarce any Degree of Opposition or Obstruction. It has been observ'd, That the whole Machine, to the Glory of the Artificers, was so exquisitely contriv'd, and the Parts so duly adjusted, that when it was set together and put in Motion, it went on with little exterior Assistance, in that Order and Regularity, that many of those who were mov'd by it, knew not they were leaving their old Government, till they were quietly lodg'd under a new one; so that the Workmanship seem'd more Divine than Human. But now, for a while, it appear'd to have been at a Stand; tho' it was plainly got upon such Ground, that, notwithstanding any Impediments laid in its Way, it wou'd soon be carry'd forward by its own Weight. The Essential Parts, the Relief and Deliverance of the Nation, were compleated without any imaginable Difficulty; but the Finishing Parts, the new Settlement and Government, met with some Obstruction. As to the former, which was so desirable and signal, there seem'd an universal Agreement, but the latter caus'd Variety of Opinions. This last appear'd most plainly in the House of Lords; where many of that August Body, who had entertain'd large and generous Notions of the Church and Monarchy of *England*, soon found themselves under no common Difficulties.

Rot. Parl. *Bohun. Boyer.* Complete History. *Jones.* Collections. *&c.*

The Lords divided.

It was upon the 29th of *January* when the Lords began to consider the Grand Vote of the House of Commons, concerning King *James*, which they did with all imaginable Circumspection; several of them not well know-

ing how to proceed, much leſs how to recede: And being reſolv'd into a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which the Earl of *Danby* was Chair-Man, the firſt Motion that was made, was, 'Not to agree with the Commons, 'That *the Throne was Vacant*, but only firſt to ſuppoſe it, for the preſent, 'leaving it to be farther examin'd afterwards, in order to cut ſhort ſeveral 'other Queſtions, by determining this firſt, *Whether the Throne being Va-* 'cant, *it ought to be fill'd up by a* Regent *or a* King?' This Queſtion was debated with great Learning, much Skill, and no little Warmth: Among the Orators, the Earl of *Nottingham* brought many Arguments from the *Engliſh* Hiſtory to ſupport his Opinion for a Regency with the Regal Power, leaving the *Title* and *Dignity* on King *James*; adding a freſh Inſtance from *Portugal*, where *Don Pedro* had only the Title of *Regent* conferr'd upon him, while his Depos'd Brother was alive. This Speech is ſaid to have had ſo great an Influence upon the Houſe, that it wou'd have been follow'd by the Majority, had it not been ſtrenuouſly oppos'd by the Marquiſs of *Halli-fax* and the Earl of *Danby*, who by their great Skill laid open the inex-tricable Difficulties attending that Propoſal. So that the Queſtion being put to the Vote, fifty one were for a *King*, and forty nine only for a *Re-gent*, namely, the Dukes of *Somerſet*, *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton*, *Beaufort* and *Northumberland*; the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Claren-don*, *Rocheſter*, *Craven*, *Weſtmorland*, *Scarſdale*, *Cheſterfield*, *Lichfield*, *Yarmouth* and *Lindſey*; Viſcount *Weymouth*, the Lords *Coventry*, *Brook*, *Leigh*, *Ferrars*, *Maynard*, *Chandois*, *Jermin*, *Arundel* of *Treviſe*, *Dart-mouth*, *Godolphin*, *Griffin* and five more; the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Bi-ſhops of *Norwich*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *St. Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterbo-rough*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *St. Davids*, *Oxford*, *Glocester* and *Lincoln*. The Earls of *Huntington* and *Mulgrave* did not appear in the Houſe; and the Lord *Churchill* likewiſe kept at home upon ſome Indiſpoſition. The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* was alſo abſent; and indeed the Odiouſneſs of a *De-poſing Power*, as an Art and Act of *Popery*, had made ſo great an Impreſ-ſion upon the Minds of the Clergy, that no Biſhops came in to the Opinion of filling up the Throne, except the Biſhops of *London* and *Briſtol*. How-ever, the Party for a King was ſoon after ſtrengthen'd by four Dukes that came over to them, *viz.* the Dukes of *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton* and *Northumberland*.

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A Regency *rejected.*

On the next Day, *Jan.* 30, the Lords proceeded farther upon the Grand Vote of the other Houſe, and put this Queſtion, *Whether or no there was an* Original Contract *between King and People?* Which Queſtion occa-ſion'd many warm Diſputes; not a few maintaining, that Kings held their Crowns by *Divine Right*; which others vehemently deny'd, aſſerting, That all Power originally belong'd to the Community, and to the King on-ly by *mutual Compact*. Thereupon the Houſe being divided, fifty three were for the laſt Poſition, and forty ſix only for Negative; by which it ap-pear'd, that the Party that were for a *Regency* began to loſe Ground. The next Queſtion was, *Whether King* James *had broke that* Original Con-tract? But this being ſo manifeſt, it was ſoon carry'd in the Affirmative. On the next Day, their Lordſhips took into Conſideration the Word *Abdicated*; and concluded that *Deſerted* was more proper. They next examin'd the Word *Vacant*, and put this Queſtion, *Whether King* James *having broke that* Original Contract *between Him and his People, and deſerted the Go-vernment, the Throne was thereby* Vacant? This Queſtion was debated with more Heat and Contention than any of the former, and upon a Diviſi-on, one Party, who maintain'd it as a Maxim of our Law, *That the King never dies*, and therefore, *that the Throne can never be Vacant*, carry'd the Negative of the Queſtion by eleven Voices. From this ſome Peers pre-ſently

The Vacancy *of the Throne deny'd by them.*

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ſently inferr'd, that the Crown was devolv'd upon the next Heir; and mov'd that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhou'd be declared King and Queen, which was alſo carry'd in the Negative by five Voices. The next Day their Lordſhips agreed to communicate their Reſolutions to the Houſe of Commons; but before they roſe, the Marqueſſes of *Halliſax* and *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Danby* and *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Delamere* and others, to the Number of forty, enter'd their Proteſtations againſt the Vote of the Day before, namely, *That the Throne was not Vacant.*

A Petition to to the Lords.

2. While theſe Matters were warmly debated in the *Convention* and the Town, and all Men ſtill in ſuſpence which way they wou'd be determin'd, on the firſt Day of *February*, ſome zealous Perſons ſet on foot the following Petition, and endeavour'd to get it ſubſcrib'd by the Multitude indifferently, going to all publick Places to ſolicite Mens Hands: *To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled in the Grand Convention, the humble Petition of great Numbers of Citizens, and other Inhabitants of the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter. 'Whereas we are in a deep Senſe 'of the Danger of Delays, and perplext Debates about ſettling the Govern-'ment, at this time *Vacant*, by Reaſon whereof, the neceſſary Ends of 'Government cannot be duly adminiſter'd: We humbly deſire that his 'moſt Illuſtrious Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and his Royal Conſort 'the Princeſs, may be ſpeedily ſettled on the Throne, by whoſe Courage, 'Conduct and Reputation, this Nation and the *Proteſtant Religion* may 'be defended from our Enemies at home and abroad; and that *Ireland*, 'now in a bleeding and deplorable Condition, may be reſcu'd from its Mi-'ſeries, and theſe Kingdoms ſettled on a laſting Foundation in Peace and 'Liberty.' Whereupon his Highneſs the Prince being inform'd of the ill Conſequences and ſcandal of this way of Proceeding, caus'd the following Order to be made and publiſh'd, to ſuppreſs it: *By the Lord Mayor*, &c.

Diſcourag'd by the Prince.

'Whereas his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* has been pleas'd to ſignify to 'me this Day. That divers Perſons (pretending themſelves to be Citizens 'of *London*) in a tumultuous and diſorderly Manner have lately diſturb'd 'the preſent *Convention* of the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, upon 'Pretence of Petitioning. It being Regular and Uſual for the Citizens of 'this City, that are under the Apprehenſion of any Grievance, to make 'their Application to my ſelf, and the Court of Aldermen: Therefore, 'with the Advice of my Brethren, the Aldermen of this City, theſe are to 'require you, That you command within your *Ward*, that they forbear 'any ſuch tumultuous Diſturbance, or Aſſembly; as they will anſwer the 'contrary at their utmoſt Peril.

However, the Lords proceeded in their own Way; but to ſhew their Diſinclinations to King *James*, on the 2d of *February*, 'It was order'd by 'the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, that the 'Day of Thankſgiving on the 6th of *February* inſtant, on which Day the 'late King *James* the Second came to the Throne, ſhall not be obſerv'd in 'this Kingdom.' On the ſame Day their Lordſhips ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by Sir *Miles Cook* and Mr. *Methwin*, two Maſters of *Chancery*, to acquaint them, 'That they had conſider'd of their Vote of the 28th of 'January laſt, to which they concurr'd, with theſe two Amendments; 'firſt, inſtead of the Word *Abdicated*, they wou'd have *Deſerted* be put 'in; and next, theſe Words, *And that the Throne is thereby Vacant*, to 'be left out.

Amendments to the Commons Vote.

The Commons having conſider'd of theſe Amendments, it was carry'd by a great Majority, That a Committee ſhou'd be appointed to draw up Reaſons, why that Houſe cou'd not concur with their Lordſhips, which were as follows. 'That to the firſt Amendment, the Commons did not a-

'gree

'gree, becauſe the Word *Deſerted* did not fully expreſs the *Concluſion* ne- 1688 9.
'ceſſarily inferr'd from the *Premiſes*, which their Lordſhips had agreed to, Jac. 4.
'namely, *That King* James *the Second had endeavour'd to ſubvert the* Ref. 29
'*Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the* Original Contract *between*
'*King and People, and had violated the Fundamental Laws, and with-*
'*drawn himſelf out of the Kingdom:* That the Word *Deſerted* reſpected
'only the *Withdrawing*; but the Word *Abdicated* reſpected the *Whole*;
'for which Purpoſe the Commons made Choice of it. That the Commons
'cou'd not agree to the ſecond Amendment, to leave out the Words, *And*
'*that the Throne is thereby Vacant*; *Firſt*, Becauſe they conceiv'd, That
'as they might well infer from ſo much of their own Vote as their Lord-
'ſhips had agreed unto, *That King* James *the Second had* Abdicated *the*
'*Government, and that the Throne was thereby Vacant*, ſo that if the
'Commons ſhou'd admit their Lordſhips Amendment, that He had only
'*Deſerted the Government*, yet even thence it wou'd follow, That the
'*Throne is Vacant*, as to King *James* the Second; *Deſerting the Govern-*
'*ment*, being in true Conſtruction, *Deſerting the Throne*. *Secondly*, That
'the Commons conceiv'd they needed not to prove to their Lordſhips,
'That, as to any other Perſon, the *Throne* was alſo *Vacant*; their Lord-
'ſhips, as the Commons conceiv'd, having already admitted it, by their
'Addreſſing the Prince of *Orange*, *to take upon him the Adminiſtration*
'*of Publick Affairs*, &c. and by appointing Days of Publick *Thankſgi-*
'*ving* to be obſerv'd throughout the whole Kingdom; all which the Com-
'mons conceiv'd to imply, that it was their Lordſhips Opinion, *That the*
'*Throne was Vacant*, and to ſignify ſo much to the People of *England*.
'And *Thirdly*, That it is from thoſe who are upon the Throne of *Eng-*
'*land* (when there are any ſuch) from whom the People of *England*
'ought to receive Protection, and to whom, for that Cauſe, they owe the
'Allegiance of Subjects; but there being none now from whom they ex-
'pected *Regal* Protection, and to whom, for that Cauſe, they us'd the Al-
'legiance of Subjects, the Commons conceiv'd, *The Throne was Vacant*.'
Whereupon it was reſolv'd that the Earl of *Wiltſhire* ſhou'd deſire a *Con-*
ference with the Lords, upon the ſubject Matter of the Amendments; which
their Lordſhips having readily conſented to, the Commons appointed the
ſame Committee that had prepar'd the foregoing Reaſons, to be the Mana-
gers of the ſaid Conference.

The latter Reaſons againſt them.

The next Day Mr. *Hambden* reported from the *Conference* with the Lords, That the Earl of *Nottingham* had ſpoke to this effect; 'That the 'Lords had deſir'd this Conference, that they might be as happily united 'to the Commons in Opinion, as they were inſeparable in their Intereſt; 'and that they were at that time uneaſy, that they cou'd not concur with 'the Commons in every thing, becauſe it was of ſo great a Concern to the 'Nation, and from ſo great and wiſe a Body. That the Lords did inſiſt 'upon the firſt Amendment, becauſe they did not find that the Word *Ab-*'*dicated*, was a Word known to the Common Law of *England*; and be-'cauſe in the moſt common Acceptation of the Civil Law, *Abdicated* was 'a voluntary expreſs Act of *Renunciation*, which was not in this Caſe, and 'did not follow from the Premiſes, *That King* James *the* Second *by ha-*'*ving withdrawn himſelf, after having endeavour'd to ſubvert the Con-*'*ſtitution of the Government, by breaking the* Original Contract *between*
'*King and People*, might be more properly ſaid to have *Abdicated* than
'*Deſerted*. That the Lords alſo inſiſted on the ſecond Amendment; for
'although their Lordſhips had agreed, That the King had *Deſerted* the
'Government, and therefore had made Application to the Prince of *Orange*
'*to take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government*; yet there cou'd

The Lords Reply;

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'be no other Inference drawn from hence, but only, the Exercise of the 'Government of King *James* the Second was ceas'd: So as the Lords were 'willing to secure the Nation against the Return of the said King into his 'Kingdom; but not that here was such an *Abdication* by Him, or such a '*Vacancy in the Throne*, as that the Crown was therefore become *Elective*: 'Which they cou'd not agree to: 1. Because, by the *Constitution* of the 'Government, the Monarchy is *Hereditary*, and not *Elective*. 2. Because 'no Act of the King can Bar or Destroy the *Right* of his Heirs to the 'Crown; and therefore, in Answer to the third Reason alledg'd by the 'House of Commons, if the Throne be *Vacant* of King *James* the Se-'cond, Allegiance was due to such Person as the *Right of Succession* did 'belong to.

Which occasions

From this Reasoning it plainly appear'd, That the Dissent of the Lords from the Commons, did not arise from any Affection or Favour, either to the *Person* or *Government* of King *James*, but rather from a tender Regard to the *Protestant Successors*, and the respectful and legal Notions of *Hereditary Monarchy*. However, when Mr. *Hambden* made his *Report* of this late *Conference*, the Question was put, *Whether the Commons shou'd concur with the Lords?* As to the first Amendment about the Word *Abdicated*, it was carry'd in the negative with great Unanimity; but the second, leaving out the *Vacancy of the Throne*; occasion'd a long and warm Debate; till, upon the Division of the House, those for Disagreeing with the Lords were found to be two hundred and eighty two against one hundred and fifty one; the Majority one hundred and thirty one. Hereupon Mr. *Dolben* was order'd to desire a *Free Conference* with the Lords upon the Subject Matter of the last *Conference*; to which the Lords very readily agreed. Accordingly the Commons appointed twenty four Persons to manage upon this extraordinary Occasion, namely, Sir *Robert Howard*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Mr. *Paul Foley*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Holt*, Lord *Falkland*, Sir *George Treby*, Mr. *Sommers*, Mr. *Garraway*, Mr. *Boscowen*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. *Sacheverell*, Major *Wildman*, Colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Ayres*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *Henry Goodrick*, Mr. *Waller* and Sir *John Gaye*; all Men of known Parts and Abilities, and distinguish'd for their Knowledge, either of Parliaments or the Laws of the Land. The Lords appointed for their chief Managers, the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, *Rochester*, *Pembroke*, with the Bishop of *Ely* and some others.

The famous Debate between the Lords and Commons.

3. And now we are arriv'd at the most memorable Conference and Debate that had been known for many Ages, which was carry'd on with the utmost Quiet, Decency and Attention. The Managers of both Houses being met in the Painted Chamber, and Mr. *Blaney* in a private Place to take down all that was said, Mr. *Hambden* open'd the Conference, by saying,

Mr. Hambden.

'That the Commons had desir'd it, that they might make it appear, that 'they had sufficient Reason to maintain their own Vote: That it was a 'Matter of the greatest Concernment to the Kingdom, and the *Protestant* 'Interest, that there be a good Issue of the Business then in Debate between 'both Houses. That the present Difference was only about a few Words; 'but that the Commons thought their Words so significant, and so proper 'to the Case to which they were apply'd, that so weighty a Matter, as 'that now in Debate, they were by no Means to be parted with: That 'the Word *Abdicated* was of a larger Signification than the Word *De-'serted*, but not too large to be apply'd to all the Recitals in the Begin-'ning of the Commons Vote; and that it ought not to be restrain'd to a 'voluntary express *Resignation*, only in Word or Writing; there being Overt 'Acts that wou'd be significant enough to amount to it. That if the Com-

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'mon Law of *England* be not acquainted with the Word, it was from the 'Modeſty of our Law, that is not willing to ſuppoſe there ſhou'd be any un- 'fortunate Occaſion to make uſe of it. That as to the ſeveral Amendments, 'the Commons conceiv'd, *That the Throne is Vacant*, was no new Phraſe, 'neither did they think it chargeable with the Conſequences that their 'Lordſhips drew from it, *That it wou'd make the Crown of* England *be- 'come Elective*. That if the Throne had been full, the Lords wou'd have 'aſſign'd that as a Reaſon of the Diſagreement, by telling the Commons who 'fill'd it. That it wou'd be known by ſome Publick Royal Act, which 'might notify to the People in whom the Kingly Government reſided; 'neither of which had been done, and yet their Lordſhips would not al- 'low *the Throne to be Vacant*. 1688/9. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29

The next that ſpoke was Mr. *Sommers*, who with great Skill and Acute- neſs, maintain'd, 'That if it was an Objection againſt the Word *Abdicated*, 'for not having a known Senſe in the Common Law of *England*, there 'was the ſame Objection againſt the Word *Deſerted*, ſince there cou'd be 'no Authority, or Book of Law produc'd, wherein any determin'd Senſe 'was given to the Word *Deſerted*; ſo that their Lordſhips firſt Reaſon had 'the ſame Force againſt their own Amendment, as it had againſt the Term 'us'd by the Commons. He urg'd, that the Words were both *Latin*, and 'us'd in the beſt Authors, and both of a known Signification, tho' their 'Meaning be not the ſame. That the Word *Abdicate* did naturally and 'properly ſignify, *entirely to Renounce, Throw off, Diſown, Relinquiſh 'any Thing or Perſon, and ſo as to have no farther to do with it*; and 'that, *whether it be done by expreſs Words or Writing*, (which was the 'Senſe the Lords had put upon it, and which was properly call'd, *Reſig- 'nation* or *Ceſſion*) or, *by doing ſuch Acts as are Inconſiſtent with the 'Holding or Retaining of the Thing*; which the Commons took to be the 'preſent Caſe, and therefore made Choice of the Word *Abdicate*, as that 'which they thought did, above all others, moſt properly expreſs that 'Meaning.' That in this latter Senſe it was taken by others, and that it was the true Signification of the Word, he ſhew'd by ſeveral Authorities, as *Grotius*, *Calvin*, *Briſonius*, *Budæus* and *Baleius*. As to the Word *Deſerted*, he alledg'd, 'That it had not only a very doubtful Signification, 'but in the common Acceptance, both of the Civil and Canon-Law, it did 'ſignify only a *bare Withdrawing, a temporary Quitting of a Thing*, and '*Neglect only, which leaves the Party at Liberty of Returning to it a- 'gain*; and made it appear out of *Spigelius* and *Bartolus*, That that is 'call'd *Deſertion*, which is *Temporary* and *Relievable*, and that *Dereli- 'ction*, where there is *no Power or Right to Return*. Farther he ſaid, 'That the Word *Deſert* is us'd in the Civil Law for *Soldiers leaving their 'Colours*; and that in the Canon-Law, to *Deſert a Benefice*, ſignify'd no 'more than to be *Non-Reſident*; that in both Caſes the Party had not on- 'ly a *Right of Returning*, but was *bound to return again*: Which, as the 'Commons did not take to be the preſent Caſe, ſo they cou'd not think 'that their Lordſhips did, becauſe it was expreſſly ſaid in one of their Rea- 'ſons, given in Defence of the laſt Amendment, *That the Lords had been, 'and were willing to ſecure the Nation againſt the Return of King* James; 'which their Lordſhips cou'd not, in Juſtice do, if they did look upon it 'as no more than a *negligent Withdrawing, which leaves a Liberty to 'the Party to return*. That for theſe Reaſons the Commons cou'd not a- 'gree to their firſt Amendment, becauſe the Word *Deſerted* did not, in a- 'ny Sort, come up to the Senſe of the Thing, neither did it reach their 'Lordſhips Meaning, as it was expreſs'd in their Reaſons: Whereas the 'Word *Abdicated* did expreſs properly what was to be inferr'd from that

Mr. Sommers

'Part

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'Part of the Vote to which their Lordships had agreed, *That King* James '*the Second, by going about to Subvert the Conſtitution*, &c. had thereby '*Renounc'd* to be a King, according to the Conſtitution, by Avowing to 'govern by a Deſpotick Power, unknown to the Conſtitution, and inconſi-'ſtent with it. That he had *Renounc'd* to be a King according to Law, 'ſuch a King as he Swore to be at his Coronation, ſuch a King to whom 'the Allegiance of an *Engliſh* Man is due, and had ſet up another Kind of 'Dominion, which was to all Intents an *Abdication*, or *Abandoning his* '*Legal Title*, as fully as if it had been done by expreſs Words.

Serjeant Holt. What Mr. *Sommers* alledg'd was back'd by Serjeant *Holt*, who added, 'That the Lords Objection, *That the Word* Abdicated *was not known to* '*the Common Law of* England, cou'd be of no Force, ſince there were ve-'ry few Words in the *Engliſh* Tongue of equal Antiquity with the Com-'mon Law. And that the Language was ſo much alter'd in the ſeveral Suc-'ceſſions of Time, and the Intermixture of other Nations, that if they 'ſhou'd be oblig'd to make uſe only of Words then known and in Uſe, 'what they ſhou'd deliver in ſuch a Dialect wou'd be very difficult to be un-'derſtood. As for the Lords ſecond Reaſon for their firſt Amendment, 'namely, *That in the moſt common Acceptation of the Civil Law*, Abdi-'cation *is a voluntary expreſs Act of* Renunciation; he own'd that to be 'the general Acceptation of the Word, and that he thought the Commons 'did ſo uſe the Word in this Caſe, becauſe it had that Signification; but 'that he did not know whether the Lords meant a Voluntary Expreſs 'Act, or formal Deed of *Renunciation:* That if they did ſo, he con-'feſs'd he knew of none in this Caſe, but that both in the Common 'Law of *England*, and in the Civil Law, and in common Underſtan-'ding, there are expreſs Acts of *Renunciation*, that are not by Deed; lay-'ing this down as a Maxim, *That the Government* and *Magiſtracy is un-'der a Truſt*; *and that any acting contrary to that Truſt, is* Renouncing '*of the Truſt, tho' it be not a* Renouncing *by a Formal Deed:* For it is a 'plain Declaration by Act and Deed, tho' not in Writing, that He, who 'has the Truſt, acting contrary, is a *Diſclaimer* of the Truſt, eſpecially 'if the Actings be ſuch as are inconſiſtent with, and ſubverſive of this 'Truſt.

The Earl of Nottingham. The firſt that ſpoke on the Lords Side was the Earl of *Nottingham*, who alledg'd, 'That the main Reaſon of the Change of the Word *Abdicate*, 'was upon the Account of the Conſequences drawn in the Concluſion of 'the Vote of the Commons, *That the Throne is thereby Vacant*; by which 'Expreſſion the Commons ſeem'd to mean that the Throne was ſo Vacant 'as to null the Succeſſion in the Hereditary Line, and ſo all the Heirs to 'be cut off, which the Lords ſaid wou'd make the Crown *Elective*; and 'therefore it was fit to ſettle firſt what the Conſequence of the *Throne be-'ing Vacant* meant.' To which Serjeant *Maynard* immediately reply'd,

Serjeant Maynard. 'That when there is a preſent Defect of one to exerciſe the Adminiſtrati-'on of the Government, the Declaring a *Vacancy*, and Proviſion of a Sup-'ply for it, cou'd never make a Crown *Elective:* That the Commons ap-'prehended there was ſuch a Defect, and by Conſequence, a preſent Neceſ-'ſity for Supply of the Government; that the Conſtitution, notwithſtand-'ing the *Vacancy*, was the ſame; that the Laws, that were the Foundati-'ons and Rules of that Conſtitution, were the ſame; but if there was, in 'any particular Inſtance, a Breach of that Conſtitution, that wou'd be an '*Abdication*, and an *Abdication* wou'd infer a *Vacancy*; not that the Com-'mons did ſay, *That the Crown of* England *is always and perpetually E-'lective*; but only that it was neceſſary that there be a *Supply* when there 'is a *Defect*; and that the doing of that wou'd be no Alteration of the 'Monarchy from a *Succeſſive* one to an *Elective*.

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The Biſhop of Ely.

The next that ſpoke for the Lords was the Biſhop of *Ely*, who objected againſt Mr. *Sommers* quoting *Grotius* for the Word *Abdicate*, and ask'd, 'Whether that great Author, in treating on this Subject, did not interpoſe 'this Caution, *If there be a yielding to the Times; if there be a going 'away with a purpoſe of ſeeking to recover what is, for the preſent, left 'or forſaken*; in plain *Engliſh*, *If there were any thing of Force, or juſt 'Fear in the Caſe, that did void the Notion of* Abdication:' Upon which Serjeant *Maynard* return'd, 'That was not any Part of the Caſe declared 'by the Commons in the Vote; that when the whole Kingdom and the '*Proteſtant* Religion, our Laws and Liberties had been in Danger of being 'ſubverted, an Enquiry muſt be made into the Authors and Inſtruments of 'this Attempt; and that if he, who had the Adminiſtration intruſted to him, 'was found the Author and Actor in it, what cou'd that be, but a *Renun-'ciation of his Truſt*, and conſequently his Place thereby *Vacant*? That '*Abdication* was an *Engliſh* Word, and according to the Lords, the true 'Signification of it is a *Renunciation*; That they were not to go to learn '*Engliſh* from Foreign Authors, being able without their Aid to tell the 'Meaning of their own Tongue; That, however, for their Lordſhips Satis-'faction, the Commons had ſhew'd its Meaning in Foreign Authors; and 'that it was more than a *Deſerting* the Government, or *Leaving it with 'a Purpoſe of Returning*.

To this the Biſhop reply'd, 'That for this very Reaſon the Lords wou'd 'have a Word made uſe of which ſignify'd only the *Ceaſure of the Exer-'ciſe of a Right*; that if there were ſuch a Defect, as had been ſpoken of, 'it muſt certainly be ſupply'd: That the Lords had by another Vote de-'clared, *That it was inconſiſtent with the Laws, Liberties and Religion 'of* England, *to have a* Papiſt *rule over that Kingdom*, which he took to 'be only the *Actual* Adminiſtration of the Government: That *Grotius* di-'ſtinguiſh'd between a *Right*, and the *Exerciſe of that Right*; and that 'as there was a *Natural Incapacity* for the Exerciſe, as Sickneſs, Lunacy, 'Infancy, *&c.* ſo there was a *Moral Incapacity*, which he conceiv'd to be 'a full irremoveable Perſuaſion to a falſe Religion, contrary to the Doctrine 'of Chriſtianity; that then there muſt be a Proviſion made for ſup-'plying this Defect, and an *Intermediate* Government taken Care for: Be-'cauſe become neceſſary for the Support of the Government, if he to whom 'the Right of Succeſſion does belong, makes the Exerciſe of his Govern-'ment *Impracticable*, and the Subjects Obedience to him, conſiſtently with 'the Conſtitution of their Religion, *Impoſſible*; but that, he took it, did 'not alter that *Right*, nor was an *Abdication* of that Right: That, no 'doubt, *Abdication* was an *Engliſh* Word, and well known by Men con-'verſant in Books; but that in *Cicero*, it ſignify'd ſometimes the *Renoun-'cing of an Actual Exerciſe of a Right*, and ſometimes the *Renouncing 'of the very Right*; ſo that its Signification, as the Lords alledg'd, was 'dubious, and therefore the Peers hop'd the Commons wou'd think fit not 'to uſe ſuch Words in a Caſe of this Nature and Conſequence. That great 'Inconveniencies wou'd follow upon the Uſe of that Word, if it meant a '*Renouncing abſolutely of the Right:* That among the Civilians there is an '*Abdication*, that may *forfeit the Power of the King only*, and there may 'be *One* that may *forfeit that and the Crown too:* That thoſe Abdicati-'ons that are of *Power* only, are *Incapacities*, whether Natural or Invo-'luntary, as Defects of Senſe, Age or Body, or the like; or Moral and 'Voluntary, as Contrariety in Religion: That there was lately an Inſtance 'of the firſt in *Portugal*, which was a *Forfeiture only of the Power*, and 'not of the *Name and Honour of a King*; for tho' the *Adminiſtration* was 'put into the younger Brother's Hands, the *Patents* and other Publick Inſtru-

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'ments run in the eldeſt Brother's Name. That he did not here conſider, 'whether the King was gone out of the Kingdom, or ſtaid in it; but only 'whether he was fit for the *Adminiſtration*, which muſt be provided for, 'were he here, or gone away. That the higheſt Inſtance of an *Abdication* 'is, when a Prince is not only unable to Execute his Power, but acts quite 'contrary to it; which wou'd not be anſwer'd by ſo bare a Word of the 'Commons, as *Endeavour*. That if the laſt Inſtance of an *Abdication of 'both Power and Right*, took place in a *Succeeding Monarchy*, the Con'ſequence wou'd be, *That there was a Forfeiture of the whole Right*; 'and then that *Hereditary Succeſſion was cut off*, which he believ'd was 'not intended by the Commons. That by the *Original Compact* men'tion'd in the Vote, muſt be meant the Compact made when the Go'vernment was firſt Inſtituted, and the Conditions that each Part of the 'Government ſhou'd obſerve on their part, of which this was the Funda'mental, *That King, Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, ſhou'd 'have the Power of Making new Laws, and Altering of old ones:* And 'that being one Law which ſettles the *Succeſſion*, it was as much Part of the '*Original Compact* as any: That then, if ſuch a Caſe happen'd, as an *Ab'dication* in a *Succeſſive Kingdom*, the *Compact* being made to the *King*, 'his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, the *Diſpoſition of the Crown* wou'd not fall to 'the Lords and Commons till all the *Heirs* did *Abdicate* too. He ac'knowledg'd there had been ſeven *Interruptions in the Lineal Succeſ'ſion of the Crown of* England, from *William* the Conqueror to *Henry* the 'Eighth, wherein the right Heir had been put by; but that it did not fol'low, That every Breach of the *Original Contract* gave them Power to 'diſpoſe of the *Lineal Succeſſion*; eſpecially ſince the Statutes of Queen '*Elizabeth* and King *James* the Firſt, that have eſtabliſh'd the Oath of '*Allegiance* to the *King*, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*; and which ought to 'be obſerv'd till alter'd by the *Legiſlative Power*; which he thought, 'ſingly or jointly, the Lords and Commons did not pretend to without the '*Royal Aſſent*. And that theſe Laws being made ſince the *Laſt Interrup'tion*, they were not to go by any Precedent that was made before the ma'king thoſe Laws; ſo that, all that he conceiv'd ought to be meant by the 'Vote was, *But a ſetting aſide the Perſon that broke the Contract*; *and*, '*in a Succeſſive Kingdom*, *an* Abdication *can only be a Forfeiture*, *as to 'the Perſon Himſelf*. That he hop'd both Lords and Commons did agree 'in this, *Not to break the Line of Succeſſion*, *ſo as to make the Crown 'Elective*; and that, if that be Declared, That this Abdication of King '*James* the Second reach'd no farther than *Himſelf*, and that it was to 'continue in the *Right Line of Succeſſion*, they wou'd be all of one 'Mind.

The Earl of Clarendon.

The third who ſpoke for the Lords was the Earl of *Clarendon*, who pur'ſu'd the ſame Argument, and ſaid, 'That the *Breaking the Original Con'tract* was a Language that had not been long us'd in that Place, nor 'known in any of the Law-Books, or Publick Records: That he did not 'deny what Mr. *Sommers* had ſaid, *That the King was bounded by Law*, '*and bound to perform the Laws made*, *or to be made*; but that he wou'd 'take notice, that his Obligation thereunto did not proceed from his Co'ronation Oath, for our Law ſaid, *He is as much King before he is crown'd*, '*as he is afterwards*, *and there is a Natural Allegiance due to him from 'the Subjects*, *immediately upon the Deſcent of the Crown upon him: 'That no Act of the King's alone can bar or deſtroy the Right of his Heir to 'the Crown*, *which is* Hereditary, *and not* Elective. That if the Matter 'went no farther than King *James* the Second in his own Perſon, how 'came the *Vacancy* and *Supply* to be devolv'd upon the People? For if he 'only be ſet aſide, then it was apparent that the Crown was to go to the

'Perſon

Perſon that had the next *Right of Succeſſion*, and conſequently that there 1688-9. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29
'was no *Vacancy*.' Here the Earl of *Nottingham* urg'd, That the Lords
'having declared, That *they were willing to ſecure the Nation againſt*
'*the Return of King* James, it ſeem'd they were agreed in that Matter;
'and that if that were the only Point, they ſhou'd find Words proper
'ſoon enough to expreſs their Meaning by; but that he found neither
'*Abdication* nor *Deſertion* wou'd be allow'd, on the one ſide or on the
'other, to ſignify this Meaning, therefore they ought to think of ſome o-
'ther that wou'd; and firſt of all to ſettle that Point firſt, *Whether the*
'*Throne was Vacant?*

Next, Sir *George Treby* argu'd ſtrenuouſly for the Commons, alledging, *Sir George Treby.*
'That the preſent Debate was to begin where the Difference between the
'two Houſes did begin, and that was at the Word *Abdicated:* That an *O-*
'*riginal Contract* was a Phraſe and Thing us'd by the learned Mr. *Hooker*
'in his Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; but that he had yet a greater Autho-
'rity to influence this Matter, and that was their Lordſhips own, who had
'agreed to all the Vote but this Word *Abdicated*, and the *Vacancy of the*
'*Throne*. That it was very much beyond what the Vote before them led
'to, *To talk of the Right of thoſe in Succeſſion*; for that went farther than
'the laſt Part of the Vote, and that it was ſtill to lead them yet farther, to
'ſay any Thing about the making the *Crown Elective*. He next endea-
'vour'd to prove that King *James* had actually *Abdicated* his Kingſhip, al-
'ledging out of *Grotius*, *That if there be any Word or Action that does*
'*ſufficiently manifeſt the Mind and Will, to part with one's Office, that*
'*will amount to an* Abdication *or* Renouncing. Now, argu'd he, had King
'*James* the Second come here into the Aſſembly of Lords and Commons,
'and expreſs'd himſelf in Writing or Words to this purpoſe: *I was born an*
'*Heir to the Crown of* England, *which is a Government limited by Laws,*
'*made in full Parliament, by King, Nobles and Commonalty; and upon*
'*the Death of my laſt Predeceſſor, I am in Poſſeſſion of the Throne; and*
'*now I find, I cannot* Make *Laws without the Conſent of the Lords and*
'*Commons in Parliament*; *I cannot* ſuſpend *Laws that have been ſo made*
'*without the Conſent of my People: This indeed is the Title of Kingſhip*
'*I hold by* Original Contract, *and the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the*
'*Government, and my Succeſſion to, and Poſſeſſion of the Crown; in theſe*
'*Terms is Part of that* Contract: *This Part of the* Contract *I am weary*
'*of*; *I do renounce it, I will not be oblig'd to obſerve it*; *nay, I will*
'*not execute the Laws that have been made, nor ſuffer others to be made,*
'*as my People ſhall deſire, for their Security in* Religion, Liberty *and*
'Property, *which are the two main Points of the Kingly Office in this*
'*Nation*. I ſay, ſuppoſe he had ſo expreſs'd himſelf, doubtleſs this had
'been a plain *Renouncing* that *Legal Regular Title* which came to him
'by Deſcent: If then, continu'd Sir *George*, by particular *Acts*, ſuch as
'are enumerated in the Vote, he has declared as much or more than theſe
'*Words* can amount to, then he had thereby declar'd his Will to *Re-*
'*nounce the Government*. And therefore upon the whole, he inſiſted up-
'on the Word *Abdicated*, which did ſo well correſpond to the Fact of
'the Caſe, and ſo well expreſs'd the true Meaning of the Commons in their
'Vote.

The Earl of *Nottingham* acknowledg'd, 'That a King of *England* might *Earl of* Not-
'*Renounce his Kingdom*, and that he might do it by *Implicit Acts con-* tingham, &c.
'*trary to the Kingly Office*; for a King to ſay he wou'd not govern accor-
'ding to Law, and for a King to act wholly contrary to Law, and do that
'which wou'd ſubvert the Conſtitution, was, he thought, the ſame Thing;
'but then he thought alſo, that there was a Difference between *ſaying ſo*,

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'and *doing ſomething* inconſiſtent with what the Laws require; for every 'Deviation from the Law is a kind of a Breach of the Fundamental Laws; 'for he knew no Laws, as Laws, but what were Fundamental Conſtitutions: 'But if every Violation of the Law, by the Prince's Connivance or Com-'mand, were ſuch a Breach of the Fundamental Laws, as wou'd infer an '*Abdication*, that then it were in vain to call any of his *Miniſters* to Ac-'count for any ſuch Action; That then the Action is the *King's*, and not '*Theirs*, and then adieu to the Maxim of *a King's not doing wrong*. That 'he took the Diſtinction he had made to be ſo plain, that nothing cou'd be 'more; and that it had been thought ſo eſſentially neceſſary to have it clear 'and manifeſt, that thoſe two great Inſtances of *Edward* the Second, and '*Richard* the Third, were expreſs ſolemn *Renunciations*, and thoſe con-'firm'd in Parliament by the Lords and Commons, by the Acts of Depo-'ſing them: And therefore he cou'd not infer from the Facts enumerated 'in the Vote, that this ſhou'd be an *Abdication* for Himſelf and his Heirs.' Hereupon Sir *George Treby* deſir'd to clear himſelf from the Imputation of 'ſuch an abſurd Conceit, That *every Violation of the Law, or Deviation* '*from it, ſhou'd be reckon'd an Abdication of the Government*, and al-ledg'd, 'That when the King breaks the Laws in ſome particular Inſtances, 'it may be ſufficient to take an Account of it from thoſe evil Miniſters that 'were inſtrumental in it; and that in Ordinary Caſes of Breaking the Law, the 'Nation may have Remedy in the Ordinary Courſes and Courts of Juſtice: 'But that the King having broken not a particular Law, but all the Funda-'mentals, thoſe were no Ordinary Violations of the Law, and therefore in 'Extraordinary Caſes Extraordinary Remedies were to be recurr'd unto. 'Where, added he, ſhall a Man come to have Redreſs in ſuch a Caſe as this, 'when the Malefactor comes to be a Party unto whom all Applications 'for Relief and Redreſs from Injuries ſhou'd be made, and ſo he himſelf 'ſhall be Judge of his own Breaches of Law? It is becauſe the King hath 'thus violated the Conſtitution, by which the Law ſtands, as the Rule both 'of the King's *Government* and the Peoples Obedience, that we ſay, He 'hath *Abdicated* and *Renounc'd* the Government; for all other particular 'Breaches of the Law, the Subjects may have Remedy in the Ordinary 'Courts of Juſtice, or the Extraordinary Courts of Parliamentary Proceed-'ings: But where ſuch an Attempt as this, is made on the *Eſſence* of the 'Conſtitution, it is not We that have brought our ſelves into the *State of* '*Nature*, but Thoſe who have reduc'd our Legal well Eſtabliſh'd Frame of 'Government into a *State of Confuſion*.

The Debate continu'd.

Mr. Sacheverell.

4. The firſt Part of the Debate being ended, and the Lords offering nothing farther upon their firſt Amendment, Mr. *Sacheverell* proceeded to the Second, and declar'd, 'That by uſing thoſe Words *Abdication* and '*Vacancy*, the Commons never meant to make the Kingdom *Elective*, 'nor cou'd it be deducted from their Words: That admitting the Lords 'Amendments, *That King* James *had only* Deſerted *the Government*, even 'then it wou'd follow, *That the Throne was* Vacant *as to King* James: 'That if King *James* had only left the *Exerciſe* of his Power, as the Lords 'maintain'd, then he continu'd in the *Office*, and was King ſtill; That then 'all the Acts of the *Convention* were wholly not juſtifiable; That the 'Lords were in no Place or Station to relieve themſelves or the Nation 'in this Exigence, unleſs they wou'd think of ſetting up another *Regency* 'by their own Authority: That then by the Steps that the Lords and 'Commons had taken, they had drawn the Nation into a Snare, and left 'all in ſuch an Intricacy, as they had no Power, by Law, to deliver them 'out of; nor cou'd they anſwer for what they had done, unleſs the King 'ſhou'd die, and that wou'd leave the *Succeſſion* uncertain.

Mr.

Mr. *Pollexfen* next inſiſted upon the ſame Argument, and maintain'd, 'That the Lords ſaying in their Vote, That *the Government was Deſerted*, cou'd not mean only the *Exerciſe* of it, but a *Vacancy*: The King's Power, and the Exerciſe of that Power, was, in Conſtruction of Law, one and the ſame, and ſo join'd, that they cou'd not be ſever'd; and therefore the ſuppos'd Diſtinction was only Notional, and altogether diſagreeing to the Laws of *England*. That it was utterly Unlawful, and as great a Crime to take away from the King the Exerciſe of the Government, as to take from him the Government; it might do well for their Lordſhips to conſider, whether they were not guilty of the ſame Crime, which they wou'd decline by their Amendment. That the Commons therefore cou'd not admit, That there ſhou'd be a taking away the Exerciſe of the Government from the King, any more than the taking away the Government, which, the Commons ſaid, he had himſelf given away by *Abdication*; and that if King *James* was King ſtill, they cou'd not by any means agree to the keeping him out of the Kingdom. That to have a *Regency* upon King *James* without his own Conſent, or till his Return, while the Right was ſtill in him, wou'd be a ſtrange and impracticable Thing, and introductive of a Common-Wealth, inſtead of the ancient Government, by a limited Monarchy; and that the Concluſion, *That ſuch a Vacancy in the Throne, wou'd make the Crown Elective*, had no Premiſſes either from their Actions, their Sayings, their Votes, or any Thing elſe in that Caſe.' The Earl of *Clarendon* interpos'd, and ſaid, 'He wou'd not declare his Opinion about the *Vacancy* as to King *James*, but deſired to know the Meaning of the Commons, how far the *Vacancy* was to extend.' Which gave Occaſion to Mr. *Pollexfen* to ask the Lords, 'Whether their Lordſhips did agree, *That the Throne was Vacant as to King* James *the Second?* That if ſo, or if they ſhou'd ſay it was Full of any Body elſe, and wou'd name Whom it was Full of, it wou'd then be Time for the Commons to give an Anſwer.' To which the ſame Earl reply'd, 'That admitting for Diſcourſe ſake, That the Throne was Vacant as to King *James* the Second, it muſt then be ſupply'd by thoſe that ſhou'd have come if he were dead; this Government being by all our Laws, an Hereditary Monarchy, which is to go in Succeſſion by Inheritance in the Royal Line. That if the Commons ſaid this Government was *Vacant*, that wou'd be to put all thoſe by that ſhou'd take by Succeſſion, which wou'd make the Kingdom *Elective* for that Time: That the Lords ſaid there was no *Vacancy*, but ſince the Commons ſaid, *The Throne was Vacant*, he might very well ask, Who had the Right of filling up that *Vacancy?*' Mr. Serjeant *Maynard* anſwer'd, 'That was not the Queſtion before them, tho' it wou'd come properly in Debate, when they were agreed upon the Vacancy: That he granted the *Engliſh* Monarchy to be *Hereditary*; but tho' it ſhou'd in an Ordinary Way deſcend to the Heir, yet as their Caſe was, they had a Maxim in Law as certain as any other, which ſtopt the Courſe; for ſaid he, no Man can pretend to be King *James*'s Heir while he is living. *Nemo eſt Hæres Viventis.*' The Earl of *Pembroke* reply'd, 'That to that Point the Lord *Clarendon* had given an Anſwer, *That it ſhou'd go to the next Heir in the Line, that was to take it if the King were dead.* And that as they ſhou'd be underſtood, they ſhou'd make it a Caſe of *Demiſe* of the King's, as the Law calls it; That is, That the King was *Dead in Law*, by his *Abdication* or *Deſertion*. That to anſwer the Queſtion of the Commons, *Who the Throne was full of?* it was ſufficient to know, That there were Heirs who were to take by *Lineal Succeſſion*, tho' they did not, nor cou'd not, poſitively name the particular Perſon.

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Hereupon the Earl of *Nottingham* argu'd, 'That if the Lords shou'd grant 'a Vacancy as to the King himself, yet they might justly do those Acts men- 'tion'd in the Commons Reasons; for if barely the *Exercise* of the Go- 'vernment were *Deserted*, there must be a *Supply* of that Exercise in some 'Persons taking the Administration; and as none so fit, because of the 'Prince's Relation to the Crown, and his Presence here, to address unto a- 'bout it, so none so proper to make that Address as the Lords; since in 'the Absence of the King, they were the King and Kingdom's *Great Coun-* 'cil, and might have done by themselves, without the Commons; but be- 'ing met in a full *Representative Body*, they join'd with them. They 'were told, *That the next Heir in Succession cou'd not take, because no* 'one cou'd be Heir to one alive; yet still he thought the Answer given by 'the Lords a very good one, *That tho' the King was not dead Naturally,* 'yet if, as they infer'd, *he was so Civilly, the next of Course ought to* 'come in by Hereditary Succession; for he knew not any Distinction be- 'tween Successors in the Case of a *Natural* Death, and those in Case of 'a *Civil* one: That he wou'd know, if the next Heir shou'd be set aside, 'and another put in, Whether that King of *England* shou'd be King *to him* 'and his Heirs, and so being once upon the Throne, the ancient *Lineal* 'Succession be alter'd, which indeed wou'd sufficiently make the Kingdom 'Elective, by taking it from the right Heir: That if it was not so, then 'he ask'd, Whether such King as shou'd be put in, shou'd be King only du- 'ring King *James*'s Life? That, he suppos'd, was not the Meaning of the 'Commons; but, at least, he must be made a King during his own Life; 'That then, if there was a Distinction made as to the Succession, between 'a *Natural* and a *Civil* Death, if King *James* shou'd die during the Life of 'the new King, what wou'd become of *Hereditary Monarchy?* Where must 'the Successor come in, when the next Heir to King *James* might not be 'the present Heir to the present Successor? That therefore they must re- 'duce all to this Point, Whether this wou'd not make the Kingdom *Ele-* 'ctive? That if they made it once *Elective*, it was enough to make it 'ever so; for he wou'd be bold to say, They cou'd not make a stronger Tye 'to observe that kind of Succession, than what lay upon them to preserve 'it in this Case. He added, That if the Throne was Vacant, he wou'd 'know, Whether they were oblig'd to fill it? That if they were, they 'must fill it either by the old Laws, or by the Humour of those that were 'to chuse. That if they fill'd it by the old Laws, they declared it was an '*Hereditary Kingdom*, and they were to take the next *Successor*, to whom 'the Succession wou'd belong, and there wou'd be no need of standing upon 'a Vacancy: That if they were to fill it according to the Humour of the 'Times, that diverted the Course of Inheritance; and that he cou'd not 'see by what Authority they cou'd do that, or change the ancient Consti- 'tution, *without committing the same Fault they had laid upon the King.* 'But, said he, if you please to suppose the Throne *Vacant* as to King *James*, 'that is, *That he has no Right*, then let us go on to the next Step.

Earl of Nottingham.

But Mr. *Sacheverell* reply'd, 'That all their Business was to maintain, 'That the Throne was Vacant.' And Mr. *Sommers* added, 'That the 'Lords alledg'd as a Reason against the Word *Abdicate*, That *it was not a* 'Word known in our Law, but that the Word *Vacant* cou'd not have that 'Objection made to it, since it was in our Records, and even apply'd in a 'parallel Case to this in the first of *Henry* the Fourth.' To which the Earl of *Rochester* answer'd, 'That as that was the only Precedent for the Word 'Vacant, yet it was attended with this very Consequence, that it wou'd 'make the Monarchy *Elective*; for it being there declared, *That the Royal* 'Seat was Vacant, immediately did follow an *Election* of *Henry* the Fourth, 'who was not next in the Royal Line.' The same Argument was pursu'd 'by

Earls of Rochester *and* Clarendon.

'by the Earl of *Clarendon*, who ſaid, That it was plain in the Caſe of *Ri-* 1688.
'*chard* the Second, who had abſolutely *Reſign'd*, *Renounc'd* or *Abdicated* 1 Jac. 5.
'in Writing under his own Hand; that after that, the Parliament being then Ref. 29
'Sitting, they did not think it ſufficient to go upon, becauſe that Writing
'might be the Effect of Fear, and not voluntary: That thereupon they
'proceeded to a formal *Depoſition* upon *Articles*; and then came in the
'Claim of *Henry* the Fourth: That this was undoubtedly an *Election*;
'tho' he was really the next Heir, the Earl of *March* not appearing, *Henry*
'claim'd it as his undubitable Right, being the next Heir that appeared:
'That all the Kings that were thus taken in or elected, (for the Election
'was not of God's Approbation) any one Year ſcarce paſs'd in any of their
'Reigns, without being diſturb'd in the Poſſeſſion: That *Henry* the Fourth
'did not care to owe the Crown to the *Election*, but claim'd it as his *Right*;
'that it was a plauſible Pretence, and kept him and his Son upon the Throne;
'but in the time of his Grandſon *Henry* the Sixth, there was an utter Over-
'throw of his Title and Poſſeſſion too: For in the firſt of *Henry* the Fourth,
'all the Proceedings againſt *Richard* the Second, as well as all the reſt of
'the Acts during the *Uſurpation*, (as that Record rightly calls it) were *An-*
'*null'd*, *Repeal'd*, *Revok'd* and *Revers'd*, and all imaginable Words us'd to
'ſet thoſe Proceedings aſide, as *Illegal*, *Unjuſt* and *Unrighteous*: That
'that Act deduc'd the Pedegree of the Royal Line from *Henry* the Third
'to *Richard* the Second, who dy'd without Iſſue; and then *Henry* the
'Fourth, ſays the Act, *Uſurp'd*; but that the Earl of *March*, upon the
'Death of *Richard* the Second, and conſequently *Edward* the Fourth,
'from him was undoubted King by *Conſcience*, by *Nature*, by *Cuſtom*,
'and by *Law*.

Hereupon Sir *Robert Howard* exerted himſelf, and reply'd, 'He wou'd *Sir* Robert
'not ſay that the Record of *Henry* the Fourth, was not a Precedent of *Ele-* Howard.
'*ction*; for the Parliament did not much mind his Claim, knowing that he
'claim'd by Deſcent, where there was a Perſon that had a Title before him:
'That the Commons did not doubt, but that Power which brought in a-
'nother Line then, upon the *Vacancy* of the Throne by the Leaſion of *Ri-*
'*chard* the Second, was ſtill, according to the Conſtitution, reſiding in the
'Lords and Commons, and was legally ſufficient to ſupply the preſent *Va-*
'*cancy*: That he wou'd ask the Queſtion of any Lord there, Whether had
'there been an Heir certainly known, to whom the Crown had quietly de-
'ſcended in the Line of Succeſſion, and this Heir certainly known, their Lord-
'ſhips wou'd have Aſſembled without his Calling, or wou'd have either Admi-
'niſtred the Government themſelves, or adviſ'd the Prince of *Orange* to have
'taken it upon Himſelf? That he doubted they had been all guilty of High-
'Treaſon, by the Laws of *England*, if a known Succeſſor of the Throne were
'in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, as he muſt be if the Throne were not *Vacant*:
'That from hence their Lordſhips ſaw, that the Difficulty in this Matter a-
'roſe from this, That they wou'd agree the Throne to be *Vacant*, when they
'knew of none that poſſeſs'd it; That ſome ſuch thing had been pretended to
'as an *Heir Male*, of which there were *different Opinions*, and in the mean
'time they were without a Government. Muſt we ſtay, added he, till the
'Truth of the Matter be found out? What ſhall be done to preſerve our
'Conſtitution, while we are without a ſafe and legal Authority, to act un-
'der the ſame, according to our Conſtitution, and in a little time it will,
'perhaps, through the Diſtraction of our Conſtitution, be utterly irremedia-
'ble. He confeſs'd it wou'd be a difficult thing to go upon the Examina-
'tion who was Heir, or elſe their Lordſhips wou'd have explain'd them-
'ſelves before. But, continued he, it not being clear, muſt we always remain
'thus? Uſe what Words you will, *Fill up*, or *Nominate*, or *Elect*, it is the

'thing

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'thing that we are to take care of, and 'tis high time it were done. There 'is no such Consequence to be drawn from this Vote, as an Intention or 'Likelihood of altering the Course of the Government, so as to make it '*Elective*; the Throne has all along descended in an Hereditary Succession, the main Constitution has been preserv'd. The Precedent of *Henry* 'the Fourth is not like that of Elections in other Countries; and I am sorry there shou'd be any Occasion for what is necessary to be done now; 'but when such Difficulties are upon the Nation, that we cannot extricate 'our selves out of, as to the *Lineal Successor*, your Lordships, I hope, will 'give us leave to remember, *Salus Populi est Suprema Lex.* And if neither you nor we can do any thing in this Case, we, who are met under 'the Notion of a *Convention of the States*, have then met to no Purpose; 'for after we have Voted our selves *to be without Government* (which 'looks as if something were really intended as a Settlement) all presently 'sinks, and we are as much in the Dark as we were before. Your Lordships say, you will ne'er make a Precedent of *Election*, or take upon you 'to alter the *Succession*. With your Lordship's Favour, the Settlement of 'the Constitution is the main thing we are to look after. If you provide 'for the Supply of the Defect there, that Point of the *Succession* will, 'without all Question, in the same Method, and at the same time, be surely provided for. But, my Lords, have not you your selves limited the 'very Succession, and cut off some that might have a Lineal Right? Have 'you not concurr'd with us in our Vote, *That it is inconsistent with our 'Religion and Laws to have a* Papist *to reign over us?* Must we not 'then come to an *Election*, if the next Heir be a *Papist?* Nay, suppose 'there were no *Protestant* Heir at all to be found, wou'd not your Lordships then break the Line? If your Lordships then in such a Case, must 'break through the *Succession*, I think the Nation has Reason to expect 'you shou'd take care to supply the present Defect, where the *Succession* is 'uncertain; or what can we do farther, but even part in Confusion, and 'so leave the Nation to extricate it self as well as it can out of this Distraction. But then at whose Doors that will lie, I must leave to your Lordships own Thoughts.

We are told that this Speech made a great Impression, and little was said on the Lords side in opposition to it: But because their Lordships had made use of the Record of the first of *Edward* the Fourth, to assert the *Lineal Succession*, Sir *George Treby* undertook to explain it, and said,

Sir George Treby.

'That it was very well known that *Edward* the Fourth came in Disaffirmance of the Title of the House of *Lancaster*: That as those Times went, 'whenever there was any Turn in Government, as there were several, there 'were new and contrary Declarations about the Title to the Crown, made 'constantly in Parliament; and what one Parliament settled, another undid: But then, that this Advantage the Commons had on their Side; that as 'they had this first Precedent for them, so they had the last, *viz.* The Parliament Roll of the first of *Henry* the Seventh, where the Record is set 'right again: That the Act for Deposing *Richard* the Second was indeed 'Repeal'd by the first of *Edward* the Fourth, and thereupon it proceeds to 'Attaint *Henry* the Sixth; but then came in *Henry* the Seventh, in the 'first Year of whose Reign there was an Act made, that set aside all the 'Acts and Attainders made against his Line, and consequently it Repeal'd 'the first of *Edward* the Fourth, which had Repeal'd the first of *Henry* 'the Fourth: That *Henry* the Seventh was of the Line of *Lancaster*, and 'tho' he had the Heiress of the House of *York* in his Bosom, yet after he 'came to the Throne, he wou'd not endure to have his Crown reckon'd 'Matrimonial, or suffer the Style to go in the Names of *Henry* and *Elizabeth*, as he must have done if he had stuck to the Title by the Right

'Line

'Line of *Succeſſion*. That therefore his Act for Reſtoring the Record 1688. 'of the firſt of *Henry* the Fourth again, was as good an Authority as it was 'before, and ſomewhat better; for it had the laſt Act on its ſide, which Jac. 5. 'was yet Unrepeal'd.' Here the Earl of *Pembroke* reply'd, That *Henry* Reſ. 29 'the Seventh had a good Right and Title by Marriage to the Crown, *in re* 'Uxoris; but that his own Title, as deſcended from *Henry* the Fourth, *Earl of* Pem- 'was an Uſurpation; and therefore he wou'd not ſuffer any one to preſcribe broke. 'which was beſt, as long as it was acknowledg'd he had one good.' Sir *George Treby* return'd, 'That if *Henry* the Seventh's Title by Deſcent was 'an Uſurpation, it was hard to determine what Title he did govern by, ſince 'tho' his Wife was the Lineal Heir, yet ſhe had no Part, or ſo much as a 'Name in the Adminiſtration: But, added he, if we ſhou'd allow none 'for Acts of Parliament, but thoſe that were made in the Reigns of *Hereditary* Kings, and in the *Right Line*, I doubt we ſhou'd want the greateſt 'Part of thoſe Laws that compoſe the Volume of Statute Books, and the 'Records by which we enjoy a great Part of our Inheritances and Poſſeſſi- 'ons.' Sir *Richard Temple* alledg'd, 'That if Laws made about the *Suc-* *Sir* Richard 'ceſſion* be ſo obliging, what then ſhou'd they ſay to the Succeſſion of Queen Temple. '*Elizabeth*, who had an Act of Parliament both againſt her and her Siſter.' The Earl of *Pembroke* reply'd, 'That to ſhew what Opinion ſhe her ſelf, 'and the wiſe Men of her Time, had in that Point, there was an Act made 'in her Reign, and yet in being, which declar'd it to be a *Premunire* to af- 'firm, the Parliament cannot ſettle the *Succeſſion* of the Crown, or alter 'it. That *Entails* of the Crown had been in Parliament, both Ancient 'and Modern; yet the Authority of another ſubſequent Act had prevail'd a- 'gainſt ſuch an Entail, ſo that *they ſhou'd be done in Parliament.*' Sir *Richard* return'd, 'He thought they were in as full a Capacity to take care 'of the Government as any of their Predeceſſors; and that if they did as 'their Predeceſſors had done before them, that ought not to be call'd Chang- 'ing of the Monarchy from an *Hereditary* to an *Elective*.

Here the Earl of *Nottingham* once more interpos'd, and ſaid, 'He cou'd *Earl of* Not- 'not imagine how a Kingdom cou'd be *Hereditary*, and that the King who tingham. 'had Children in being, at the time of his forſaking the Government, cou'd 'have the Throne *Vacant* both of him and his Children. That the Courſe 'of Inheritance, as to the Crown of *England*, was by Law a great deal bet- 'ter provided for, than that of any other Inheritance. *That no Attainder 'of the Heir of the Crown cou'd bar the Succeſſion to the Crown*, as it did 'the Deſcent to any common Perſon; and that the very Deſcent by Order 'of Birth wou'd take away any ſuch Defect. That this was the Opinion 'of the great Lawyers of *England*, in the Caſe of *Henry* the Seventh; and 'therefore he cou'd not apprehend how any Act of the Father cou'd bar 'the Right of the Child; ſince even the Act of the Son, which might endan- 'ger an Attainder in him, cou'd not do it; ſo careful was the Law of the 'Royal Line of *Succeſſion*, which was declared by ſeveral Acts of Parlia- 'ment, and very fully and particularly by the twenty fifth of *Henry* the 'Seventh. That he deſired to know, Whether the Lords and Commons had 'Power by themſelves to make a binding Act or Law? And whether, ac- 'cording to the Legal Conſtitution, every King of *England* by being ſeated 'on the Throne, and poſſeſs'd of the Crown, was not thereby King, to him 'and his Heirs? And that without an Act of Parliament he knew not what 'Determination they cou'd make of his Eſtate: That it was urg'd indeed, 'That the Lords had in effect already agreed to the *Vacancy*, by Voting, '*That it was Inconſiſtent with our Religion and Laws to have a* Popiſh '*Prince to Rule over us*. But that a Vote of either Houſe, or both Houſes 'together, cou'd not alter the Law in that or any other Point; yet becauſe

'he

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'he was very desirous that that Vote should have its Effect, he wish'd that 'every Thing of that Nature might be done in the ancient usual Method 'by Act of Parliament. That since they were happily deliver'd from the 'Fears of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, God forbid they should assume 'any such Power to themselves; for what Advantage shou'd they then 'give to those who wou'd quarrel with their Settlement for the Illegality 'of it? Wou'd not this, which they endeavour'd to crush, break forth in-'to a Viper? That in all the Breaches that were made upon the Line of 'Succession, such was the Force of the Laws, that the Usurpers wou'd not 'take the Crown upon them, unless they had some plain Pretence of an '*Hereditary* Title to it. That what he wou'd have avoided by all Means, 'was the mischievous Consequences that he fear'd wou'd ensue upon the '*Vacancy of the Throne*, namely, the utter Overthrow of the whole Con-'stitution; for if the Lords and Commons only remain'd as Parts of the 'Government, and if the Head be taken away, and the Throne *Vacant*, 'by what Laws or Constitutions was it that they retain'd Lords and Com-'mons? That they were knit together in their Common Head; and that 'if one Part of the Government was Dissolv'd, he saw not any Reason but 'that all must be Dissolv'd. He confess'd, that any Government was bet-'ter than none; but he earnestly desired they might enjoy their Ancient 'Constitution.

The Debate clos'd by Mr. Foley and Mr. Ayres.

The whole Debate was clos'd by two short Speeches made by Mr. *Paul Foley*, and Mr. *Ayres*: The former said, 'He hop'd there was no Danger 'of shaking off our Fundamentals in this Case; that they were pursuing 'those Methods which agreed with our Laws and Constitution; for tho' 'the Monarchy of this Nation be *Hereditary* in the *Ordinary* course of 'Succession, yet there might fall out a *Case* wherein that cou'd not be 'comply'd with, and a plain *Vacancy* might ensue. For, said he, put the 'Case the whole Regal Line shou'd fail, shou'd we *in that Case* have 'no Government at all? And who then shall we have but Lords and 'Commons? And I think that comes nearest to the Case in Question, 'where the *Successor*, is not known; for if he had been, we shou'd have 'heard of him before now. And what is the Reason that it shou'd then 'in the former Case devolve to the Lords and Commons, but that there 'is no King? And they being the *Representative* Body of the Kingdom; 'are the only *remaining apparent Parts of the Government*, and are on-'ly to supply the Defect by providing a *Successor?*' The other, Mr. *Ayres*, subjoin'd, 'That they were led out of the Way, hunting after the *Conse-'quences* of a Vote not yet settled or agreed unto; That they had made a 'right and apt Conclusion from the Premisses, otherwise all the Vote was 'but Historical: We declare, adds he, *That the late King* James *has broke 'the* Original Contract, *has violated the Fundamental Laws, and has 'withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, that he has* Abdicated *the Go-'vernment*. What Occasion was there for such a *Declaration* as this, if 'nothing were concluded from it? That were only to give the Kingdom 'a compendious History of those Miseries they have too well learn'd by 'feeling them. Therefore there was a Necessity to make some Conclu-'sion; and none so natural as this; that we are left without a King, *That 'the Throne is thereby Vacant*; which it may be as to the Possession, and 'yet the Right of *Succession* no ways prejudic'd. But, my Lords, we are 'come here, by the Commands of the House of Commons, to debate the 'Reasons of their *Vote*, and your *Amendments*, not to dispute what will 'be the *Consequences*, which is not at present our Province.' And thus concluded the most memorable Conference and Debate, that perhaps was ever held between the Lords and Commons of *England*; by which it plain-ly appears, That the Opinion was almost universal, that King *James* had

Abdicated

Abdicated or Forfeited his own Perſonal Right; but the main Difficulty aroſe from the Regard to his Heirs, and probably from the Prince of *Wales* himſelf, about whoſe Title both Lords and Commons ſeem'd reſolv'd not to have the leaſt Argument. 1688/9. Jac. 4. Ref. 29

5. Upon the Concluſion of this famous Debate, as ſoon as the Managers for the Lords had made a Report in that Houſe, there aroſe a new Debate there, long and warm, Whether or no they ſhou'd inſiſt upon their Amendments, or agree with the grand Vote of the Commons. But by this time, ſeveral of the chief Members, who were before for a *Regency*, were come over to the Party that ſtood up for a *King*; which was alſo increaſed by the late arrival of ſome Lords; inſomuch that the two Queſtions about the Words *Abdicated* and *Vacant*, were carry'd in the Affirmative. So that that Vote now became the Baſis and Foundation on which the wonderful Revolution was to ſtand ſure and firm to future Ages. Which main Step being got over, and the Throne thus declar'd *Vacant*, by the Lords as well as Commons, it was not hard to gueſs how it wou'd be filled; ſo that the moſt neceſſary Thing to be done next, was to make ſome future Proviſions againſt Arbitrary Power. Upon which, when the *Convention* were entering and deliberating, we are told by the Author of *Great Britain's juſt Complaint*, That the Prince of *Orange* ſent the Lord *Wharton* to ſeveral of the Lords, and Mr. *Cooling* to Sir *Edward Seymour*, Mr. *Hambden* and other Commoners to let them know, *That if they inſiſted ſo much on Limitations, he wou'd return home, and leave them to the Mercy of King* James; which terrible Menace, at that time, is thought to have ſhortned their famous *Declaration of Rights:* A Story which we know not how to contradict or confirm; only, that it does not well agree with what his Highneſs did a few Days before with relation to the Diſcouragement of the *London* Petition, before mention'd.

The Lords agree with the Commons.

However this Matter was, the Houſe of Peers, after they had paſs'd the Commons grand Vote, appear'd more forward than the other: In which Houſe the Earl of *Danby* made a fine Speech, not only to prove the *Vacancy* of the Throne, but the Neceſſity of Supplying it by the Prince of *Orange*; wherein he was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, who taking Advantage of this favourable Opportunity, immediately put the Queſtion, *Whether their Highneſſes, the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *ſhou'd be declar'd King and Queen?* This mighty Vote was at once carry'd by twenty Voices, ſixty five againſt forty five, and paſs'd in theſe Words; 'Reſolved, by the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, aſſembled 'at *Weſtminſter*, That the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, ſhall be declar'd 'King and Queen of *England*, and of all the Dominions thereunto belong-'ing.' The next Day, being the 7th of *February*, their Lordſhips explained this great Reſolution by farther Voting, 'That the Prince and Princeſs 'of *Orange* ſhou'd be King and Queen of *England*, &c. for their natural 'Lives, and Life of the longer Liver of them; and that the ſole and full 'Regal Power be in the Prince only, in the *Name* of both. And that 'after their Deceaſes, the Crown ſhou'd belong to the Heirs of the Body of 'the Princeſs; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the 'Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Prince of *Orange*; and for Default of ſuch 'Iſſue, to the Perſon that ſhou'd be nam'd, and in ſuch a manner as ſhou'd 'be limited by Act of Parliament; and for Default of ſuch Limitation and 'Regulation, to the lawful Heirs of the ſaid Prince of *Orange*.

They Vote the Prince and Princeſs of Orange *King and Queen.*

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The Commons agree with them.

All theſe being ſent down to the Commons, and their Concurrence deſired, after a ſhort Debate they were agreed to with ſome Amendments: Their Lordſhips alſo communicated to the Commons the particular Oaths, which they thought fit to be taken inſtead of thoſe of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*. Theſe were readily approv'd of by the Commons; but were proteſted againſt in the Upper-Houſe, by eleven Spiritual, and twelve Temporal Lords; whoſe Number, within two or three Days, encreas'd to thirty ſeven; and who not only declar'd againſt the *Oaths*, but alſo againſt the *Abdication* and *Vacancy* of the Throne. All which while a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and Mr. *Sommers* at the Head of them, were buſy in drawing up a *Declaration of Rights* containing the Facts and Reaſons of King *James*'s Forfeiture of the Crown; aſſerting the undoubted Rights and Liberties of the Subject; ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, and appointing the new Oaths; which *Declaration* being ſent up to the Lords on the 11th Inſtant, was, after ſome Debates and a Conference, agreed unto the next Day.

The Arrival of the Princeſs of Orange.

6. During theſe ſeveral Tranſactions in the *Convention*, her Royal Highneſs at the *Hague* was haſtening her Journey to *England*; and on the 10th Inſtant left *Holland* all in Tears, and under the deepeſt Sorrow, for the Loſs of a Princeſs, ſo excellent, and ſo univerſally belov'd. Having a ſhort Voyage, ſhe arriv'd on the 12th at *Graveſend*, from whence ſhe went immediately to *White-Hall* amidſt the lofty Shouts and Acclamations of huzzaing Throngs and Multitudes, who doubly rejoic'd for her ſafe Arrival, and for her being declar'd Queen. This was indeed a joyful Day to the People, whoſe Tranſports were ſo real and unaffected, as were above the Power of being counterfeited. And the very next Day ſhe was welcom'd by the Repreſentatives of the Nation, beſides their Hearts and Affections, with no leſs Preſent and Offer than the three Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*; which was perform'd in this moſt ſolemn manner: Upon the 13th of *February*, the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, being plac'd on two large Seats under a Canopy of State in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, both Houſes of the *Convention* waited upon their Highneſſes in a full Body, and caus'd the Clerk of the Crown to read with a loud Voice the following *Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at* Weſtminſter; the moſt memorable and ſignificant that had been known for ſeveral Ages:

The two Houſes DECLARATION *of* RIGHTS.

'Whereas the late King *James* the Second, by the Aſſiſtance of divers 'Evil Counſellors, Judges and Miniſters employ'd by him, did endeavour 'to Subvert and Extirpate the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Laws* and '*Liberties* of this Kingdom; by Aſſuming and Exerciſing a Power of Di'penſing with, and Suſpending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, 'without conſent of Parliament: By Committing and Proſecuting divers 'worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excus'd from Concurring 'to the ſaid aſſumed Power: By Iſſuing and cauſing to be Executed, a 'Commiſſion under the Great-Seal, for erecting a Court call'd, *The Court 'of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*: By Levying Money for and 'to the Uſe of the Crown, by Pretence of *Prerogative*, for other Time, 'and in other Manner, than the ſame was granted by Parliament: By 'Raiſing and Keeping a *Standing-Army* within this Kingdom in time of 'Peace, without Conſent of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contra'ry to Law: By cauſing divers good Subjects, being *Proteſtants*, to be 'Diſarm'd at the ſame time, when *Papiſts* were both Arm'd and Imployed 'contrary to Law: By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to 'ſerve in Parliament: By Proſecutions in the Court of *King's-Bench* for

'Matters

'Matters and Cauſes cognizable only in *Parliament*; and by divers other 1688/9.
'Arbitrary and Illegal Courſes. And whereas of late Years, Partial, Cor- Jac. 5.
'rupt and Unqualify'd Perſons, have been return'd and ſerv'd on Juries in Reſ. 29
'Tryals, and particularly divers Jurors in Tryals for *High-Treaſon*, which
'were not *Free-Holders*; And exceſſive Bail hath been requir'd of Per-
'ſons committed in Criminal Caſes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made
'for the *Liberty* of the Subjects; And Exceſſive Fines have been impo-
'ſed; and Illegal and Cruel Puniſhments inflicted; And ſeveral Grants and
'Promiſes made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judg-
'ment againſt the Perſons upon whom the ſame were to be levy'd: All
'which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes,
'and Freedom of this Realm.

'And whereas the ſaid late King *James* the Second, having *Abdicated*
'the Government, and the Throne being thereby *Vacant*, his Highneſs the
'Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleas'd Almighty God to make the Glo-
'rious Inſtrument of Delivering this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary*
'*Power*) did (by the Advice of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and
'divers Principal Perſons of the *Commons*) cauſe Letters to be written to
'the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, being *Proteſtants*, and other Letters
'to the ſeveral *Counties*, *Cities*, *Univerſities*, *Boroughs* and *Cinque-Ports*,
'for the chuſing of ſuch Perſons to repreſent them, as were of Right to be
'ſent to Parliament, to Meet and Sit at *Weſtminſter*, upon the 22d Day of
'*January* in this Year 1688, in Order to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, as that
'their *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, might not again be in Danger of
'being ſubverted: Upon which Letters, Elections having been accordingly
'made; and thereupon the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and *Commons*,
'purſuant to their ſeveral Letters and Elections, being now Aſſembled
'in a Full and Free *Repreſentative* of this Nation, taking into their moſt
'ſerious Conſideration the beſt Means for Attaining the Ends aforeſaid,
'do in the firſt Place (as their Anceſtors in like Caſe have uſually done)
'for Vindicating and Aſſerting their Ancient *Rights* and *Liberties*; De-
'clare;

'1. That the pretended Power of *Suſpending Laws*, or Execution of
'Laws, by Regal Authority, without Conſent of Parliament, is Illegal.
'2. That the pretended Power of *Diſpenſing* with Laws, or the Execution
'of Laws, by Regal Authority, as it hath been aſſum'd and exercis'd of
'late, is Illegal. 3. That the Commiſſion for erecting the late Court of
'*Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, and all other Commiſſions and
'Courts of the like Nature, are Illegal and Pernicious. 4. That *Levying*
'of Money for or to the Uſe of the Crown, by Pretence of *Prerogative*,
'without Grant of Parliament, for longer Time, or in any other Manner
'than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is Illegal. 5. That it is the Right
'of the Subjects to *Petition* the King, and all Commitments and Proſecu-
'tions for ſuch Petitioning, are Illegal. 6. That for Raiſing or Keeping a
'*Standing Army* within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unleſs it be with
'Conſent of Parliament, is againſt Law. 7. That the Subjects, which are
'*Proteſtants*, may have Arms for their Defence ſuitable to their Condition,
'and as allow'd by Law. 8. That Elections of Members of Parliament
'ought to be *Free*. 9. That the *Freedom of Speech*, and Debates or Pro-
'ceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeach'd or queſtion'd in any
'Court or Place out of Parliament. 10. That *Exceſſive Bail* ought not to
'be requir'd, nor *Exceſſive Fines* impos'd, nor Cruel and Unuſual Puniſh-
'ments inflicted. 11. That *Jurors* ought to be duly Empannell'd and Re-
'turn'd, and Jurors which paſs upon Men in Tryals of *High-Treaſon* ought

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'to be *Free-Holders*. 12. That all Grants and Promiſes of *Fines* and '*Forfeitures* of particular Perſons, before Conviction, are Illegal and Void. '13. And that for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the Amending, Strengthening and Preſerving of the Laws, *Parliaments* ought to be held frequently. And they do Claim, Demand and Inſiſt upon all and ſingular the Premiſſes, as their undoubted *Rights* and *Liberties*; and no Declarations, Judgments, Doings or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People in any of the ſaid Premiſſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn hereafter into Conſequence or Example. To which Demand of their *Rights* they are particularly encourag'd by the *Declaration* of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only Means for obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy therein.

'Having therefore an entire Confidence, that his ſaid Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the Deliverance ſo far advanc'd by Him, and will ſtill preſerve them from the Violation of their *Rights*, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other Attempts upon their *Religion*, *Rights* and *Liberties*; the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, do Reſolve, "That *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princeſs of "*Orange*, be, and be Declared KING and QUEEN of *England*, *France* and "*Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the *Crown* "and *Royal Dignity* of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, to Them the "ſaid Prince and Princeſs during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor "of them; and that the Sole and Full Exerciſe of the *Regal Power* be "only in, and executed by, the ſaid Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of "the ſaid Prince and Princeſs during their joint Lives; and after their De-"ceaſe, the ſaid *Crown* and *Royal Dignity* of the ſaid Kingdoms and Do-"minions to be to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Princeſs; and for "Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs "of her Body; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body "of the ſaid Prince of *Orange*.'

By which the Prince and Princeſs are made King and Queen.

'And the ſaid Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and *Commons*, do Pray the 'ſaid Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to accept the ſame accordingly. And 'that the *Oaths* hereafter mention'd be taken by all Perſons of whom the 'Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* might be required by Law, inſtead 'of them; and that the ſaid Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be Abro-'gated: *I* A. B. *do ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, That I will be faithful, 'and bear true Allegiance to their Majeſties, King* WILLIAM *and Queen* 'MARY. So help me, God. *I* A. B. *do ſwear, That I do from my 'Heart Abhor, Deteſt and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Poſition,* That Princes Excommunicated or Depriv'd 'by the *Pope*, or any Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be Depos'd or 'Murther'd by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever. *And I do Declare, 'That no Foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, 'or ought to have, any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, 'or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within this Realm.* So help me 'God.'

The Oaths.

After the publick Reading of this *Declaration*, the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, made a ſolemn Tender of the Crown to their Highneſſes, in the Name of both Houſes, the Repreſentative of the Nation; whereupon the Prince of *Orange* return'd the following Anſwer: *My Lords and Gentlemen, This is certainly the greateſt Proof of the Truſt you have in Us, that can be given, which is the Thing which makes us value it the more; and We thankfully accept what you have offer'd. And as I had no other Intention in coming hither, than to preſerve your* Religion, Laws *and* Liberties; *ſo you may*

The Prince's Anſwer to it.

may be ſure, that I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to concur in any Thing that ſhall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power to Advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation. 1688/9. Jac. 5. Ref. 29

The Acclamations of the People in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, upon the Concluſion of this Auguſt Ceremony; were immediately reſounded by the Multitude without; and the ſame Day the Prince and Princeſs being ſolemnly Proclaim'd King and Queen of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, at the uſual Places, by the Names of *WILLIAM* and *MARY*; the whole City and Suburbs were fill'd with ſuch Torrents of Joy as totally drown'd all the little Diſcontents and Murmurings that began to appear upon this Mighty Change. The Occaſion being ſo remarkable and extraordinary, it will be neceſſary to inſert the *Proclamation* it ſelf, which runs thus: 'Whereas it 'hath pleaſed Almighty God in his great Mercy to this Kingdom, to vouch-'ſafe us a *Miraculous Deliverance* from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; 'and that our Preſervation is due, next under God, to the Reſolution and 'Conduct of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, whom God hath choſen 'to be the *Glorious Inſtrument* of ſuch an ineſtimable Happineſs to us and 'our Poſterity: And being highly ſenſible, and fully perſuaded of the great 'and eminent Virtue of her Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange*, whoſe Zeal 'for the *Proteſtant Religion*, will, no doubt, bring a Bleſſing along with 'her upon this Nation: And whereas the Lords and Commons now Aſſem-'bled at *Weſtminſter*, have made a *Declaration*, and preſented the ſame 'to the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, and therein deſired them to 'accept the Crown, who have accepted the Same accordingly: We there-'fore the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and *Commons*, together with the '*Lord-Mayor* and *Citizens* of *London*, and Others of the *Commons* of 'this Realm, do with full Conſent Publiſh and Proclaim, according to the 'ſaid *Declaration*, *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, Prince and Princeſs of *O-'range*, to be KING and QUEEN of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, with all 'the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; Who are according-'ly ſo to be Own'd, Deem'd and Taken, by all the People of the afore-'ſaid Realms and Dominions, who are from henceforth bound to Acknow-'ledge and Pay unto them all *Faith* and true *Allegiance*; beſeeching God, 'by whom Kings Reign, to bleſs King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, 'with long and happy Years to Reign over us.

William and Mary Proclaim'd King and Queen.

Thus was finiſh'd and compleated the Stupendious Revolution; a Revolution the moſt Bloodleſs in the Beginning and Progreſs, and the moſt Effectual in the Concluſion and Conſequences, that ever befel this powerful Nation; and which, if well conſider'd in all its Circumſtances, is ſcarce to be parallell'd in all the Hiſtories of other Countries. And here, as we take our Leave of King *James* and his Government, we might naturally give his Character at large; but that may poſſibly come afterwards, if there be a ſuitable Encouragement for a Continuance. Many Things have been already ſaid, and enough as to the moſt inexcuſable Part of it, which brought Ruin to his Affairs, and Diſhonour to his Memory. But if an Hiſtorian was to be govern'd only by the Rules of Generoſity and Gratitude, we ought to let him fall gently indeed, when we remember his two incomparable Daughters, two great Queens, who, with all the Errors Charg'd upon them, prov'd ſuch Bleſſings to the Nation, and ſo much the Bulwarks of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Liberties of *Europe*, as may well atone for innumerable Failures in their unfortunate Father.

The Concluſion.

FINIS.

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N. B. *This Index was written by a Perſon at a diſtance from the Author, and for the moſt part printed off, before he had time to examine it. The Reader is therefore deſired to take notice, that the Writer through haſte, has in ſome few Places miſtaken the Meaning of the Author; but, in all other Reſpects, it is a* Complete Index.

FINIS.